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## THOUGHTS ABOUT PARTY



MR JUSTIN M'CARTHY, in his "History of the Four Georges," predicts that "the principle of Government by party will some time or other come to be put to the challenge in English political life"

He refers (I think justly) the origin of the modern form of that system to the days of Pulteney and Walpole. There had been, of course, earlier parties, exercising a powerful influence upon government, but they had been of a different kind—constitutional, dynastic, or religious.

"With Pulteney and his tactics" says Mr M'Carthy, "began the party organization which, inside the House of Commons and outside, works unceasingly with tongue and pen, with open antagonism and under-hand intrigue, with all the various social as well as political influences—the pamphlet, the Press, the petticoat, even the pulpit—to discredit everything done by the men in office, to turn public opinion against them, and, if possible, to overthrow them."

Inside the House he made it his business to form a party which should assail the Ministry on all points, lie in wait to find occasion for attacking it, attack it rightly or wrongly, attack it even at the risk of exposing national weakness or bringing on national danger, keep attacking it always. Pulteney and his companions set themselves to appeal especially to the prejudices, passions, and ignorance of the vulgar herd. They made it their business to create a public opinion of their own. They dealt in the manufacture of public opinion. They set up political shops to retail the article which they had thus manufactured."

This Mr M'Carthy declares to have been "unquestionably the policy of all our more modern English parties," though he thinks that an English Opposition would be, in our time, more scrupulous than Pulteney and his supporters sometimes were. Some of the outlines and colours of this picture might have been taken from life at the present day. the "social as well as political influences"—(clubs,

"Primrose Leagues," and whatever may be the name of the imitated article upon the other side)—"the manufacture of public opinion"—and the "political shops set up to retail the manufactured article" We have learnt better manners (I hope, because we have worthier thoughts of, and more generous feelings towards, the less-instructed multitudes of our countrymen) than to talk of "the vulgar herd," but appeals from "classes" to "masses" are still not unknown The art may have been improved since Pulteney's time, neither party has a monopoly of it, nor is it, by any means, confined to the party which may be, for the time being, in opposition If there were nothing to be said on the other side, the picture is one which might suggest to honest minds serious misgivings as to the ultimate tendencies of such a system

It is too late, after this particular system has moulded our political life for more than a century and a half (so as to become almost a part of the Constitution under which we live), to reason about it philosophically, or to attempt to strike a balance between its good and its evil If it "comes to be put to the challenge," this cannot be done by means of any speculative reasoning, it must be by a natural "evolution" of its consequences, by the practical developments to which it may lead Parties (we may be quite sure) there will continue to be, but the question is, what parties, and for what purposes? It is no law of Nature or necessity that there should always be two, and only two, parties in the British State

Nobody can deny that there has been a good side, as well as a bad, to the system of Government by party The administration of public affairs has been purified (if its efficiency in some respects may not have been increased) by the organized observation and criticism of the acts of Government, inseparable from this system, and the country has had the advantage of having provided for it a constant supply of statesmen, ready to take the reins on every turn of public opinion, and trained, alternately, in independence and in the conduct of affairs

Ever since the days of Pulteney, and through all the changes which the character of our parties has from time to time undergone, there may be traced a certain intelligible difference of sentiment, which has redeemed them from mere factiousness, and has made them representative, each in an especial manner and degree, of two principles, both really indispensable to good government The prevailing sentiment of the one party has been that of the necessity of maintaining the safety of the State, and the authority of Government, of the other, sympathy with the people, and the development of popular institutions Nothing is more dangerous to a nation than that these two principles should be *really* divorced from and opposed to each other, the undue prevalence of the former might lead to

misgovernment by a violent suppression of liberty, the undue prevalence of the other might produce the same results by a different road, substituting emotion for reason as the ruling element in politics. Theoretically, it would be best that both sentiments should be combined in all statesmen, of all parties, practically, and in this country, some approach to that result has been actually made by the mutual action and reaction upon each other of two parties, in each of which the one sentiment, or the other, has predominated.

I think that, from this point of view, there may have been a real continuity in all our parties, from Pulteney's time to this day. It is impossible to read Akenside's ode "To Curio," upon the termination of Pulteney's career, without feeling that his cause had not been that of a faction only, and that the principle which Akenside identified with it was the popular one, which I have endeavoured to describe. Nobody can doubt that the same was also the principle of the Whigs of the school of Chatham, Camden, Rockingham, and Burke. The disruption of parties which took place at the time of the first French Revolution proved that party spirit had not then eaten so far into the life of patriotism and public virtue, as to prevent true Liberals from rallying to the support of the first principles of Government, which they thought endangered, and refusing to surrender themselves to the uncontrolled sway of the emotional, as opposed to the rational, element in politics.

If I were asked to specify a time, at which the evils of party government were at their lowest, and the benefits at their highest point, I should be inclined to suggest the period from the passing of the first Reform Act to the death of Sir Robert Peel. The Reform crisis was a dangerous one—it was by the operation of the party system, under favourable circumstances, that its dangers were prevented or surmounted. The best condition of things is when the party of movement has definite objects, coinciding with real public wants, and is strong enough to accomplish them by constitutional methods, and under no overpowering temptation to abuse its strength, and when the party of resistance is compelled, for the sake of the very interests which it wishes to defend, to adopt prudent and moderate counsels. This happened during the earlier and more difficult portion of the period I have mentioned. There was a long arrear of necessary Reforms—Parliamentary Reform, Municipal Reform, Law Reform, the Abolition of Slavery, Free Trade, Poor Law Reform, much more, there was a popular impulse, more than sufficient to carry them, and the Liberal Government, by procuring the dissolution of the Political Unions after the passing of the Reform Act, proved its desire and determination to rely on constitutional means, without controlling the independence of Parliament by the use of extraneous machinery. Their opponents, under Sir Robert



Peel, ~~accepted~~ defeat with temper and good sense, as well as courage and firmness, and they did not misunderstand the lessons of the time. By the help of leaders, on each side, whose ambition was controlled by a sense of responsibility and public duty, both the extremes of dangerous violence and dangerous obstruction were avoided, and there was no reaction or retrogression, after the popularity of the Liberals had declined, and when the party led by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel succeeded to power.

The parties and politics of the present century, though united by that thread of continuity which I have mentioned with the parties and politics of the last, differ widely from them in many and material respects. The old names (which had already more than once changed their meaning, for Pitt, Grenville, and Canning were not Tories in the old sense of that word) went practically out of use. The word "Whig" was not dropped by those who had inherited it, and who cherished its traditions, but the great party, which then followed Whig leaders, was known in the country by the new and more significant names of "Reformers" and "Liberals." And the party led by Sir Robert Peel no longer called itself "Tory," but "Conservative." By Conservatism Sir Robert Peel did not mean obstruction, or inaction. He knew, as well as any man, that continual renovation and growth were necessary for the preservation of the life of the body politic, as well as for that of the natural body. He governed on really Liberal principles from 1841 to 1846, and did what he thought his duty to the country, though at the cost (in the end) of his own power, and of a new dislocation of parties.

Mr Disraeli rose upon the fall of Sir Robert Peel, and the Conservative party underwent a very considerable transformation under his leadership. He did not like the name "Conservative," probably because he thought it had the disadvantage, as compared with "Liberal," of appearing to signify a stationary and colourless, rather than an active and generous, principle. But in bringing back, as he endeavoured to do, the word "Tory," he did not gain much from the historical associations with which that name had been surrounded, and the word "Conservative" did not, as he probably intended, fall out of use. Party names (whether they mean much, little, or nothing) are, of course, meant in practice to be symbols and badges of partisanship. But in respectable partisanship there must be at least a profession of attachment to some principle, and for that purpose there is much in a name. "Blue" and "Yellow" may have been enough in times past, but, in proportion to the general growth of intelligence, something which has a semblance of good meaning answers better.

Mr Disraeli, in reverting to a word which had historical associations, but no real meaning, was probably actuated by a sense that the

party, whose traditions he did not wish rudely to disturb, was then entering upon a new phase, in which it would be a necessary condition of its acquiring power and influence, and doing public service, that it should be more pliable and elastic, more in touch and sympathy with popular wants and popular sentiments, than it had been before. It is not easy, from that point of view, to justify the means by which he rose, but the use which he made of power was in accordance with what seem, from his writings, to have been his real sympathies and opinions.

Mr Disraeli's "education" of his party—by whatever name that party may now prefer to be called—resulted in its consolidation upon a basis sufficiently liberal to leave it not only free, but generally well-disposed, to legislate when in office upon the lines of rational progress—perhaps even, if necessary, to do something more—without being fairly open to the charge of borrowing other men's policy or renouncing its own. That measures of practical improvement and reform in the various departments of law and administration, or measures which may be needful or useful for promoting mutual confidence and goodwill between different classes, should be claimed as the monopoly of any party, or excluded from consideration upon their merits by any Government, or that reasonable trust in, and honest sympathy with, the people should be the peculiar possession of one party alone, is certainly not for the public interest, and cannot, indeed, be possible, unless political wisdom and patriotism are at a very low ebb.

The Liberal party has also been deemed, by some who have led or who have aspired to lead it, to require a new education, of which the result may perhaps be to accelerate the time foretold by Mr M'Carthy, when the principle of government by party may be put upon its trial.

I have alluded in the outset of this paper to what is popularly known as the "Caucus system," introduced from abroad into this country, not long since, under high Liberal auspices. It is, I think, an important question whether that system, in any of the forms which it has assumed or may assume, can be permanently reconciled with true Liberality. I cannot myself dissociate political Liberality from Liberty, or Liberty from honest independence of thought and judgment on the part of constituencies, and also of their representatives. It is not, at all events, the *old* Liberal idea, which would remove the centre of gravity of the constitutional system from Parliament to a federation of delegates of political unions, which would practically limit the choice of Liberal electors, in every constituency, to persons who had first approved themselves to the managers of an inner conclave, holding the local party in leading-strings, which may tend to transform leaders of parties and Ministers of State into dictators, by enabling them, through these outside

agencies, to ostracise all who, even on subjects vital to the public welfare, have dared in the House of Commons to speak and vote as they think. Formerly, a member who so manifested his independence might have had to justify himself to his constituents, and he generally would have succeeded in doing so if they thought him an honest man, and if he could give good reasons for the course which he had taken. Now, if there were among Liberals no power of patriotism stronger than the bond of party association, he would have to justify himself before some "council of three hundred," or two hundred, or whatever else the number may be, that council itself being under the influence—perhaps in the leading-strings—of a larger "federation," of which a very few individuals may be (probably are) the wire-pullers and masters.

The system of party government will be essentially changed in character, and may soon cease to be tolerable, if it cannot be emancipated from this slavery. That a machinery should exist, by which a party, without change of name, and indeed arrogating to itself the sole right to the old name, by reason of the subjection of local majorities to that machinery, should be liable to have its internal character and its practical objects suddenly transformed into something essentially different from what they were understood to be before, that this should be done without any previous preparation by the natural and spontaneous growth of opinion within its ranks, is a thing which could hardly have been thought possible, if it had not happened. Yet this is what has actually happened within the short space of twelve months. Those whose sole policy at this moment is to dissolve the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland assume to themselves, on the strength of their command of this machinery, a superior right to the designation of "Liberals," they endeavour to convert to the purposes of that new policy the previously constructed organization of the Liberal party, and they call those "dissentients" who adhere to the opinion and policy with which the Liberal party, generally, had been identified down to the winter of 1885.

It is at least one gain, from an unhappy and extraordinary state of things, that men of independent minds have been compelled by it to remember that there are duties and obligations paramount to those of party association. No man, who has acted in honour and good faith with any party, can lightly separate himself from it. But, if it departs from its principles—I should rather say, if those who assume to lead it, and who have the control of its organization, depart from its principles—that is no reason why he should depart from his. If he has entered into that association, believing this to be the best way of serving his country and of promoting the public good, he cannot follow any leader or any party managers (even if

their influence may be sufficient to carry with them a majority of the nominal party), into new courses, which he believes to be opposed to the public good, and dangerous to his country Home Rule for Ireland is not the only subject to which these considerations may hereafter apply They are applicable to all measures of primary importance, not hitherto understood to be identified with the general profession of Liberal politics On all such subjects, the profession of Liberal politics cannot justify a man in making any political leader or wire-puller the keeper of his conscience, or absolve him from the duty and necessity (if he is honest) of making up his mind for himself, he must act as he thinks, whatever others who pass by the same party name may do If he approves such measures, he will support them, not because he belongs to a party, but because he thinks them right If he disapproves, he is under a moral as well as a political obligation to oppose them That duty is one which no honest man is at liberty to sacrifice to a party name

SELBORNE

# INDIA

A REPLY TO MR SAMUEL SMITH, M P

## I

FROM time to time there appear in our more important periodicals papers reflecting very severely upon the English government of India. These proceed, but too often, from persons whose names do not carry with them that amount of weight which would make it fitting for those who have discharged important duties in the East to take any notice of them, and they are left accordingly unrefuted, to deceive simple souls.

It is then a matter of some satisfaction to find such views, if they are to be enunciated at all, signed by a gentleman who obviously writes in good faith, and who, in walks of life unconnected with India, has won for himself a good position.

Such an one is Mr Samuel Smith, M P for Flintshire, who lately gave to the readers of this REVIEW the benefit of a recent inspection which he had made of our Indian Empire. I propose in the following pages to offer some observations upon what he has said, or, in other words, in a friendly spirit to criticize the critic.

Mr Smith has divided his observations into two parts, with the second of these, which appeared in the July number of the CONTEMPORARY, I have but little fault to find. Much of what he says in it is quite true, though sufficiently trite, and the spirit of the whole is unobjectionable. The first paper is, however, a document of a different kind, and, if I had had to deal with it alone, I think I should have described it as *India Mis visited*.

Mr Smith begins his remarks by informing us that he visited India in 1863, confining his travels to the Bombay Presidency, and occupying himself chiefly with the cotton-growing capacity of the country. He then states that he kept up extensive commercial connections with it, and that in the month of November, 1885, having

ever retained an interest in its affairs, he returned to its shores, passed from Bombay to Calcutta, and, as he might have added, spent nearly a whole day in Madras

During this last journey he associated equally, we are told, with Europeans and natives, seeking especially to understand the views taken by the latter

It may be assumed that a gentleman in Mr Smith's position would see a reasonable number of leading Europeans along his line of route, but that he should have come into contact with a sufficient number of natives to enable him to speak with authority as to their views, is more doubtful, nor is it probable that what he describes as "the best literature bearing on the present position of India," would have much aided him in his efforts to grasp the ideas of the *real* native community

The English public has good reason to be grateful to a man who, after spending even a very brief period in a country about which it hears little, gives it the benefit of his observations, provided always he does this in not too dogmatic a way. Whether, on the other hand, it is worth while to write down the hurried conclusions of a hurried journey through a country, about whose administration the English public hears so much as it does about that of India, is quite another question

After some remarks with regard to the want of agreement in India as to facts and inferences (is there much agreement in England or France upon political questions?), Mr Smith tells us by implication that he found it difficult to arrive at "any valid conclusions." When we think of the amount of time that has to be deducted from his few Indian weeks for eating, sleeping and locomotion, this is hardly surprising

He proceeds to say

"This difficulty will not be felt by those who confine themselves to one class of opinion, for many travel through India with blinkers, only seeing what official optimists wish them to see. You may remain entirely ignorant of what is thought by the 250 millions of people who inhabit the country. Nothing is easier than to dogmatize when only evidence on one side is heard, but when an attempt to judge honestly is made, amid the Babel of contradictions one hears, the task is enough to daunt the boldest

"It is, therefore, with much diffidence that I offer some remarks on the strange phenomena of our Indian Empire, so unlike anything the world has ever seen that no historical analogies give much aid in comprehending it"

On this I would merely ask—Are all officials in India optimists?

Mr Smith would not have had to go very far afield to find every variety of opinion amongst them, from the most roseate optimism to the blackest pessimism. I could show him very able men who have given all their best years to the country, who have prospered exceedingly therein, rising to the highest places of the Civil Service,

whom nothing would induce to commit to it "the fortunes of a son"

Mr Smith goes on to say

"I begin by observing that the general opinion at home is that India is enormously indebted to British rule, that we have converted a land of anarchy and misrule into one of peace and contentment, that poverty is giving place to plenty, and a low, corrupt civilization to one immensely higher. It is somewhat of a shock to the optimist to learn that every one of these points is contested by well educated and intelligent natives, instead of contentment, one finds in many places great dissatisfaction, and a wide spread belief that India is getting poorer and less happy."

To this I answer that the optimist must, indeed, be very easily shocked, if he is shocked, by finding that these "points" are contested by some of those whom Mr Smith describes as well-educated and intelligent natives, in other words, by certain persons who have gone through the mill of what is known as our "higher education"

If he had remained longer in the country he would have found that, to the great majority of intelligent natives, these "points" are mere commonplaces, which they merely mention as things quite taken for granted by all reasonable beings before they begin to ask their rulers for any of those improvements on which their hearts are set. I could illustrate this remark by examples till my readers flung away this article in despair, but I will give but one. Here is an extract from an address presented to me in 1883 by a body of representative natives at Bezwada —

"We, the President and Members of the Local Reception Committee, in the name of the people of Bezwada, desire to give your Excellency a right hearty welcome to this flourishing town. Perhaps no place in India more exemplifies the benefits of British rule than the picturesque spot you are now honouring with a visit. Before the beneficent scheme for irrigating this thirsty land came into operation, Bezwada was only a small village and partly in ruins, from the people having died in the terrible Nandana\* famine. Now it is a town, and increasing year by year with such rapidity as to be a source of wonder to all who knew its former condition. Indeed, it seems likely to become again, as in ancient days it is said to have been, the largest town in these parts. In past times no part of India suffered more than this from the horrors of famine, and your Excellency's father pointed out the territory between the Godavari and Kistna as liable to these visitations in their severest form, and put on record a very terrible one. It often happened that whole villages were depopulated, and myriads of people perished for want of the water that flowed in abundance at their feet, and only just below the level of their dying crops to be swallowed by the greedy ocean. As the huge volumes of water flowed grandly on, laden with rich, fertilizing yellow silt, gathered by the river in its course through the Deccan, the enthusiastic General Cotton called it 'liquid gold.' The Anicut, with its ramified system of canals, has certainly turned it into solid gold. At one stroke the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread, and the coffers of the Govern-

\* *I.e.*, the Guntoor famine of the Nandana year, 1832

ment with money. In place of dashing madly on to be lost in the sea, the Kistna now spreads fertility and beauty on all sides, and had your Excellency come at a later period of the year, the extensive tracts of flat country between this and the coast would present you with a sight worth seeing. No longer struggling for a bare existence, or held in the grasp of Lowcars, the people rejoice among their smiling crops, and the money-lenders have become almost extinct. Even in famine years the Kistna never fails to do its duty, and the dire poverty that existed during the childhood of middle-aged men is almost forgotten in the general prosperity, and it is meet that we should express gratitude to the good Government that has done these great things for us."

Now the views enunciated in such a passage as that are accepted by all decently intelligent natives outside the little cliques of what we may call professional malcontents, and many even of the latter, when they try to impress other ideas upon a traveller who seems to have a fine ear, if not "a fine face, for a grievance," do so with a smile at his gullibility.

A rapidly moving traveller like Mr Smith does not see the steady-going, sensible people who are scattered over the land, doing its work in a very commendable manner, mainly anxious to make their lives easier by getting the Government to expend as much as possible in usually indisputable, if sometimes financially unattainable, improvements in their own neighbourhoods.

Mr Smith naturally and inevitably saw chiefly the busy, pushing talkers of the big towns, full of the last new "cleverisms," just sharp enough to repeat the parrot cries of European mischief-makers, and to be ingeniously wrong on most subjects.

Our guide next remarks, "the first and deepest impression made upon me by this second visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country."

It would be interesting to know how this "heightened sense" was arrived at. Was it from *personal* observation? If so, was Mr Smith comparing the peasantry of the cotton districts of Bombay, which he saw twenty years ago when "cotton was king," and their pockets, if they had any, full of money, with some other, and if so, what peasantry?

How much of the peasantry did he see in his recent rapid flight by rail and steam-vessel?

The results of my own personal observation are entirely different. I cannot pretend to speak of the whole of India, though I have seen immensely more of it than Mr Smith, but my impression is that whereas our forefathers were deluded into imagining that India was a far richer country than she really was, the tendency is now to fall into an opposite and an equally mischievous error.

Mr Smith assures us that the income-tax tables show a marvelously small area of high incomes. *O' sanctas simplicitas!* Does he suppose that these tables, even if they included the income from



land, would give any indication worth having of the true state of affairs ?

He then sets forth various calculations about average income, but all such are very misleading. The question worth answering is "Do the Indian masses obtain, one year with another, a larger or a smaller amount of material well being than the peasantry of Western Europe ?"

Speaking of the huge province of Madras, which I, of course, know best—and I have visited every district in it—I think they do, though I also think that there are infinite improvements to be made in their condition, and that these will be made if we carefully stop our ears to the delusive doctrines which we hear preached in some quarters, and with which Mr Smith's first paper is sadly infected.

I must guard myself against being misunderstood. There is in many parts of India frightful poverty, but is there not the same, and even worse, in our own country ? The main object of every sensible administrator for years to come in India should be to increase in every possible way the physical well-being of the people. It is impossible to emphasize my opinion on this subject too strongly. I lost no opportunity of repeating it in every form when I was Governor of Madras, but this doctrine is the abomination of desolation to the pert scribblers in the native press, and the intriguers of the Presidency towns. What *they* want are increased opportunities for *themselves*—Government employment and political changes, which may increase *their* personal importance. If European officials want to be popular they must play up to this desire. It is the cheapest and easiest method of success, and it is creditable to our European public servants that comparatively few walk upon that "primrose path." They hold, as I do, that although the present state of things in India is susceptible of almost indefinite improvement, we are moving on the right lines, and would do harm, not good, to the country if we materially changed our policy.

Mr Smith having communicated to us what he considers the economical state of India, proceeds to explain what the "natives" think and desire, and to express briefly the objections taken by those "natives" to our system of government, adding that there is now an "educated native tribunal" by which our actions are closely scrutinized.

On this I ask in the same vein as before, of what "natives" is he speaking, and where is the tribunal ? The graduates of Madras, far the most educated and Anglicized portion of India, are drawn mainly from itself, and from two neighbouring States, Mysore and Travancore. Their numbers are to the population which supplies them *as thirty-eight to a million* !

The sort of views with which Mr Smith credits his "natives"

are only put forward by a mere fraction of this fraction, and the very limited number of persons, chiefly professional writers for the press, whom they can influence—a press which, be it observed, has the very smallest circulation. As well might Mr Smith take the voices of the frogs croaking in a backwater for the opinion of all the creatures in the neighbouring river, from the smallest fish up to the crocodile.

He altogether over-estimates what we have done by our "Higher Education." It has had excellent effects in many ways, and, when certain reforms have been made, will be still more useful, but when we are told that there are many graduates of Indian Universities who are "as accomplished as those of Oxford and Cambridge," the phrase is really too wildly misleading. If its meaning is that the best are much better than the worst that are produced on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, the remark is a truism, but if it means that their best rank with our best, *solvuntur risu tabulæ*.

With these cautions, which I advisedly reiterate, as to what Mr Smith means by the opinion of the "natives," I pass to their objections to our rule, as stated by him.

1 They say, we are told, that our administration "is much too expensive, and drains the country of its wealth." I maintain that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply in proportion to its size, to its population, and to the difficulties of government. One single district in the Madras Presidency, ruled by a single collector who receives, at the present rate of exchange, about £2000 a year, is a good deal larger than Denmark. Another, since divided, was, when I reached India, just a few square miles smaller than Belgium. No man who has been brought face to face with the problems of Indian Administration would, I think, deny that if he only had the money, he would divide the whole country, as some fortunate parts of the North are divided, into areas of about 1500 square miles—say, two Surreys. That is about enough for one man to manage. The average Madras district is as big as Devonshire and Cornwall rolled into one.

As to our system "draining the country of its wealth," if that be the case, how is it visibly increasing in wealth? *Si monumentum quæris circumspice!* If Munro or Elphinstone were to revisit Madras or Bombay, they would not believe they were in India. The meaning of that phrase "drained of its wealth" is that a good deal of money goes to Europe. From the money that goes to Europe strike off that which goes for the payment of interest on debt, that which goes to buy articles absolutely necessary for the development of the country, but which can neither be begged, borrowed, nor stolen in Asia, and what remains? Little worth mentioning within the province of government except the deferred pay, commonly

called pensions, of the men who have done for India what no native, who knows its history, would pretend could have been done without them, and the cost of the India Office, the piece of machinery by which the government of India is connected with our parliamentary system? Would Mr Smith's friends, whom he considers representatives of native opinion, like to be without that piece of machinery, and to be governed, practically without appeal, by the British authorities in India? I fear not

Nothing is gained by condemning the costly covenanted Civil Service, unless you can show that you can get its work done cheaper. There are many excellent natives in our service, and I, for one, am all in favour of putting more of them into our higher posts. That, however, is a road on which you must walk with the greatest caution, if you do not want to introduce evils to which those against which you are now contending are but trifling. Does Mr Smith understand that, practically, through vast regions of India, the only possible question is between the rule of the Englishman and of the Brahmin, the Aryan of the West and the Aryan of the East? Does he think that he would do a good turn to the 254 millions of natives if he were to hand them over to a much greater extent to Brahmin domination? I have great admiration for the Brahmins, and they always must have an enormous influence in India. Mr Smith has probably no idea what their influence is even now, but "fair play is a jewel." We did not beat down the Peishwa, and the Mussulman dynasty of Mysore and the Khalsa, and so many other Powers, merely to abdicate in favour of a single caste.

2 Mr Smith tells us that his native informants object to the cost of our white troops. I may reply to him in the words of an Indian orator, whom I once heard observe with much emphasis, if with much confusion of metaphor, "Depend upon it, Mr Speaker, the white face of the British soldier is the backbone of your Indian army."

What are those "regulations passed in England," of which Mr Smith speaks, which are suitable to our home army, but not needed in India? As soon as he comes to close quarters with this question he will find out that it is not true that our internal position in India, for I say nothing about the North-West frontier, could be made safe without something very like our present arrangements, costly as they are. Mr Smith would, perhaps, advocate a white local army, though he does not say so. I would refer him to Sir Edward Colebrooke's "Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone" for a very sufficient answer to that aspiration.

3 He then tells us that European and native alike hold that India "is not fairly treated by the British Exchequer." I do not agree. Circumstances have always forced me to look at the matter

from the Indian side, but I confess that I am surprised that the British taxpayer has not long ago echoed the words of Clive—"By God! I marvel at my own moderation."

4 We are assured that much soreness is felt at the claim made for the cost of part of the Egyptian war, and for the expense of the recent expedition to Upper Burmah.

As to the Egyptian war, if the "weary Titan" had not taken India on his shoulders, what to him were Egypt?—and as to Upper Burmah, the same objections would have been made by the same sort of people to the annexation of Lower Burmah, which has poured lacs and lacs of rupees into the Indian exchequer. I speak as one who hated the very idea of the annexation of Upper Burmah, for reasons quite unconnected with those put forward by Mr Smith's friends, but who has been compelled, by overwhelming necessity, to acquiesce in a policy which circumstances made simply inevitable.

Mr Smith, in discussing the so-called drain on the resources of India, and the native agitator's objections to the national debt, makes one remark, which is or will be profoundly true, if the tendencies which he favours have their perfect work.

"Matters have not come to that point yet, but it is easy to see, from the spread of anti-English literature and the influence of revolutionary thought coming in from Europe, that, sooner or later, such ideas will take root in India, and it becomes a grave question of policy whether it is wise for the Government to keep adding to the Indian debt held abroad."

Looking at this subject recently from the point of view of an Indian governor, or half a generation ago, from that of an Under-Secretary of State, I was of course only too delighted to see English capital lent to India. It is the first condition necessary for improving a country which is, after all, only half-civilized. Looking at it, however, from the point of view of an English citizen, I abound in Mr Smith's sense. Unless the British Parliament pooch-poochs the suggestions which are made by many well-meaning individuals in favour of moving in the direction of Indian Home Rule, the many million pounds we have lent to India will not be worth, in the long-run, as many million pence.

In discussing Indian finance, Mr Smith observes that "For many years past deficits have been the rule rather than the exception." That is hardly so, and if it were, there would remain as a set-off the gigantic expenditure which we have made out of income for the permanent good of India, and the fact that most of our recent financial difficulties have been caused by the fall in the exchange value of silver, which many high authorities hold to be a vast benefit to the Indian agriculturist.

When making the Indian Financial Statement in 1873, I was able to say

"If we take the whole series of Indian accounts from the time when Mr Wilson first took the finances in hand—that is, from 1860 down to the end of the year of the regular estimates—we find a surplus of income over expenditure during the thirteen years of £324,885

"I showed last year, in some detail, that we have, out of income, since May 1, 1851, expended something like thirty millions in roads, canals, harbours, civil buildings, military buildings, State railways, and other works of permanent character, absolutely necessary to India, if she is to rank as a civilized country, so that India's position is that of a landed proprietor who, looking back on the management of his estate for thirteen years, finds that he has enormously improved those estates out of his ordinary income, and has also laid by a few thousand pounds in hard cash, a position which cannot be described as an unendurable one

"Of course the enemies of the Indian Government will immediately say, 'Oh, you are quite forgetting that you have appropriated and used as ordinary income a number of sums which you call windfalls, but which a mercantile concern, if managed according to proper mercantile principles, would have treated as capital, and not have used as income at all'

"To that I reply, 'Well, suppose I admit, for the sake of argument, that what you say is true, is to all these items to which you object, it is indisputable that we have charged against income sums to a very much greater amount than the amount of these disputed items, all of which sums a mercantile concern would have charged against capital and not against income'

I have not the same means of verifying my figures for the last decade which I had when the speech from which I have just quoted was made, but turning to the Statistical Atlas of India, 1886—a book of authority—I find at page 42 a statement of the revenue and expenditure of the Government for each year since 1871, which is followed by these remarks

"The result of the figures is that the fourteen years give surpluses, yielding a net surplus of 11 millions, 20 millions having in the period been spent in war, 14 millions in the relief of famine, and 6 millions in discharge of debt or the construction of works protective against famine, and the aggregate loss by exchange having amounted to 30 millions

"The years of deficit are those of the Behar famine, 1873, the Madras famine of 1876 and 1877, and the Afghan war, 1879 and 1880. It will be seen that, but for the latter event, there would have been a surplus in the one year of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and in the other of 7 millions. The large reduction in revenue shown in 1882 arose from the remission of 3 millions of taxation in that year—viz, Customs  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , salt  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , cesses  $\frac{1}{4}$ , but for which the final surplus would have been higher by 9 millions"

No one could have been more bitterly opposed than I to all the Afghan wars, whether waged by Liberals or Conservatives, but they were exceptional events, and have little bearing upon what Mr Smith describes as the native opinion, that British government is very costly, in connection with which he makes the assertion which I am criticizing

Mr Smith would hardly dispute that, injudicious and unhappy as our Afghan wars have been, the non-existence of our rule in India during the last half century would have cost that country ten times

as much in material prosperity as ever did those masterpieces of impolicy

Shah Sujah and Shere Ali cost India a pretty penny, as we say in Scotland, but invasions like that of Ahmed Shah Dourani would have cost her a good deal more

Nor would Mr Smith, I am sure, wish to overlook the fact that the collective deficits of the last five-and-twenty years are as nothing compared to the addition we have made out of our ordinary income to what I may call the fixed capital of India

A little lower down Mr Smith mentions that he was "startled" to find that the "natives generally asserted that taxation was lighter in native States than in our British districts. He might have saved himself the trouble of being "startled" at anything the sort of "natives" he saw told him. If they had thought that he would wish to be informed that Lord Dufferin while at Simla, and "out of touch" with native opinion, breakfasted every morning upon curried babies, the information would have been duly forthcoming

We then arrive at some quite sensible remarks about India becoming "a civilized government at a civilized cost." In that lies the whole financial difficulty. Our zealous and public-spirited officers are always trying to provide the country with a civilized European administration out of an Asiatic revenue

Mr Smith then passes on to tell us that the "natives" look with jealousy on the growth of the foreign trade with India as having been developed at the expense of their home industries. Again I ask, what "natives?" Surely not the natives who find their account in buying those cheaper imports which have displaced their dearer home manufactures. Analyze the word "natives," and you will perceive that it means, in this connection, those artificers who no longer find a market for their wares, and who grumble accordingly—small blame to them—plus the infinitesimal fraction of that infinitesimal fraction of the population called by courtesy *educated*, who were interviewed by Mr Smith. The ignorance displayed by these people of the plainest truths of political economy is absolutely colossal

Mr Smith would have fulfilled a useful function if he had told his auditors that amongst the many blessings which England has poured out on India, one of the greatest was the almost absolute free trade we have given her. Why, in the name of fallacy, should the Indian consumer pay more for a thousand articles which he wishes to possess in order that those articles may be made in India? If only what Mr Cobden so well called the "international law of the Almighty" is allowed to work, India will produce countless articles, manufactured and unmanufactured, which other countries cannot produce, while other countries will produce articles

which India cannot produce, except at a great sacrifice I was a vehement supporter of the abolition of the Indian cotton duties—not that I cared one brass farthing for the welfare of all or any Lancashire cotton-spinners, save only in so far as I desire the welfare of all mankind, but because I did very specially care, as I was in duty bound to do, for the welfare of the Indian masses, and for the success of the great experiment which we began when we undertook their government

I am glad to observe that Mr Smith recognizes the steady growth of the Bombay cotton mills, and I trust that he will live to see a very remarkable increase to those in Madras At present that place is overweighted by the expense of fuel, but when the forests have been put on a proper footing, and the Singareni coal can be brought to and down the Buckingham Canal, we shall soon see a change

Mr Smith proceeds to admit that India has absorbed some £350,000,000 sterling of silver and gold in the last forty years, but makes the very odd remark, that although English writers consider this a great proof of wealth, it is not so regarded in India It may suit A or B not to regard two and two as making four, but arithmetic is true nevertheless, and there is the bullion, though doubtless one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon India would be to get the vast dormant hoards of gold and silver which are buried in the ground or worn on the person brought into circulation Can that, however, be hoped for as long as the very people whom Mr Smith treats as exponents of native opinion do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government? True it is that their efforts can accomplish nothing at present against it, nor will they be able to accomplish much in any time that we can look forward to, unless they are aided by well-intentioned persons like Mr Smith They have, however, a good deal of influence in keeping up distrust and alarm I know personally a very considerable native capitalist who, when the talk of a quarrel between Russia and England grew loud, was only prevented by an English friend from getting rid of every scrap of rupee paper which he possessed, and I know that in a remote district of Southern India, much more than 1,000 miles as the crow flies from our north-west frontier, the people were busily engaged in burying their valuables in the early spring of 1885

The ordinary native does not and cannot understand our system He thinks that a Government which allows every scribbler, European or native, to attack it with the most perfect impunity, must be a weak Government

“Before parting from the subject of Indian trade,” Mr Smith next assures us that “the natives strongly assert that England forces upon them a fiscal policy unsuited for their country, but adapted to

develop British commerce " That many natives think thus is true enough, and I am afraid Mr Smith could readily find a great many British officials who talk the same nonsense I must say I have shuddered not unfrequently to see what blind guides in matters of political economy our sadly mismanaged competitive system has provided for India

Mr Smith proceeds to make the astounding remark, that "it would be as reasonable to impose by main force upon India our religion, our laws of marriage and inheritance, our political and social institutions, as our economical and financial views " All this means that it is a cruel injury to India to cease taking away from the consumer a portion of every imported article which he buys, and putting it partly into the coffers of the State, partly into the pockets of those producers whom we select for exceptional favour Such import duties as we still levy fall, by the way, almost exclusively upon the European sojourner

Mr Smith then goes on to suggest that import duties should be levied, even, if necessary, up to 20 per cent—these duties not to be necessarily protective, but to be met by an equivalent duty upon similar articles manufactured in India Having conferred this grotesque blessing on the population, we are to abolish the income tax, diminish the land tax—the most venerable of Indian fiscal institutions, which is acquiesced in like a law of Nature—and promote drunkenness by doing away with most of the taxes on liquors These truly marvellous suggestions lead on to the indisputably correct remark "The only true guide to our policy, in this as in all other matters, is to follow the course best for the people of India, without regard to the supposed interests or prejudices of the dominant country " Even so, say I, but then I do not think that the fiscal policy of Mr Cobden and of M Bastiat is suitable to one time and one country I think it has the universal applicability of the multiplication table

Next follows a paragraph on the income tax, to part of which I have replied already, and the old objections with regard to the powers of oppression which it puts into the hands of the "lower native officials" are trotted out That these officials are very often corrupt nobody doubts, but if Mr Smith had had to learn officially their proceedings, he would have found out that their corruption usually takes the form of letting off people who ought to pay, not of making people pay who should not do so There is no form of taxation which you can enforce in India, no form of administration you can work, without employing a cloud of inferior native officials Corruption, or what Englishmen call corruption, has prevailed in the land for thousands of years It is so engrained that it is not considered to be corruption. You might as well try to eradicate it,



except by the gradual operation of changing circumstances and the slow pressure of altered opinion, as to stop the north-east monsoon in the Bay of Bengal. Not one in a hundred, we may be very sure, of Mr Smith's interviewers, would have really looked at corruption in the same way as he does. The talk about the corruption of "lower native officials" is a mere weapon against the present state of things. Alter it in the direction in which these people would wish it altered, and corruption would reign supreme. The one remedy for corruption that could be rapidly enforced would be an enormous increase to the highly paid European agency by which the country is administered, and this remedy is quite out of the question. The effect of even such a drastic measure as that would be very partial. India is already chiefly governed by natives, and always has been so under the British Raj. Europeans mainly direct, inspect, and check.

Then Mr Smith falls foul of the periodical revision of the land settlements, telling us, as many have told us before, that as this time approaches panic fills the mind of the rural population, and that much more is taken out of the pockets of the peasantry than ever reaches the Government. The word *panic*, as far as Madras is concerned, is an exaggeration, but the peasants are sensible people, and naturally do not like a revision. In almost every district they are perfectly aware that they have for some time before it comes been paying to the State a good deal less than they ought, and I have not the slightest doubt that much money changes hands with a view to getting their land undervalued. Can Mr Smith really imagine, however, that the peasant does not find his account in this? He had much rather pay five rupees to his native brother who lets him off, than fifty to the Government which only asks its just right, the amount, namely, which is by a graceful fiction described as "half the net produce," but which is really only, in South India at least, from 20 to 25 per cent of the same.

Mr Smith next turns to the remedies which his interviewers propose for the defects of British administration, and was naively "surprised to find so general an agreement both as to the evils and the remedies." Would he be also surprised to find that many of the little clues with which he came into contact have their strings pulled by a few Europeans? Would he be surprised to learn that all the tricks of *bogus* agitation have been as well learned in India as in the most civilized regions of the West, and that an enthusiastic public meeting, consisting of one orator and a reporter, could be provided in any tolerably accessible town of even South India at short notice?

I am glad to observe that he found "the minimum of race antagonism at Madras." In truth, spontaneous disloyalty in that

Presidency is a very rare commodity; no thanks to a handful of people, in and out of it, who do their utmost to excite factitious disloyalty under highly constitutional forms

He proceeds to assure us that his friends have no desire to overthrow British authority. Of course they have not! They *only* propose that England shall have the burden of maintaining internal order in India and protecting her from external attacks, while virtually the whole government shall be in the hands of the Baboo class. In other words, England is to be doomed to remain to all time a comparatively weak power in every corner of the earth except in India, in order that the so-called "educated natives" may be turned into an aristocracy supported by our hayonets!

A friend of mine who had recently been attending a congress, or some such gathering, at Bombay, held under the auspices of these people, finding himself in company, in the Nizam's dominions, with an intelligent Mahomedan, said to him, after sketching the Baboo ideal of the Indian future: "Now, how would that state of things suit you?" "Not at all," was the reply. "When you go, we should want a day with those gentlemen, and I think it need be only *one day*!"

That is my commentary upon Mr Smith's observation, that his friends do not wish to overthrow British authority, but to mould it into "true Indian forms." Let but authority take a "true Indian form," and the class which now agitates against us would be whipped back to its proper place in a "true Indian system" by the stronger races.

Two gentlemen, with both of whom I am well acquainted, conversed together during the crazy agitation which followed the introduction of the very harmless but perfectly unnecessary Ilbert Bill. Said the native to the European: "Why on earth do you gentlemen stir these questions? We don't ask you so to do. If you abdicate, we perfectly know what the end of it all will be. Suppose you were to go into the People's Park yonder, and have all the cages opened after a reasonable amount of time most of the animals would have disappeared, and the tiger would be walking up and down licking his lips. Now in our country the tiger is the Mahomedan!"

By the way, Baron de Hubner, in his admirable book, of which it is difficult to speak too highly, has by a slip, rare in his curiously accurate pages, connected this story with Northern India. Its real scene was the south, while the scene of an equally striking conversation, which he mentions in the same paragraph, was in the north.

It is the old, old story. You cannot act with effect upon diametrically opposite principles at the same time. If all men are equal, and it is eternally right that each community should govern itself, why in the name of common sense do you stay in India at

all? If, however, you are to stay there, look facts in the face. You are there in virtue of your superiority, and your proper symbol is the sword crossed with the scroll "Policy and force." Do everything for the people, and all you can through the people, but let it be understood, once for all, that you are master, and mean to be master, or have the courage of your opinions, and make yourselves scarce.

Mr Smith then notices the undoubted fact that our Government in India has been hitherto a paternal despotism, and admits that in the earlier years of our rule it was impossible to govern except through an autocratic and military system, because the land was full of evil-doers, of whom he enumerates a variety.

Matters, however, he assures us, have greatly altered of late years. "Education is coming in with a flood!" "A free native Press of considerable ability is growing up." And so forth, and so forth. Let us "clear our minds of cant." What have the very respectable spread of education and the growth of the native Press had to do with the diminution of freebooters, Thugs, Dacoits, *et hoc genus omne*?

These unsatisfactory personages have been put down, in so far as they have been put down, by two forces: (1) by the strong hand—*i.e.*, by death, imprisonment, and transportation, (2) by improvements in the material condition of the people, but to this hour there are districts in which, if the rains do not fall and bring up cereal crops, dacoity springs up in their stead. If India is, as Mr Smith truly observes, as safe to travel in as any country in the world, it is simply because the strong hand of the Government protects the law-abiding masses against the powerful minority which is devoted to crime. Relax the grip of authority, misled by some dream about "education coming in with a flood," and you will find exactly in proportion to your relaxation thereof, all the old evils springing up again.

Of course no sane man would deny that the gradual pressure of our system is effecting changes of a salutary kind, but these forces, powerful as they are, do not work miracles, and require generations to operate in. It is far easier to introduce improvements which strike the eye, like railways, than to change the feelings which have descended from age to age. The criminal classes, at least of South India, are, I can assure Mr Smith, quite up to the spirit of the time, and largely use our well-appointed lines of communication for their own purposes. Why should the Maravars of Tinnevely or the Kullars of Madura become peaceable citizens because a percentage of boys in the Madras Presidency can read "the Swan of Avon," as they love to call him?

Next, Mr Smith, happy in the "coming in of education with a flood," assures us that the main reform upon which the natives

always—that is, the little agitating cliques he saw—insist upon is the introduction of representative members into the legislative councils, and the right of interpellating the Government

These are elementary demands if India is to govern itself, but if India is to govern itself, why are we there? Our being there is an absolute negation of all that Mr Smith means by Liberal principles. Liberal principles did not take us thither, and cannot keep us on that alien shore

Oh, but it is said we are there merely to teach the natives self-government, and then to depart. Good and well. I am perfectly ready to accept that policy, if such be the will of English statesmen and of their masters, but let us then act consistently. Let us once for all give up lending money to India, and let us every year pay off a portion of the Indian debt. Are we doing this? Are we not every year developing the country out of our own pockets? Are we not every two or three years incurring immense risks, and subjecting ourselves to frightful inconvenience, simply on account of India? If we are doing that merely that we may educate its inhabitants and go away, leaving our pupils to their own devices, it is the most gigantic exhibition of altruism that was ever seen upon this planet, and an exhibition of altruism for which I suppose not one of the creatures of God outside our own community gives us credit. Of two things, one either we mean to stay in India, and make the best of the country—directly for its own advantage, indirectly for that of ourselves, and of mankind at large, or we do not. If we accept the first alternative, let us go on upon the old lines of a paternal despotism. If we do not, let us accept Mr Smith's view, treat India as a country which has a right to govern itself, and disengage ourselves from our responsibilities there. Only let us be quick in coming to some decision, for if India is to be handed over to her own keeping, we may as well save the anxieties and expenses in which she involves us as soon as possible. At any moment she may cost us another Crimean war, with its hundred millions.

I know there are some people who say "Oh! whatever you do, don't loose your hold upon India, her trade is too valuable to you." I am quite aware of its value, and have not the slightest desire to loose our hold, but we cannot both keep our hold, and not keep it. If the future of India is to be a Baboo government, made possible only by some seventy odd thousand British bayonets and sabres, our trade, however developed, will pay us poorly for our risks, for which we shall have none of the other sets-off which at present come to us, to say nothing of the fact that Baboo government will inevitably fall into every economical heresy which is most opposed to our present excellent system of trade. Even now I apprehend

that our Indian trade is by no means as profitable to Englishmen, in proportion to its volume as it used to be

Mr Smith then goes on to point out that the native gentlemen now nominated to the legislative councils do not represent so truly the feelings of the "natives" as would elected members. Again, I ask, what "natives?" If he means the sort of people with whom he conversed, probably they do not. The Maharaja of Vizianagram would certainly not represent pushing pettifoggers or journalists *at all*? But would he not represent very much better than they the great body of the intelligent, law-abiding Hindoos of the Madras Presidency? Count the numbers of those people whom Mr Smith delighted to honour. Would they not be over represented by the tenth part of a representative? and is there any legislative council in India where they have not at least one spokesman?

Mr Smith then proceeds to say that there exist in all the large cities the rudiments of an intelligent electorate. They have now, he adds, thanks to Lord Ripon, a scheme of municipal government in operation. Would he be surprised to learn that at least in South India municipal government long preceded Lord Ripon? Even, however, in South India the system can hardly be said to have done more than strike vigorous roots. It will require long and careful fostering. In many places it is considered by those subject to it a mere European *fad*, which they would most willingly do without. I personally am a friend to local self-government for a variety of reasons, but more especially because, when it once takes to growing vigorously, it will save our European officers, already too much worked for the highest efficiency, a great deal of unnecessary toil, but let us not attempt to build upon what are still very unstable foundations a house of cards, by giving the municipalities, as Mr Smith proposes, the duty of electing members to the legislative councils.

This suggestion, however, bad as it is, is wisdom itself compared to the next which he makes, which is, that the university graduates would afford a basis for an intelligent body of electors. I have said enough about these gentlemen already, and need merely add here, that perverse ingenuity could not, I think, devise a worse constituency. God forbid that the people of India, for whom I entertain the strongest affection and esteem, should be so monstrously misrepresented as they would be if their interests were entrusted to the glib, hungry advocates who throng round a travelling M P, and ply him with the suggestions which they have picked up from Western or Westernized sources.

Then, again, we are assured that "it cannot be too well known at home that there is a wide divergence between the official and native opinion of India," with much of the same sort, and that

"the natives" think that it is the European official class which keeps them out of those high offices for which, I doubt not, five out of six of Mr Smith's friends thought themselves just as well suited as Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Auckland Colvin, Mr Melville, Mr Master, Mr Forster Webster, or any covenanted civilian of them all

Here, again, the statement is vitiated by the absurd application of the word "native" to a mere handful of waiters upon Providence. The intelligent natives know perfectly well that the opinion of the leading English officials is highly favourable to their admission, under proper arrangements, even to very high places in the administration. I, who cannot too strongly express my distrust of the sort of people whom Mr Smith considers as the exponents of native opinion, passed through the House of Commons—with the full approval of a Council composed almost entirely of English officials—the Act by which they can be so admitted.

Next, we are told that it is a remarkable fact that "no such complaint is made of the British nation." Now, how can a man who has prospered in his business, and must, in order to do this, have possessed much shrewdness and common sense, write down such—I fail to find a fitting and at the same time courteous substantive. What do these interviewers of Mr Smith know about "the British nation?" A very few of them have been able to cross the seas without ensuring their own damnation, have been received in England as strange and interesting creatures, petted, and made cub lions of. I remember being told of a man who was, in his own country (what shall I say?) something smaller than the very smallest sheriff-substitute in Scotland. He went to London with a few good introductions, and immediately found himself elevated into the position of a very great prince. When he returned to his presidency some one asked him if he had met Sir Bartle Frere when in Europe, whose relations to him a year or two before had been those of an elephant to a black beetle. "No," he replied, "the circles in which I moved were so entirely above those in which Sir Bartle Frere moved, that we never met." This anecdote may be true, or only happily imagined. I know not, but it exactly represents what occurs. Every English-speaking "native" who finds his way to London is as interesting to the home-keeping Briton as is a mango in Pall Mall. In Bombay or Madras a mango is a mango.

Does Mr Smith really suppose that the examinations through which young Englishmen find access to the Indian services change their natures? Does he doubt that the individuals whom he describes as "the natives" would hate himself, his partners, and his clerks as cordially as they hate the European official class in India, if only they were brought into the same relations with them?

"In close connection with this," we are then told, "lies another

reform urgently demanded by 'the natives' It is in the constitution of the Indian Council in London" Well, I suppose I have assisted at more meetings of the Indian Council in London than any human being who has not been a member or employé of it, with, perhaps, three or four exceptions, and, like most sublunary institutions, I think it is highly susceptible of improvement, but Mr Smith's "natives" want either to do away with it altogether, and to substitute for it a standing committee of Parliament, or to introduce into it a native element

The first suggestion is really too hopeless for discussion How could a standing committee of Parliament supervise the enormous mass of business that passes through the India Office? Even if a seat in Parliament were held for life, and the members of such a standing committee very highly paid and selected out of the ablest men in the two Houses, no mere mortals could satisfactorily discharge such a trust without giving up the whole of their year to it In fact, the proposal amounts to the re-creation of the Board of Control on a much larger scale, and the establishment of another huge office to supervise the India Office

The second suggestion has much more in it, but the practical difficulties are enormous If we could really get the flower of Indian society to come habitually to London, it might be most desirable that some fragments of it should be in the Indian Council, but does Mr Smith sufficiently understand that for a large portion of that society to go to England means practically to go quick into hell? that excommunication and social ruin are amongst the least of the penalties that would attend the occupation of a seat in that gloomy chamber in Charles Street? to say nothing of the fact that even if this were not so, the persons who would make the best representatives of India could not "forsake their sweetness and their good fruit to go to reign over the trees?"

A time may come when all these difficulties can be got over, but at present it is an excessively arduous business for an Indian gentleman, even if he is exceptionally favourably situated—that is, if he has great wealth, great position, and is not of too high a caste—to go to England even for a visit I write as one who has talked the matter over again and again with Indian gentlemen Does Mr Smith seriously suppose that the chatterboxes of the presidency towns would be accepted as proper representatives by those persons in India who are the true pillars of our rule? If he does, I venture to say that the man who used to sweep the crossing where Charles Street meets St James's Square, and, for all I know, does so still, would be considered quite as fitting a mouthpiece of their wants and wishes

And now, to my profound satisfaction, I arrive at a suggested

change as to which I am able to agree with Mr Smith. He considers that young men enter the covenanted Civil Service too early. I am entirely with him, though not, perhaps, for his reasons. I would diminish the number of the covenanted Civil Service, raise the age of admission to five-and-twenty, and examine, not in school-boy lore, but in all those matters which a young administrator should know *theoretically*, much that he ought to know can only be learned *by practice*, but the greatest misfortune of the existing civilians is, that they have never been put through a sufficiently wide preliminary training in the things with which they will be concerned during all their Indian lives.

We shall be obliged henceforward to have more natives in the service, and the duties of the covenanted civilians sent from Europe will be more and more those of supervision and wise guidance.

If natives of India can really come home and beat on their own ground the kind of Englishmen with whom I want to fill the covenanted Civil Service, let them, I shall believe it when I see it, but be it understood that I think we ought to pay our covenanted civilians of the future—much less numerous than they are now—sufficiently high salaries to enable us to get our pick of the very ablest young Englishmen who have not sufficient capital to play the long game for success at home. Double your existing inducements, treble them if necessary, but get for your Indian Civil Service the very best men whom money can buy.

Mr Smith's ideas would appear to be a little hazy as to the difference between the members of the uncovenanted service and the statutory civilians. There is nothing to prevent these last rising to any of the high posts. The plan of selecting them devised by Lord Lytton's Government has not been a success, at least in Southern India, and various plans have been tried for improving on it. Personally, I now incline to allowing the various Governments to select statutory civilians out of the most deserving men in the uncovenanted service. To open competition in India I am utterly opposed, but I tried when at Madras an open competition for the purpose of arriving at a class-list composed of men certified to be of high intellectual attainments, out of which the Government selected the man who seemed on the whole most likely to be useful, having regard not only to his intelligence, but to his position, character, and connections.

I am at one with Mr Smith in thinking that any change which tends to bring into the service, and keep there, men of riper years, would be an advantage. I cannot see why the new and higher order of covenanted civilians, which I wish to create, should not stay in India till sixty. I would not give them any pensions, but would guarantee them against loss by exchange, pay them, as I have



already said, if necessary, much more liberally, and oblige them to insure heavily in some approved English office or offices. The less we hear of pensions *eo nomine* in the days that are coming, the better.

Again I am able entirely to subscribe to Mr Smith's views, that the natives of India are apt to make good judges. I would employ them very largely in the judicial department. It is the general administration of the country that we must keep in our own hands.

Then, again, Mr Smith hits a blot in our system when he complains of the very changing character of our administration. Furloughs are very good and absolutely necessary, so is leave on medical certificate and on really urgent private affairs. The three months privilege leave so freely given is a perfect curse to all concerned, and that Secretary of State who should abolish it would do an immense service, not only to India, but to the very people who would most loudly clamour against the withdrawal of this costly, absurd, and mischievous privilege.

Mr Smith then passes on to repeat the usual talk of the disaffected cliques in the presidency towns about the annual migration of the Supreme Government to Simla, and of the other Governments to their respective hill stations. His article would not have been complete without this, but surely common sense long ago settled the question. You want to keep your best men as long as you can. The European constitution is not calculated to withstand for a series of years the influences of the plains of India. Now and then you get a person who much prefers them to the hills—I did, for example, but that is a mere eccentricity. Nine Britons out of ten work much better at Ootacamund, or Simla, or Mahableshtar, than they can at Madras or Calcutta, or Bombay. The cry against the migrations of the Government to the hills is purely presidential. It is the cry of the craftsmen of Ephesus combined with the cry of the fox which had lost its tail—avarice reinforced by envy.

Mr Smith tells us that the whole tendency of life in the hills is to isolate the governors from the governed. There is not the vestige of truth in such a statement. Are the hills not in India and inhabited, like the plains, by the subjects of the various Governments? I grant most freely that it would be very much better, were it only possible, that the Viceroy and the governors should be perpetually on the move—now a few months in this district, now a few months in that, but is it possible? That system would have done excellently well in the good old, pleasant days when justice was administered under a spreading tree, when the petitioner saw this or that great man, and heard the voice of doom from those august lips. Now, however, all that is wildly impossible. Everything has to be done in writing. Every Act almost that affects the meanest individual

is liable to endless appeals, and the administration of India has become as complicated, elaborate, and scientific as any in the world. The choice is not between a camp Government and a Government from some one place, but between Government from two places or from one place only. Whether, I should like to know, is a Government which spends six months of each year in two different parts of its territory, amongst totally different conditions, or a Government which never stirs from one spot, likely to keep most "touch" with the people. Are there not some most important districts, and these not the least anxious, which are nearer to Simla and Ootacamund respectively, than they are to Calcutta and Madras?

Given the exigencies of our present appallingly but inevitably regulated system of government, where everything is subject to the control of rule and precedent, I am persuaded that the wisest course is that the Government should abide in its summer and winter capitals, but that the heads of the administration, civil and military, should visit every corner of the territories under their charge. I have for years entertained that view, and acted up to it when I was in India, as did both the Commanders-in-Chief with whom I was associated—Sir Frederick Roberts and the deeply lamented Sir Herbert Macpherson.

In connection with the subject Mr Smith makes a variety of remarks which are mere echoes of the usual babble of the less respectable portion of the presidential press at Calcutta and Madras, for at Bombay there is, I believe, much less of this form of folly. At length, however, he makes the following assertion, of which, so astounding is it, he must, I think, be the patentee—

‘ It also leads to the great multiplication of written reports. Government being removed from contact with the district officers, a voluminous correspondence has to be kept, and matters often occupy months of discussion which might be settled in a few minutes *vis à vis* ’

If this was not developed out of Mr Smith's inner consciousness, I wonder who can have dared to hoax so virtuous a man.

It is absolutely false that the annual migration from the winter and spring to the summer capital leads to one single letter ever being written by one single district officer which would not have been written if no such migration took place. A more wholly unfounded statement was never made to or retailed by a *bona fide* traveller. It really looks as if Mr Smith believed that India was not a continent, but a country. Does he imagine that a collector can run up in a morning to Madras or Calcutta, settle his business in half an hour, and go back by the evening train?

Of course, the fact that all important business in India has now for many years been transacted in writing, strengthens the argument, if it wanted any strengthening, in favour of the hill stations, since

writing can be done anywhere, and best by Europeans in a cool climate. The truth is, however, that the argument wants no strengthening. My only fear is, that if the subject were once taken up seriously, some of the Governments—and notably that of Madras—would be *confined to the hills* by the express orders of the Secretary of State in Council. I should myself think this a great mistake in policy. I believe in the old Asiatic fashion of a summer and winter capital. No sensible man would have chosen Madras as the capital of the Madras Presidency, but the accidents of history must go for something, and to create a new capital suited to modern exigencies, for almost any province in India, would now involve so vast an expense as to make it very unwise to do so. If the thing had to be done *de novo*, perhaps Madanapalle would be the most convenient site for the capital of Southern India, but a ruler would need to be as mad as Mahommed Toghluk Shah to drag thither at this time of day the official population of Madras and Ootacamund. Certain I am, however, that if the question between these two places so often raised from motives of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness is ever seriously entertained, the victory will not remain with the *congeries* of villages on the Coromandel Coast, which I individually much prefer as a residence to the Blue Mountains.

Five-and-twenty years ago there was much to be said for abandoning Calcutta and creating a new capital for India. I myself brought the subject before the House of Commons in 1863, and proposed Poona for that purpose. It was probably merely Sir John Lawrence's declaration in favour of Simla that saved Calcutta, and the revival of the controversy could only end in displacing the Queen of the Hooghly from her accidentally proud position. A more absurd site for the capital of India could not readily be found, but again I say, the accidents of history go for something.

Mr Smith's next remark, however, is perfectly true, bating always the last word in it, for it is no part of the duty of district officers to write despatches.

"I heard on all hands of the enormous increase of report-writing in India, and of the pernicious effect it had on the usefulness of the district officers, men who should be moving about among the natives, seeing with their own eyes, and hearing with their own ears, were tied to their desks all day, filling up reams of paper with lengthened despatches."

What is, however, the remedy for this? There is no remedy, unless we are to revert to a state of things under which the individual would have far more personal power. I myself think this would be an excellent thing, but it is hopelessly out of the question. It implies—(1) that the House of Commons should cease to insist on having information about India, (2) that the India Office should say to the Viceroy in Council "Settle your own affairs. Don't bother us, unless when it is a question of great matters of policy,"

(3) that the Viceroy in Council should treat the governors and lieutenant-governors precisely in the same way That would be decentralization with a vengeance, but is not the whole spirit of the times against it? If Mr Smith can devise any plan for diminishing the endless writing of India, he would, I am sure, have an enthusiastically in every viceroy, governor, lieutenant-governor, and chief commissioner from the borders of Tibet to Cape Comorin His first step, however, must be to prevail upon Parliament to cease to take any interest whatever in Indian affairs, except at distant intervals Is it probable that he will succeed in that preliminary enterprise?

It is gratifying to me to be able to subscribe to the spirit, though not to the letter, of Mr Smith's last words, which run as follows —

"The personal touch of a strong man counts for far more among Asiatics than with us, and, what with the hill stations and endless despatch writing, the European chiefs are becoming invisible to the natives, and losing that magical power of personal influence which distinguished our early administrators, and helped not a little to create the empire"

No despatches are ever written in India except by the three Governments which correspond with the Secretary of State, those of India, Madras, and Bombay, and the hill stations have about as much to do with the writing of despatches, reports, letters, returns, or anything else, as they have with the tides or the comets

Not is it true that the European chiefs are becoming invisible to the natives I myself came in contact with more natives in their own respective neighbourhoods than did any previous Governor of Madras, and I dare say many of those who were at the head of various administrations when I was in India could say the same Personal influence, and the actual contact of the governors and the governed, is a matter of vast importance in India, and I should like to facilitate it in every way, but you cannot go back upon the past You cannot substitute a Government which is not one of record for one which is—a Government which is not one of precedent and rule for a Government whose every limb is swathed in laws, and codes, and regulations There is but one palliative which you could employ greatly increase the number of your high-class European officials, the men whose business is the inspection and guidance of others, rather than executive work

What, however, would Mr Smith's friends say to this? The last thing they want is wise guidance from Europe They want comfortable livelihoods out of a Government in which Englishmen shall have less and less part, but which shall be maintained by English soldiers to the great inconvenience of England, for *their* benefit That is the alpha and omega of their demand

# PAUL BERT'S SCIENCE IN POLITICS.

## A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

### I

**I**T was a dictum of Auguste Comte that a State should be governed by men of science. No falser theory of government ever entered into a wise man's head.

There are two castes whose action is fatal in public affairs—the religious and the scientific. Equally sacred, they must be equally excluded from all participation in politics. Incapable, both of them, of regarding law under any but a dangerously abstract conception, they must always be urging society towards one extreme or the other—a superhuman idealism or an exaggerated materialism. The modern State cannot and must not impose on its subjects either a State religion or a State science. Both tend to the same absolutism, the same intolerable oppression of reason or of conscience.

I would have these two castes recognised and maintained on a precisely similar footing—the one in its laboratories, the other in its places of worship. I would have them encouraged to test each other's conclusions, and to rival each other's efforts. And I would honour them both for the moral and material benefits they confer, for both exist for the good of society—the one to diminish the sum of human misery, and the other that of human wickedness.

The equilibrium of a society depends on the equal proportion of the scientific and the religious element in it. When the priests tip over the balance on their side, society suffers in its material needs, and is impoverished, when science gets ahead of religion, society grows rich, gives itself up to luxury, and soon becomes corrupt.

The men of science sacrifice everything to the play of forces, the acceleration of movement. Reason and logic are the only compass they steer by, and their ideal for the individual is the forcing of the faculties and the achievement of success. But in all

this, goodness (which is instinctive religion), heroism, self-devotion, the love of one's neighbour, go for nothing. They are useless factors. Woe to those who cross the line when once the engines are in motion, all that can be done for them is to warn them off by a shrill signal, or a signpost which they must have learnt to read.

There is a spiritualization of the social as of the individual life—a religion which urges to self sacrifice, to self forgetfulness. This religion is the love of country. But the national soul is no more capable of demonstration than the individual soul, and the mechanism of a society founded on experimental science can take no account of an ideal. And yet, where shall we look for the greatness of a nation, if not in its patriotism, or where for the greatness of the individual, if not in what M. Paul Bert would call his altruism?

When the materialists—or, rather, the men of science, as they prefer to call themselves—attempt to exclude the religious or spiritual idea, they are but acting as the Church acted when it tried to quench science and keep the world from going round. A Pope denied the movement of the earth. M. Paul Bert denied the divine in man. Those who feel the stirrings of a soul within them may answer in their turn, "*E pur si muove*." You cannot rob man of his spiritual nature. The relations of pity, of charity, of devotion, of self-surrender—the native and noble aspiration which leads to these relations—cannot be codified in any "experimental method," they dogmatize themselves in a religion.

A finer adjustment of interests, a better regulation of needs, a completer acquisition of positive knowledge, the conscientious observation of facts and their improved classification by the light of the experimental method, together with an ever-advancing material progress—what will it all avail to do away with the inequalities of condition, of capacity, and of powers? So long as inequalities of natural capacity exist, so long as education, far from levelling them, tends rather to enhance them, the amount of suffering remains the same, and secular society affords no remedy for it. How are you to appease the envy of the inferior mind by explaining that another's better fortune is due to his higher intelligence? With what instrument do you expect him to determine the truth of what you say? He has not the faculty. To him it is nothing but accident, the partiality or caprice of Fortune—that is to say, an abuse which ought to be done away with.

But the soul is the soul's equal. It knows no standards of measurement, no differences of condition. It may be poor in the greatest, and great in the humblest. Give the poor man spiritual wealth, and you have brought him the supreme consolation which poverty cannot invade, nor ignorance impair, nor incapacity defeat.

You must have moral as well as material good. A Government

which aims only at the one and forbids the other, is a bad Government. The science which forces itself, absolute and unintelligible, on the ignorant, is not one whit better than the obscurantism which tries to force itself on the enlightened. When science claims to be all-sufficient, she makes an empty pretension. She is but one fold of the veil of Isis—the fold that sweeps the ground.

It is the business of the man of science to observe the conditions of matter. It is the business of the priest and the moralist to observe the conditions of spirit. Each of them seeks to utilize a given force for the material or moral benefit of man. If the scientific man has sometimes to remind the priest of the conditions of physical existence, the priest in his turn has to remind the scientific man of the conditions of moral life.

These are some of the reflections which occurred to me one day in thinking of Paul Bert, scientist and statesman, and especially of his experiments in vivisection.

It occurred to me, moreover, that the cycle of human action must be a curiously small one, since this atheist, this implacable enemy of all religions, is found reviving, so to speak, the practices of the Inquisition. Paul Bert tortured the lower animals with the so-called higher aim of benefiting humanity, just as the inquisitors tortured the human being with the so-called higher aim of saving the soul, and science absolves the new inquisitor, as the Church absolved the old. And in the same way, as if in every epoch the appetite for cruelty were destined to find its development, we find some among our scientific inquisitors, like some among the inquisitors of religion, taking pleasure in witnessing the thrill of agony, and we see the brute instinct of crime, hardly lulled to sleep in the human breast by the religious and moral education of centuries, coming to life again under the ægis of the infallibility of science.

## II

• It was at Auxerre that I first made up my mind against Paul Bert, and first perceived how baneful was his influence on my political friends.

• Spuller, Laurent-Pichat, Scheurer-Kestner, Adam, and I went down with Gambetta, who was to make his great speech at Auxerre. We were all to stay with Lepère, who was delighted to have us, and had been pulling down partitions and enlarging his little house in order to fill it with friends.

After a journey which we had all been doing our best to enliven with our wit, we stopped at the town of Auxerre. I forget whether Lepère had gone down with us or met us at the station.

But there was Paul Bert, with his erect figure, his imperious air, the haughty lip and nostril, and that intentional perpetual smile in the

eyes which I never liked. He took Gambetta aside at once, and drew him away to a considerable distance from the rest of us on the platform. We could see that what passed between them was animated enough, and Gambetta was visibly embarrassed, and seemed to be defending himself. Whether anything had been agreed between them beforehand I do not know, but I think not, as I remember Gambetta's air of vexation. But the end of it was, that Paul Bert came back along the platform with the friend we had brought down, and proceeded to chisel us out of him, calling out to us in his trenchant tone

"You know I'm going to have him."

Gambetta passed his arm through Lepère's, and drew him off a little. Lepère told us a few moments later what he said to him.

"My dear Lepère, you know Paul Bert. He says he won't be at the banquet at all unless I go and stay with him. He even threatens to prevent his friends from coming. I must divide my favours a little, so as not to injure Paul Bert's position, which has been attacked, and which it is the interest of all of us to defend."

Lepère made no answer, but we could see the tears in his eyes, and a look of disgust, of which Paul Bert felt the consequences a little later at the elections.

We were all of us hurt by Paul Bert's unreasonableness in thus depriving us of the friend we had come down with, and for whose sake we had come down, it turned us all against him, and made us feel what an absorbing personality it must be which could so influence the mind of Gambetta, who was sacrificing us all without scruple to a mere wish of his "dear Professor," as he once called him in my presence.

"I am going to talk science to him," said Paul Bert to me with an air of triumph, his eyes smiling their full smile.

"Science in politics is politics in science," I said, "and a very bad thing too, warping the mind twice over."

Spuller, trying to console us, said in his cordial tones

"Science! science! I would give it all to see God one moment face to face!"

Spuller is really a religious man, and I have more than once heard him maintain that we ought to encourage a national clerical spirit in France.

We avenged ourselves the next day by mercilessly chaffing Gambetta about Paul Bert's discoveries. The rat's trunk gave us a hook to hang plenty of wit on. I developed the scientific theory of animal grafting applied to a new industry—that of politics.

"What a capital experiment it would make," I said, "to graft the motor nerves of M. de Cassagnac on the sensory nerves of M. Schoelcher, and the sensory nerves of M. Brisson on the motor nerves of M. Clémenceau!"



Gambetta laughed heartily, called me very malicious, and begged me to soothe *Lepère*, who was still out of humour, and even more grieved than offended

"No," I said, "I take his part against Paul Bert I am thoroughly up in the controversy, and I have chosen my side Paul Bert is as untrustworthy as his own experiments"

It was to Paul Bert that Gambetta owed all the formulæ of his scientific politics Allying himself more and more closely with him as time went on, he soon consulted no one but his Professor on all questions of education, and of the anti-clerical movement He supported, and admired, and developed, with his own marvellous faculty of assimilation, all Paul Bert's projects with regard to public instruction He took the same view of educational reform

It was Paul Bert who let us in for education to the uttermost, without moral preparation, without any process of successive experiments at acclimatizing such a multitude of foreign germs

Having made up his mind that men had better enjoy the benefits of education, he determined that they should enjoy them all at the same time, and all without delay He expected of a single generation an amount of comprehending and assimilating power which it would take several generations to produce, and on that one generation he accordingly imposed an amount of taxation which three or four would have found it difficult to meet

He would have no instruction but what was given by his means, and according to his programme, he was for breaking every mould that did not bear his individual stamp Hence his hatred for the religious educational establishments The only religious communities he really cared to destroy were the educating communities

If Paul Bert had been content to remain a man of science, and nothing else—if he had not wanted to pose as a statesman among men of science, and a scientist among statesmen, he might have left a great memory, all the greater if the processes of his intellect, grafted on that of Gambetta, had not diverted the faculties of the latter from their true development, transformed a living power into a mechanical force, and changed the man of impulse, the poet, the orator, the genius, into a strategist, an idolator of facts, a calculator of results

### III

Paul Bert was the real inspirer of Article 7 of the decrees of the 29th of March, the originator of an anti-clerical policy *which has all along been wanting in just that element in which his scientific experiments have been wanting too—success, for you cannot reckon among the assured acquisitions of science, discoveries which are neither incontestable nor uncontested*

The scientific reputation of Paul Bert rests mainly on three things. The first of these was a series of operations in animal grafting—a reproduction of the experiment so often practised by the Zouaves in Africa, of cutting off the tip of a rat's tail and grafting it on to its own forehead. Paul Bert utilized the experiment as a fresh demonstration of the property possessed by the sensory nerves of transmitting an excitation in both directions, towards the centre and towards the circumference.

A more serious inquiry was that into the action of high atmospheric pressures on the animal organism. His numerous and varied experiments in this field, extending over several years, form the staple of his contributions to modern science. They are set forth in several big volumes, and the *Académie des Sciences* rewarded them with one of its best prizes. The most striking thing in these experiments was the apparently paradoxical conclusion Paul Bert deduced from them—particularly with regard to oxygen, which, when employed in large doses, he found to be a dangerous poison. But more recent experiments, made in M. Paul Bert's own laboratory, and with his own apparatus, together with a careful examination of his memoirs, have enabled M. de Cyon to prove that the experiments of M. Paul Bert were very carelessly conducted, and that the means he employed did not even admit of the introduction of large quantities of oxygen into the blood, and finally, that the effects observed by M. Paul Bert on his animals were due, not to the supposed accumulation of oxygen, but partly to carbonic acid poisoning, and partly to the mechanical action of sudden changes of barometric pressure. The tragic death of the two aeronauts, Crocé Spinelli and Sylva, who, trusting to M. Paul Bert's researches, ventured to attempt the higher altitudes provided with balloons of pure oxygen, shows that the mechanical action of sudden modifications of atmospheric pressure on the body is dangerous in itself, quite apart from any changes in the gases of the blood.

There remains, therefore, of this, the chief work of Paul Bert, nothing but the remembrance of grave errors of observation, and the most unpardonable hardihood in putting forward pure hypotheses as ascertained scientific truth.

\* What then is left standing of the scientific structure erected by Paul Bert? His proposal for utilizing, as an anæsthetic for patients under surgical operations, a mixture of protoxide of nitrogen with air at a high pressure. Whether this mixture does or does not possess the qualities attributed to it by M. Paul Bert we cannot undertake to say, but as its use would require that the operation should be performed in a special chamber under a very high atmospheric pressure, the suggestion is clearly without any practical value.

The fact is, that Paul Bert succeeded in passing himself off as a statesman on some men of science, and as a man of science on some statesmen. He knew how to find his advantage in maintaining this double character.

To the policy of our party Paul Bert was simply fatal. My opinion on this point has never varied, I have asserted it again and again, and even to Paul Bert himself, telling him that I was his adversary and his enemy, in spite of my esteem for him as a writer and speaker, and the regard I had for his *latent* scientific value.

The men of science may say what they please, the character of our race, taken as a whole, is not materialistic. Our great historical developments, our great national actions, bear the stamp, not of self-interest, but of idealism and of chivalry. To attempt to turn France into a country ruled and regulated by a sort of scientific absolutism, where every manifestation of public feeling shall be logically calculated, and shall have for its immediate object a result which can be discounted beforehand, and for its final end the mere increase of our wealth and power, is to take from us all that makes our greatness in the world's history—our independence, our spontaneity, our generosity.

Gambetta, who knew how to interpret so grandly the noble sentiments and large aspirations of the French people, perverted his genius and frustrated his own career when he allowed himself to be led by the positive science of Paul Bert, with his pet formula, "a policy of results."

Results? What results? Tonquin, with its train of political dissensions and a deficit. Tonquin, which has killed Paul Bert.

Gambetta was greatly amused at my hostility to Paul Bert, he told me it was very feminine and very illogical, and on the rare occasions when we met, towards the close of his life, in the days when those who surrounded him had already come to calling him "the Dictator," he never failed to speak of Paul Bert, and burst into admiring ejaculations about everything he did.

I saw Gambetta at Saint Cloud the Sunday after the mishap at Charonne. He had just been taking the chair at the Château d'Eau, at an anti-clerical meeting of Paul Bert's.

He came in a little late to dinner. Some dozen of us were already assembled on a flight of steps at the bottom of the garden when he appeared. He spied me at once, across the green lawn and a vase of tall fuchsias, and called out in his sonorous voice:

"Admirable! superb! extraordinary! Never since Voltaire has such an irrefutable indictment been brought against the clergy! And what a style! What consummate art!"

"And what bad policy!" said a great banker who was with us, in a low voice, to me.

Gambetta went on as he approached us.

"And such an immense success—beyond anything that could be imagined! Ten thousand enthusiastic cheers"

"The ten thousand and first would not have come from me," I said as we greeted one another

"You yourself," cried Gambetta, "you yourself, I tell you, would have been carried away, if not by the ideas, by the genius lavished in propounding them"

At dinner the conversation turned on Charonne

"You remember Auxerre," I said, "you who have the most prodigious memory in the world?"

"Yes Why?"

"Because you have been trying to cut off the tail of our party, and graft it on again by the Paul Bert process But the tail declines to be cut"

"The Charonne people," answered Gambetta, "are no better than so many ship-rats on their way to New Caledonia"

As a colleague of Gambetta's in his great ministry, Paul Bert soon showed that he did not know what he wanted He brought forward project after project, experiment after experiment, and succeeded in none of them, and then was furious at finding no immediate solution He shut himself up, and never emerged but in a passion Exacting, imperious, autocratic as he was, he found time, in sixty days of power, to unsettle everything, to turn everything upside down, to provoke opposition to his projects on all hands, and to produce nothing but embarrassment in the public services and consternation among his friends With his mania for experiment, and with all his scientific merits turned to political defects, what could he be in politics but a disturbing force?

Heartily approving the Tonquin expedition at its outset, he gradually separated himself from his friends because they would not carry out his theories of colonization, for this determined centralist, this rampant supporter of governmental omnipotence, went in for local government in the colonies Having no personal opinions, nothing but his habits of observation, the actual demonstration of facts had had great weight with him He had travelled in Algeria He had lived among the Arabs He therefore accepted colonial autonomy He wrote an interesting pamphlet on the subject, and sent it to me with the superscription "To my enemy, Mme Adam," and as it was really a striking pamphlet, and afforded an opportunity for favourable criticism, I wrote and gave him his due

Paul Bert had long been worrying the Chamber to send out a civil governor to Tonquin When it was decided that the thing should be done he found himself very naturally designated for the post, and he consented to fill it

The *Figaro* published an account of a conversation which took

place before he left between him and a member of its editorial staff. The conversation is curious, and shows him to have been in earnest in a talk he had with me, which I will give further on.

"I have no illusions," he said, "as to the difficulties of the mission entrusted to me, but I could not refuse it. My position in fact was a delicate one. It was I who had advised Gambetta to annex Tonquin, I considered it a necessary dependency. Since then I have been always combating the policy adopted there, I deplored the mistakes committed by leader after leader, and both in the Chamber and in the Press I was always urging the appointment of a civil governor. Now they come to me and ask me to be that civil governor, to try the system I have been advocating, to take the responsibility of carrying out my own colonial theories. Well, I have accepted it, and I am off. I start to-morrow with all my family.

"Besides, I confess that I do expect to render some real service to my country. I have long been a student of this great question of colonial policy, which everybody is now so full of. I have spent part of my life among the Arabs, I have investigated their character and customs, I have noted the defects of our system of conquest. Since my return to France, not a single book on the East has appeared that I have not thoroughly mastered, and, as it were, dissected. And if, as I admit, the Annamite is a new subject with which I have never yet had to deal, at least I fancy I shall understand the Annamite a good deal better than people who have never seen him.

"And so, notwithstanding my age and my family, and the duly drudgery of my political and scientific work, I have consented to go into this distant exile.

"And then, believe me," he concluded, as we parted, "people have an absurdly exaggerated idea about difficulties and diseases. You may be very sure Tonquin is not at all what we imagine it."

On the thirtieth of last January I was sitting at my writing-table, when, without knock or announcement of any sort, Paul Bert walked in. With that assurance, that audacity—that really courageous audacity—of his, he had forced his way in, paying no attention to my servant's remonstrances.

"What are you here for?" I said, rising in anger, "and with no sort of announcement?"

"You would not have received me?"

"I certainly should not. But why did you wish it?"

"Well," he said, "I, Paul Bert, freethinker as I am, I have a touch of superstition about you. I want you to give me your good wishes for my voyage."

"No, not I. On the contrary, I promise you a storm, which my gods, if they hear me, shall stir up for you as you pass the shores of Greece."

"You will allow me at least to plead my cause?"

I let him sit down, and I listened.

Instead of defending himself, he began by attacking others, which he knew very well would come to the same thing, knowing, as he did, my grievances against my old friends, who were also his. However, he made one exception, which I hasten to take note of.

"But I admire Gambetta all the same," he said "I have kept my affection for him intact"

"You owe him that much for the harm you did him by your advice"

He went on without answering—

"I would have his memory yet more glorious than it is, and I shall do everything in my power to make it so, I shall contribute all I can to it But what are his friends doing? They are defacing his monument, crumbling it, destroying it How they have all rushed off in a body to swell the *cortège* of Ferry, who is no better than a caricature of him!"

"Ferry is the most to blame," I said

"Yes—a thousand times yes There we are quite agreed"

"Agreed now," I said, "but you, too, did not you join the *cortège*?"

"What Ferry is responsible for is nothing short of crime," slowly enunciated Paul Bert "And it is lucky for me that I am going away, so that I shall not be mixed up any more with that man's policy"

"But why did you not rather withdraw from political life? In going out there as governor, you are still mixed up with it You might have applied for a great scientific mission, and gone out to Tonquin as a scholar, a man of erudition You might have made yourself very useful among the Mandarins You are made for observation, for research, and not for action"

"I know my life has been a failure in many ways, and that I have often been mistaken," answered Paul Bert sadly "So now I am going to gather myself together, to concentrate my faculties on a distinct and definite point, from which I shall not diverge I am going to gather up all my forces for it See here, give me credit for a little bit of good intention, encourage me a little You have good luck or ill luck at your beck It is not a question of Paul Bert, whom you abominate, but of a Frenchman who is going far away to try and get a little good out of the enormous sacrifices that have been made Look you, Madame le Grecque, will you not put up a little prayer to Neptune for the voyager?"

"What are you going to do out there?" I asked "What is your programme? What are your plans? Opportunists don't have any, generally speaking You have something of the Saint-Simonian about you, you can find the progressive element easily enough in a fact which comes ready to hand, but you can do nothing till you have got the fact—a capital principle when you are in opposition, because then your adversaries have to find the facts, but a wretched principle for a Government, which has to produce the fact itself"

"I am going to try to conquer the Annamites," answered Paul Bert, "not to conquer Annam I am going to study their race, their ritual, the habits of thought of the literary caste, of the Mandarins"

"There, you see," said I, "an academic mission would have served your purpose completely The man of science is uppermost in you still Your character as Governor will alienate the Mandarins, that of a delegate of the Institute would have attracted them"

"But I wish to raise the people I wish to rescue them from the domination of the Mandarins To do that, I must be in power"

"And there is a contradiction to begin with, for you cannot both protect the people and please the Mandarins Whatever you do, don't go expecting to find a solution all at once In a country like that, where the very smallest custom has lasted for centuries, don't begin by upsetting everything, as you generally do And you must not think there is nothing but Annamites in Annam, there is a whole Oriental atmosphere, in which dangers of all sorts are constantly brewing for the colonist or the conqueror I still fear that if we should get involved in any European complications, China will after all possess herself of those tempting provinces on which we have spent so much"

"China," said Paul Bert, with his superb assurance, "China is no enemy of ours She is too much afraid of England and Germany and Russia I shall try to convince her that it is her interest not to add us to the list of her enemies"

"And the climate? What are you going to make of that terrible climate, that Minotaur which devours our children and wastes our strength—that accursed possession, that graveyard of Frenchmen?"

"The climate?" said Paul Bert, smiling "I shall treat it with contempt I do not think it dangerous You see I do not, for I am taking my wife and children with me to Hué Besides, on all that stretch of coast, I shall easily find a healthy place There must be one somewhere"

"Take care That coast has many windings, and you may light on the unhealthy spot instead of the healthy"

"I believe in my mission," he answered sharply "Besides, I am going to be very prudent I shall keep in mind what Claude Bernard used to say to me—'When you make a discovery, be your own first critic' You will see I shall win over the Tonquinese people to the French cause, I shall free them from their oppressors, and I shall find means to satisfy the oppressors themselves, besides"

"It will take you twenty years," I said, "to produce a single one of these results"

"Twenty years! It will take me six months"

"I am sorry for you You are always the same You think you can graft reforms, like rats' tails, on the living flesh Catherine the Great said a fine thing in one of her letters to Voltaire 'My dear philosopher, it is not so easy writing on human flesh as it is on paper' You are going to make laws, to suppress abuses, by proclamation You ought rather to be preparing time to produce, and custom to undergo, a process of slow but sure modification"

"The conquest is made, and it involves a system I shall make the system sit as easy as possible I will do my best at riding your favourite hobby of decentralization—which is my hobby too, in the colonies"

He rose to go, saying again as we shook hands—

"Make your divinities be favourable to me"

"I will try to do so," I answered, but without ardour "Invoke the divinities yourself, as you pass the shores of Greece, and, above all, pay attention to the auguries"

This is the letter that came from Paul Bert on the twenty-sixth of February

"Résidence Générale  
de la République Française  
en Annam et au Tonkin

"Cabinet du Résident Général

"ADEN, Feb 26, 1886

"The ancients, when they were engaging in a great work, sacrificed a white kid to the propitious divinities, and a black kid to the unpropitious

"I came to you to ask you of which colour I was to choose my kid, and, like a good Greek and a good Frenchwoman, you told me white

"May the sacrifice bring me good luck, and the divinity continue favourable to me For the rest, fortunate winds have brought me so far, except on your Greek coast, where the honey is so sweet and the wave so rough At the mouth of the Æmilian Gulf we had the weather Horace wished for Virgil

"Is this a good omen, or only the victim's wreath? In either case, I am not one of the submissive, and the Calchas who means to cut my throat had better look out for himself

"I have not Iphigenia's vocation

"Happily for many reasons, I have no longer an enemy except among the men with yellow skins and half shut eyes And even them I hope soon to reduce to friends

"I say reduce them, for I cannot hope to charm them into friends \* That is a gift I was not born with, and for long years I have stupidly wasted my opportunities of taking incomparable lessons

"If I come back from the yellow hemisphere, I shall try to make up for lost time

"Respectfully yours,

"PAUL BERT"

He seems to have struggled, manfully and wisely, to be worthy of the mission he had wished for and accepted He found death in a path which was not his own path, but no one now can blame him

\* *Fr Je dis réduire et non séduire*



for having followed it The debt one pays with one's life cannot be owing still Let his memory be lightened of one, at least, of the responsibilities he incurred—the fatal conquest of Tonquin

But has he not, in dying, opened the way for others? Out there, face to face with that negligible quantity, the Chinese Empire, in that climate where, under the Ministry of M Ferry, the public health was repeatedly found to be so perfect, should not some one of those who have got Fiance into the most perilous of all her sciapes be ready to relieve guard at the dead man's post?

JULIETTE ADAM

## IS CONSTANTINOPLE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

THIS is an old question, and it has generally been the policy of the Russians to assure the world that it was not a practical question, that the supposed testament of Peter the Great was a forgery, and that Russia did not desire Constantinople. Within a few months all this has changed, and the Russian press has explained pretty fully to the world that Constantinople belongs to Russia, that Bulgaria is the bridge which leads to it, and that she proposes to take what belongs to her—by force, if necessary.

It is not the city of Constantinople alone which is to be annexed to Russia, but Bulgaria, Roumania, and all the territory occupied by Slaves in south-eastern Europe. With the occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea will necessarily fall under Russian rule, and thus the historic destiny of Russia will be fulfilled.

Such, in brief, is the scheme of conquest which is involved in what is now the Bulgarian question, but which will soon be the Constantinople question. I cannot pretend to foretell the steps which Russia will take in carrying out this scheme. Probably the Czar himself does not know what course events will take, so much depends upon the attitude of other Powers. But it seems plain that he has determined to secure Bulgaria at any cost. This done, the other steps will be easy. The probability is, that after a brief period of uncertainty and hesitation, the Bulgarian difficulty will end in war. Firm and concerted action on the part of the Powers in defence of Bulgarian independence would prevent a war, but in view of the past history of Europe, this is hardly to be hoped for.

Sooner or later war must come, and the question is, whether England will resist the advance of Russia upon Bulgaria and

Constantinople, or not Until within a short time it has been an accepted principle of European politics that Russia should not be allowed to possess Constantinople Such men as Frederick the Great and Napoleon had very decided views on this subject The Crimean War was fought in defence of this principle, and the Congress of Berlin sent the Russian horde from the gates of Constantinople, and established an independent kingdom in the Principalities, to gain which Russia has undertaken so many wars

There have been some months this year, however, when it has been difficult for me to persuade myself that I have not slept the sleep of Rip Van Winkle For a time it seemed as though all Europe had abandoned this established principle, and, for some mysterious reason, had determined to seat the Czar upon the throne of the old Eastern Empire Astonished at finding myself so far behind the times, I sought diligently for some explanation of this change In the course of my inquiries, I came upon a distinguished English statesman, who expressed the opinion that England would not fight for Constantinople, and justified this opinion somewhat as follows England is no longer ruled by her statesmen The people rule, and the statesmen can do nothing but follow public opinion This new democracy knows but little of other European States, and cares nothing for the balance of power It is deeply interested in its own affairs, and is quite willing to leave other States to manage theirs as they think best It has, however, very decided ideas in regard to the Turks, acquired at the time of the Bulgarian atrocity agitation It looks upon them as a hopeless race, and it will never lift a finger to help them It does not believe in wasting men and money in foreign wars, or in foreign alliances of any kind Moreover, it can never be roused to action by any appeal to its interests It can only be moved by some moral principle which appeals to its sense of duty So far as this is a statement of fact, I have nothing to say If the people is king, then to the people I appeal, with quite as much assurance as I should to the statesmen, for so far as this statement is prophetic, I venture to doubt whether any one can say what the English democracy will or will not do If it does not some day astonish its own leaders, it will be unlike any other democracy that has ever existed It is true that a democracy is likely to busy itself about small things, and its leaders are generally inclined to encourage this in their own interests, as followers rather than leaders of public opinion But when the people once grasp a great question they are capable of acting with the greatest energy, of making any sacrifice, and of holding out to the end This was demonstrated in the civil war in America The English democracy may or may not fight in defence of Constantinople, but if it does not, it will be from no lack of spirit It will be because it has failed to understand its interest

and its duties, or because it has no leaders who are bold enough to trust the wisdom and courage of the people. It may be quite true that the average English voter neither loves the Turks nor hates the Russians. Why should he? As a matter of sentiment he would as soon see the Czar as the Sultan at Constantinople—and it would not disturb him to know that both of them were at the bottom of the Black Sea. But, if I am not mistaken, the average Englishman is much more likely to take a practical than a sentimental view of this question. If need be, he will fight for a principle, and he will fight in defence of his own interests. If it is really the duty of England to defend Constantinople, it will be defended as well by the democracy of to-day as by the aristocracy of thirty years ago, and, I expect, with less grumbling.

For a fair understanding of this question in any one of its various bearings, it is essential to grasp the full significance and extent of the conquest which is involved in the capture of Constantinople by way of Bulgaria. The frontier of Russia is to be advanced to the *Ægean* and the *Adriatic*, the Black Sea is to become a Russian lake, at least the coast of Asia Minor from Trebizond to the *Ægean* is to be Russian. But this advance of the frontier involves the annexation of some of the richest provinces and the most important commercial centres in Europe, with a population of twenty millions. The strength and the wealth of Russia will be increased in a much greater proportion than her territory. It is not like the annexation of the wastes of Central Asia, which, so far as Europe is concerned, weakens the power of Russia. Great armies, and the means of supporting them, are to be found in this territory. It would be possible for Russia to add a well-equipped force of 125,000 men to her army, within a month after her occupation of Bulgaria and Roumania, from these two provinces alone. With the occupation of Constantinople and the whole territory she could depend on at least a quarter of a million, and would tax the people to support them. They could pay this tax more easily than the Russian peasants pay their taxes. As a naval Power the position of Russia would be totally changed. She would be better situated than any other Power to control the Mediterranean. Holding the Dardanelles, with the Marmora and the Black Sea behind it, and all the advantages of Constantinople as an arsenal, she would have a naval position which is unsurpassed in the world. She would become supreme in Europe. No one Power, and no ordinary coalition of Powers would be able to resist her will, or to act in any direction without consulting her wishes.

This is no fancy picture. It is the "historic destiny" of Russia, which even "Liberal" Russians expect to see realized within a few years. It is what Russia was quietly preparing for when Prince Alexander deranged her plans. The Bulgarian army was then already

counted as a part of the Russian army, and was absolutely under the control of the Emperor. Arrangements had already been made to bring Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia under Russian control, and now nothing but the armed intervention of Europe can prevent the speedy success of Russia in the full execution of this grand design.

It is plain that such an extension of the Russian Empire must seriously affect British interests, both political and commercial. With the Czar at Constantinople and the Sultan ruling as his vassal at Broosa, what would become of the British Empire in India? Some persons have fondly imagined that if Russia were allowed to occupy Constantinople she would be content to let India alone. Why should she? With vastly increased advantages for overthrowing the British power in India, why should she refrain from doing so? If the Czar did nothing, the very knowledge of the changed circumstances—the vast increase of Russian power, the occupation of Constantinople, the vassalage of the Caliph, and the increased difficulties of England—would shake the power of England in India. But the Czar would improve his opportunity. He would not be Russian or even human if he did not. He would threaten, if not control, the Suez Canal. It would not be for the interest of other Mediterranean Powers to oppose him in this or anything else. He would use the Sultan to make trouble among the Mohammedans. At the same time there would be nothing to oppose his advance on the line where he is acting now in Central Asia. England might still hold India in spite of the Czar, but it would be at such a cost as would make it hardly worth holding. She would have to increase both her naval and military expenses enormously and permanently. No doubt Russia will some day attack India whether she occupies Constantinople or not, but she can certainly do it far better after than before.

It is not for a Constantinopolitan, however, to discuss this question of India, and the only thing that I wish to insist upon is, that the conquest of Constantinople would not in any way weaken the desire of the Czar to overthrow the British power in the East. It would rather strengthen it. And the great increase of the political power of Russia in Europe which would result from this conquest would correspondingly diminish that of England, making it most difficult for her to secure the moral or material support of other Powers in a conflict with Russia, and destroying her prestige in the East. It does not require any special knowledge of India to see the truth of these statements.

The commercial interests of England would be even more seriously affected by this advance of Russia. There is no city on the Continent where English commercial interests centre as they do at Constantinople, and, under favourable circumstances, it is destined

to become far more important than it is now. Nature has destined Constantinople to be one of the greatest commercial centres of the world. It is true that of late years the mistakes of the Turkish Government have reduced its importance, but this is only a temporary thing. Even the Turks are beginning to realize their blunders. Under Russian rule, or as a free city, it would rise again at once, and become the emporium of the East. A shrewd and successful American merchant, who had travelled widely in this part of the world, expressed the opinion not long ago, that within a hundred years Constantinople would be the largest and richest commercial city in the Old World. He may be mistaken, but his opinion is good evidence to show how Constantinople impresses an impartial man who looks at it from a purely commercial standpoint. Under Russian rule its growth would contribute nothing to the commerce of England. On the contrary, England would lose what she now has. The markets of all this part of the world would be practically closed against her. English goods would, to a great extent, disappear from south-eastern Europe, and probably also from Asia Minor. This would result not simply from the fact that Russia has a protective tariff. The United States has a protective tariff, and is at the same time England's largest customer. But Russia goes further. She makes a special effort to exclude British goods. A dozen English steamers pass up the Bosphorus every day for Russian ports, but nearly all are without cargo. There was formerly an important commerce in English goods between Constantinople and Central Asia. It has ceased since the advance of Russia over these countries. The trade with Persia has also been cut off, so far as it has been in the power of Russia to stop it.

Just fifty years ago Mr Cobden published a pamphlet to prove that it would be a great advantage to England to have Russia capture Constantinople and annex the whole Turkish Empire. He maintained these views at the time of the Crimean War, and his pamphlet was republished, with approval, by the Cobden Club in 1876. The argument is chiefly from the commercial point of view. So far from sympathising with Mr Arnold-Forster (*Nineteenth Century*, Sept.), who would have England look to her colonies as her great hope, Mr Cobden says the colonies are nothing but "the costly appendages of an aristocratic Government," and the sooner they are left to themselves the better.

But he argues that, while under the Sultan the decaying provinces of the Turkish Empire consume British goods to the amount of only half-a-million, and will consume less, the trade of England with Russia is always increasing with its wealth, and that the annexation of Turkey would be followed by a wonderful development of British trade in the East. He claims that Russia cannot become a manu-

facturing country, and that she is specially dependent on England. "No country can carry on great financial transactions except through the medium of England" These are the speculations of a great theorist fifty years ago Now, let us look at the facts. English trade with Turkey, notwithstanding the continued reign of the Sultan, has steadily increased Mr Cobden says it was £500,000 in 1835 Now the single small province of Eastern Roumelia is reported to consume half that amount of British goods, and the imports of these goods into Turkey in 1884 amounted to nearly £7,000,000 The total of British trade with what was Turkey in 1835 is now about £32,000,000 During these same years has the consumption of British products in Russia increased in the same proportion? He does not give the amount in 1835, and I have no *official* statistics, but Black gives the sum at £1,750,000 In 1880 it was £8,000,000, with a steady decline to 1885, when it was £5,000,000, or £2,000,000 less than Turkey

During these fifty years Turkey has grown smaller in territory and population, while Russia has increased her population from 60 millions to more than 100 millions According to Mr Cobden's theories, making full allowance for the general increase of trade throughout the world, Turkey ought to be still importing to the amount of about £500,000, while Russia ought to be buying at least £35,000,000 worth of British produce As to his other statements, the produce of Russian manufactures is not less than £250,000,000, and Berlin has much more to do with Russian finance than England has

Time has proved Mr Cobden's remarks to be unfounded, and his conclusion is equally false The capture of Constantinople and the advance of Russia to the Adriatic will practically put an end to English commerce in this part of the world This is the fixed policy of the Russian Government, and it will be applied here as vigorously as it has been in the countries annexed during the last ten years An old English merchant, who has dealt with those provinces for many years, and who has lately visited them, assures me that he can buy there as freely as ever, but that he can sell nothing

At the present time Russian trade with Turkey is small, but the capture of Constantinople would give her the practical control of the Empire and she would take the place of England If she is kept within her present frontiers, there is no reason why English commerce with Turkey should not continue to steadily increase If left to themselves, the small States of south-eastern Europe will rapidly increase in wealth and population, and, notwithstanding the weakness of the Turkish Government, it is a fact that Asia Minor is every year a better customer of England With the railways which are now projected commerce will rapidly increase We have but little

patience with the Turks and speak contemptuously of their reforms, but those who have lived for thirty or forty years in Asia Minor know very well that there has been great progress in building roads, in the administration of the law, and especially in the security of life and property. Like Russia, Turkey is a despotism of the Asiatic type, but there is far more liberty here than there, even for the natives of the country, and the present Sultan is doing his best to develop the resources of the Empire. Whatever may be the final destiny of Constantinople, it is, beyond a doubt, for the present interest of English commerce that it continue to be the capital of the Turkish Empire, and it can never be an advantage to England to have it annexed to Russia, whatever the alternative may be.

There is still another view which we are bound to take of the advance of Russia to Constantinople. It is not a new one, Englishmen were once very familiar with it. At the time of the Crimean War it was presented fully as a moral justification of the action of England in defending Turkey. It was claimed that this war was really a conflict between Eastern and Western civilization, between despotism and liberty, that it was undertaken, not to defend Turkey or English interests, but the rights of man. Here is an extract from the *Economist* of Dec 2, 1854.—

"What are we fighting for? It is not, as Mr. Bright has dared to represent, 'to uphold a filthy despotism.' It is not to maintain a decrepit Government, which may or may not be rapidly improving, which may or may not be able to recover its vitality and renew its strength but with which we can have, *per se*, no very close or vivid sympathies. It is not to retain in the East of Europe that political and diplomatic influence which we began to fear might be overshadowed by the growing power of our rival. It is not, in a word, for any of those trifling or hollow purposes for which too many of our former wars were undertaken. We are fighting not for Turkey, but for Europe. We are fighting not for a Mohammedan despotism, but for European freedom and civilization. We are fighting not *for* Turkey but *against* Russia. We are doing what the very difficulties we encounter show us ought to have been done long ago. We are engaged in the task of controlling and beating back a Power which already overshadows half of Asia and three fourths of Europe, which a few more years of supine inaction on our part, and of tolerated encroachment on hers, may make absolutely irresistible, and whom we know to be the resolute, instinctive, conscientious foe of all that we hold dearest and most sacred—of human rights, of civil liberty, of enlightened progress. A little more sleep and a little more folding of the hands to rest—a little more pausing in apathy, as we have been doing year after year, step after step, conquest after conquest—and Russia would have been supreme at the Sound and on the Dardanelles, and the chance of saving civilization and assuring freedom have been lost for ever." "If we are not to stand for ever aloof in cold indifference to the welfare and existence of other States, if there be such things as special duties among nations, finally, if it be as right to draw the sword in defence of the highest interests of humanity as of our own material possessions, we in our hearts believe that history can rarely point to a war so just, so holy, and so imperative as this."

This is a fair specimen of hundreds of articles that were written



during those years, and I find them not only interesting, but somewhat novel. I do not remember to have read much of late years on the duties that we owe to liberty and the rights of man, or the fundamental principles of Western civilization. Perhaps Louis Napoleon's idea of the rights of nationalities has taken the place of the idea of individual liberty, or possibly Bismarck has rendered despotism once more respectable. Perhaps we have half accepted the claim of Socialism, that civic liberty is worthless and our own civilization a failure, or possibly we have been fully occupied with the effort to rid ourselves of Christianity. Whatever may be the reason, there has not been much said on this subject of late, and even the French Republic seems to have inherited none of the propagandist spirit of the Revolution. It seems to be more utterly selfish than even the last Empire.

But are these things really less dear or less important to us than they were thirty years ago? Are they no longer worth fighting for? There was no difference of opinion on this subject in Great Britain at the time of the Crimean War. Those who opposed the war then, and those who have condemned it since, did so on the ground that no such interests were really at stake, and it must be confessed that appearances were somewhat in favour of this view, in spite of the honest conviction of the English people to the contrary. I have no wish to discuss the Crimean War. I wish only to call attention to the noble principles which inspired the people at that time. Whatever may have been true then or in other wars, there is no need of question or misapprehension now. Russia cannot claim that her advance is now in the interests of any oppressed nationality. She is not called by any persecuted Christians to free them from the Turkish yoke. Bulgaria has no desire to be annexed to the Russian Empire. She has resisted the encroachments of Russia to the best of her ability, and what she demands is liberty to work out her own destiny. The aim of Russia is conquest, it is to fulfil her "historic destiny," to capture Constantinople and extend her frontiers to the Adriatic. From her point of view this is, no doubt, a perfectly natural and reasonable object. It is easy to understand that the Czar may honestly feel that he has reason to rage against the Bulgarians, who most unexpectedly stand in his way. He probably thinks that he has a divine right to capture Constantinople and restore it to Orthodoxy. He undoubtedly believes that it would be a blessing to Europe if he ruled the whole of it, and could reduce it to the condition of Russia. It is not necessary to attribute to him any unworthy motives, or to question his sincerity if he draws his sword in the name of the Holy Trinity. He represents an idea of civilization, of government, and of the rights of man, totally different from ours—an idea which we believe to be destructive of all human

progress, an Asiatic rather than a European idea. It is not for us to force our idea upon him or his people. If they are satisfied, or if they are not yet ready to appreciate and accept our idea, it is their own affair. We may pity them, but we have no right to declare war against them. In fact, so far as I know, the Anglo-Saxon race has no racial antipathy for the Russians. On the contrary, there is much in the Russian character with which we can sympathize better than any other race in the world. For my own part, there is no people in Europe which has interested me more than the Russians.

But when the Czar proposes to use his despotic power and the vast resources which are at the command of his single will, to force his idea upon Europe, to destroy the liberties of rising nationalities, and to threaten our civilization, it seems to me that if there is in England any of that spirit which was manifested thirty years ago, it will rise to resist the advance of Russia. If England has more faith in democracy than she had then, so much the more reason is there for her to defend it.

That the advance of Russia will be the destruction of the liberties of south-eastern Europe is plain enough. The Roumanians, Bulgarians, Servians, and Greeks have no sympathy with the Russian idea. However we may account for it, these races under Turkish rule learned to hate despotism and to value individual liberty. They grew into sympathy with Western rather than Eastern civilization. All their hopes and aspirations are in that direction, and have been ever since their emancipation. The Greeks, who have been free the longest, are more democratic than the French, and quite as much so as the English. There is no reason why these races, if left to themselves, should not be in full sympathy with the best ideas of Western Europe, and do their part in solving the great problems of human progress. There is no reason why they should not come into a friendly alliance between themselves, and secure peace, wealth, and prosperity to this part of the world. Up to the present time the chief obstacle to this alliance has been the constant intrigues of Russia. Put an end to this and give them time, and they will then come into harmony. It may seem hard to make this charge against Russia, when all these people owe more or less of their liberty to her efforts. But it is true, and the Bulgarians have been told often enough within the past year, by the Russians themselves, that Russia fought the last war for her own interests and not for theirs.

The advance of Russia to Constantinople will condemn these people to the fate of Poland. Their liberties will be abolished, their hopes crushed, and their spirit broken. South-eastern Europe will be lost to civilization and progress, and become the support of Russian despotism. Is there nothing here which is worth defending—

nothing which the new English democracy thinks worth fighting for? Has the democracy discovered that all interests but selfish ones are exploded superstitions? I believe that those English politicians who think that this is the spirit of the democracy have made the great mistake of their lives. They will find it more easily stirred by moral considerations than the old aristocracy.

But the liberties of South-eastern Europe are not the only ones that will be endangered by the advance of Russia. If she secures the vast increase of power involved in this conquest, her influence will be supreme in Europe, and one of two things must follow: either the submission of Europe to the dictation of Russia and the gradual substitution of Russian for Western civilization, or a life-and-death struggle between the two, which would arrest the progress of Europe for fifty years, even if Russia were defeated. It is true that the Continental Powers, and Austria first of all, have a more immediate interest in this impending danger than England has. It is true that the Russian hates the German and the Bulgarian with a bitterness beyond our comprehension, and has no such hatred of the Englishman, but it is the dream of a fool's paradise to imagine, as one writer suggests, that England can allow Europe to go to destruction, and yet remain rich and prosperous as mistress of the seas and powerful in her colonies. England is not mistress of the seas now, and still less would she be so if Russia were at Constantinople. She is not so far from Europe as to be beyond the reach of Russia even now. How many allies did she find when a war was imminent in 1885? Every advance of Russia in Europe must weaken the power, diminish the commerce, increase the expenditure, and endanger the liberties of England. English civilization has its own peculiarities, but it is essentially the civilization of Europe, and it will stand or fall with this. It has its imperfections, and there is plenty of room for improvement, but it will not be improved by the Russification of Europe. True civilization is constantly aggressive, and it is not this feature of Russian civilization to which we object. If the Russians believe, as they say so openly, that the civilization of Europe is corrupt and dying, while theirs is pure and living, it is their duty to be aggressive. But if England values her civilization, she must defend it on the Continent as well as at home. It will be a poor consolation to know that south-eastern Europe and Austria have been the first to suffer, when England herself comes to feel the weight of the Russian advance, and when it is too late to turn back the tide.

It may be true that England cannot defend Constantinople alone against an advance of Russia by way of Bulgaria, but it is equally true that Austria cannot do it alone. It has been supposed that Austria might compromise with Russia and save herself by becoming an accomplice, but this is an idea which could only have occurred

to one who was imperfectly acquainted with the Balkan Peninsula. If Russia secures Bulgaria, she is just as certain to go to the Adriatic as she is to come to Constantinople. The nature of the country and the character of the people are such that no Power could share it with Russia, except, perhaps, as a temporary expedient. Austria and England together could save Bulgaria and defend Constantinople, even if Russia attacked India at the same time. For both it would be strictly a defensive war—a war in defence of life and liberty. I believe that for both it would be a war worth every sacrifice that it would cost.

It is said, with how much truth I do not know, that France, which has always claimed to be the founder and leader of our Western civilization, has allied herself with Russia and will support her advance—that she has sold herself to Russia in order to drive England out of Egypt. It is said that Germany, which has aspired to dominate Europe, fears a Franco-Russian alliance, and will not move to assist Austria, but on the contrary advises her to compromise with Russia. It is said that Austria and England distrust one another, and that Turkey will give up the Balkans to secure a precarious lease of Constantinople for a few more years. It is said that it is better to sacrifice Bulgaria than to have a European war. This all seems incredible to me. It is true that no Power in Europe can desire war, and that no Power can now say decidedly what disposition it would wish to make of Constantinople if the Turks were to leave it. But it does not follow from this that they will allow Russia to take advantage of their jealousies to secure its road to Constantinople and finally capture the city.

Still, history sometimes repeats itself, and it remains to be seen whether it will do so in this case.

Once before in the history of the world Europe has been summoned to defend Constantinople in the interests of civilization. It was then the bulwark of Christendom. It had long defended Europe against the ever-advancing Turk. But the Emperor was weak, his Court was feeble and corrupt, his people demoralized, his treasury empty, and his friends few. He had lost Bulgaria as well as Asia, and the Turks had gained it. He appealed to Europe, in the name of Christianity and civilization, to save itself in saving him. No one cared for him, which was not strange perhaps, and it was not the business of any one in particular to defend Europe. Perhaps they thought that the Turk was not so bad after all, and that when he had won Constantinople he would be content to let Europe alone, or that his character might change under these new circumstances. At any rate, the question whether Constantinople was worth fighting for was discussed all over Europe, and while they were still discussing the city was captured. The story is too familiar to be repeated here,

but the fact is worth recalling, that when it was too late Europe recognized the importance of Constantinople, and suffered the consequences of her folly for centuries. The Turk was not less aggressive than before. He was far more than ever the terror of the world. He did not adopt European civilization. He did his best to destroy it, as his conscience bound him to do. After 400 years he is still here.

And now Europe is once more discussing the same question. It cares as little, perhaps, for the Sultan as the old Europe did for the Emperor Constantine Palæologus, and is as much puzzled as to the future of the city. It is summoned, however, to defend it against the Czar of Russia, the present representative of Asiatic despotism and a new civilization which is to be forced upon Europe.

I do not mean any disrespect either to the Czar or to the memory of Mahomet II in making this comparison. I do not attribute to the Czar any intentions that have not been proclaimed by his most intimate friends and advisers as a part of the 'historic destiny' of Russia. She is to capture Constantinople, and from this vantage-ground she is to convert Europe to her own ideas of government, destroy Western civilization, and substitute a higher and better one of her own in its place. Such was also the plan of Mahomet II.

The question is, whether Europe will repeat the mistake which she made in 1453.

• AN OLD RESIDENT

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 6, 1886

## M ZOLA AS A CRITIC

**M.** ZOLA as a novelist has a very large public. "Nana," the "Assommoir," and their congeners, have passed through many editions, have numbered thousands of intellects, good, bad, and indifferent, have been read pretty well everywhere. Their reputation, to use the consecrated phrase, is European. But M Zola as a critic is much less widely known. I doubt if there be a great many Englishmen who are aware that he is a critic at all.

And yet M Zola as a critic is a by no means inconsiderable personage. He has in several volumes criticized literature, life, art, the drama, politics, and other matters. He has said his say, rather copiously, on his compeers and contemporaries among French novelists and playwrights. He has criticized his own critics, not without asperity. He has, in short, elbowed his critical way in every direction with remarkable vigour, hitting hard and freely to right and left, parrying the blows aimed at himself and his friends, drinking delight of battle in a very evident manner. And with all this bludgeon play—for even his admirers would scarcely affirm that the rapier is his favourite weapon—it cannot at all be said that he fights as one beating the air. He knows perfectly what he is about. Behind his judgments on man and things there is a definite, consistent body of doctrine, a philosophy of life and art. We may deny his dogmas, reject his standards, be tempted to smile at his pretensions, his lofty claims as a moralist and regenerator of mankind, but we cannot in fairness refuse to regard him as one who during a considerable number of years has held to the same opinions and preached them with real conviction, and whose criticisms are the application, conscientious and independent, of the opinions so held.

This at once, as I think—great ability being granted—makes of

M Zola the critic an interesting figure To me, indeed, considering the curious lights and reflections which his views cast upon certain phases of contemporary thought, he is in certain respects more interesting as a critic than as a novelist For the novelist, however vigorous and masterful his own personality, must perforce, if he is an artist at all, efface himself very much in order to give fuller, intenser life to the characters he has evoked He can only address the world, to any very systematic purpose, through their mouths, and as it were at second hand But the critic, especially the dogmatic critic, has no need to exercise such self-restraint He can proclaim his own opinions from the house-tops He can explain their why and their wherefore, whence they come and whither they are tending, preach them in all their fulness And thus, though there is much of M Zola's mind that we can deduce easily enough from his novels, yet, if we wish really to formulate his creed, we must go to the six volumes of his miscellaneous essays

His creed—it is certainly one that at first sight seems to imply some personal arrogance Briefly, and not altogether unfairly, it may be summarized thus on the topmost and finest pinnacle of the structure which the slow hand of Time has so patiently “evolved,” there stand M Zola and his friends, the French novelists of the “Experimental” and “Naturalist” school But as this may look like caricature on my part, and as it is really far from my intention to urge against him any very serious charge of inordinate self-assertion and self-esteem, perhaps I had better amplify this bald summary, and explain how he comes to regard himself as occupying a position of such exceptional vantage

M Zola, then, holds—therein following Comte—that the world has passed through its theological infancy, discarded the metaphysics of its adolescence, and at last reached the manhood of Positivism The age, as he is never weary of declaring, is an age of facts, of science, of that relative knowledge which alone is possible to humanity Nay, he is “bold to affirm that science is the poetry of our age, science, with its marvellous out-blossoming of discoveries, its conquests over matter, the wings that it has bestowed on man so as to multiply his activity tenfold” \* Even admitting this, however—and of course the well-disposed disputant will always admit anything—there still seems room for wonder that in this world of facts the fictionist should be entitled to take so high and important a place But that is the very point M Zola is most bent on establishing Accordingly, in order to storm and hold this key to his whole position, he marshals all the big battalions of his logic, urges his arguments to

\* It must be understood that this multiplication of activity by means of wings is M Zola's image, not mine.

the assault with unflagging spirit, and is never weary of issuing bulletins of triumph over the victories which he claims

Let us follow his conquering arms for a moment, and survey the field of battle as he sees it. Certainly, thus he argues in effect. There may at first sight seem to be some incongruity in claiming for the novelist the very first place in an age which crowns all other ages because it is an age of fact, but that is because the world has been accustomed to take an altogether wrong view of the novelist's functions. He has hitherto been regarded as a man of imagination, who had done his duty when he had invented a series of incidents more or less probable, or of characters more or less heroic. He was to be a story-teller like Dumas, or a brilliant *virtuoso* on the instrument of language like Victor Hugo, or an exponent of idealized passion like George Sand. In brief, his world was to be an ideal world. But all that has been changed, revolutionized, reformed, by the greater novelists of to-day. To the ideal world, dear to the spiritualist generation of 1830, has succeeded the world of a generation—"my generation," M. Zola is fond of calling it, somewhat royally—"which is positivist. Both these worlds are in presence. One must kill the other." Not, of course, that the superb noonday of the present came quite suddenly and without a dawn. There was Stendhal, who first streaked the grey of the classic and romantic night, and then Balzac—Balzac, "the vastest brain of this century," "the true man of the age"—who scarcely perhaps realized the importance of his own mission, and retained to the end a quite childish admiration for Sir Walter Scott, but who nevertheless "expired, stoned and crucified, as the Messiah of the great school of Naturalism." And into his labours have entered Flaubert, the brothers De Goncourt, M. Daudet, M. Zola himself, and a host of other puissant if lesser writers. They form that great school of the present and future. To them man is no ideal being, mendaciously sublimed and glorified by the possession of a soul, but a highly developed animal, forming the last link in a long chain of evolution. As such the new school study him. They are his "Naturalists." They collect facts about him, collate and classify those "human documents" on which he writes, consciously or unconsciously, the story of his instincts, passions, powers, appetites.

Nor must it for a moment be supposed that the beneficent functions of the novelist are limited to the discovery and record of facts. Even so, his value, sociologically, would, no doubt be immense. But in reality he does much more. There is in M. Zola's "*Le Roman Expérimental*"\* a singular article, which in fact gives its name

\* I may as well enumerate here M. Zola's critical works. The first is entitled, very characteristically, "*Mes Haines*," for M. Zola is a good hater, and would, so far, have pleased Dr. Johnson, and then come—I am not adopting any particular order—"Le



to the book, explaining how, from M Zola's point of view, the new school of novelists are "experimenters" in human nature. He takes for text a scientific treatise by Claude Bernard on "Experimental Medicine," and proves, with many comments and much quotation, that the methods of the scientist and novelist are analogous. For, just as the scientist "employs the methods of simple or complex investigation in order to vary and modify natural phenomena, and exhibit them under circumstances and conditions under which Nature does not present them," thereby wringing from them their deepest secrets, even so the novelist can vary and modify the circumstances under which human phenomena are presented. In the great laboratory of man's life all the elements are absolutely at his disposal. Parentage, inherited tendencies, sex, age, education, character, intellect, fortune, social position, nationality—all that goes to make the difference between one human creature and another, is in his hand. He has but to alter the proportions or change the conditions, and watch the result. Thus he can, for instance, take any given character and place it among such surroundings as he pleases, and then study at leisure the influence which those surroundings will exercise upon that particular character. So he varies the phenomena of Nature. So he enlarges the sphere of positive knowledge. So, with a sure hand, he maps out the future destinies of man. \* Once grant that the results thus obtained have a strictly scientific value, and the consequences are far-reaching, immense. Nor is M Zola the person to forego any claim, however exalted, on behalf of himself and his fellow-craftsmen. A breath of quite lyrical enthusiasm passes over him as he reveals the glories of the "experimental" novelist's achievements, and shadows forth the splendours of his mission. He returns to the subject again and again, and yet again. He is never weary of it.

"There are no limits," he cries, "to the sphere of the novel. It has invaded and dispossessed all other forms of literature. Like science, it has conquered the world. It attacks any subject, embraces history, treats of physiology and psychology, rises to the highest flights of poetry, studies the most diverse questions—politics, social economy, religion, morals. The whole of nature is its domain, and in that domain it moves with the utmost freedom, adopting any form at will, selecting any tone that may seem most suitable, recognizing no boundary or limit. In truth, the masterpieces among modern novels go far deeper into the secrets of man and nature than grave works of history, philosophy, and criticism. It is the modern tool of tools." \*

"Our object," he cries again, "is the same as that of the physiologist and medical experimentalist. We, too, desire to master the phenomena of the intellectual and personal elements, so as to be able to direct them. We are, in a word, experimenting moralists, who demonstrate by our experiments

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Roman Experimental," "Les Romanciers Naturalistes," "Documents Littéraires," "Le Naturalisme au Théâtre," "Nos Auteurs Dramatiques," and "Une Campagne."

\* "Le Roman Experimental," p. 124.

how a given passion will operate in a certain social environment. Whenever we really hold in our hand the mechanism of that passion, we shall be able to subject it to treatment, and to reduce it, or at least to render it as innocuous as possible. And in this dwell the practical usefulness and high morality of our 'Naturalist' works—works which experiment on man, which take the human machine to pieces and put it together again, in order to make it work under the influence of a given environment. When time has progressed, when a full knowledge of the governing laws is ours, we shall only have to act on individuals and environments if we wish to realize the best social condition. Thus are we practical sociologists, and our task is the furthering of political and economic science. Nor, I repeat, do I know of any nobler work, nor of any work larger in its application. To be lord over good and evil, to be able to rule over life, over society, to finally solve the problems of socialism, and above all to solve by experiment questions of criminality, and so to establish a solid basis for the action of justice—is not this to be the most useful and most moral of workers in the field of human labour? ”\*

And yet again he cries “I know of no school more moral and austere than that of the ‘Naturalist’ novel-writers ”

Now, there are doubtless some of my readers from whom this aspect of the “Naturalist” school had been a little veiled perhaps, and who have not hitherto fully appreciated the sublime moral mission of such works as “Nana,” “Thérèse Raquin,” and “Pot Bouille.” They may have failed to detect the truly apostolic character of M Zola. They may be tempted even to smile at his solemn declaration, that because Scott idealizes passion, therefore Scott’s moral influence is more pernicious than that of M Zola’s friends. They may not, in short, have recognized in what an austere and strictly scientific spirit he and his were toiling for the good of man. But then my readers are Englishmen, and if not Protestants, at least brought up in a Protestant country, and so far in a Protestant “environment”, and how should Protestantism understand the deep things of M Zola? For M Zola, who therein again follows Comte,\* holds Protestantism in high disdain. It has, as he considers, poisoned the world with “false virtue and false modesty”†. It is “drowning” France. It is “threatening” “the Republic.” It is “ravaging” French “literature.” It has bound and gagged the “England of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.” It has brought us to such a low ebb of imbecility that since Dickens we have not had a single writer of any merit. It is “the enemy,” the arch-enemy. He “defies an artist ever to be able to live on good terms with a Protestant.”

Clearly, therefore, it is not for us, poor insularies that we are, to judge of the moral aspect of the “Naturalist” movement. But still we may perhaps be in a position to judge of M Zola’s pretensions to give scientific value to the novels of “Naturalism.”

\* “Le Roman Expérimental,” p. 23

† “Nous mourons de fausse vertu et de fausse pudeur,” says M Zola. I don’t know that I should *a priori* have expected his end to come in precisely that manner.

And here truth compels me to declare that the whole of his elaborate argument is, in my opinion at least, but as a glimmer of moonshine. He himself shall help me to prove it, for M. Zola does not always remember to be the man of science and puritan of "Naturalism." He sometimes, as when writing the sentence which I last quoted, thinks of himself as an artist, and as an artist, especially an artist who aspires also to be a critic, he has had occasion to seek for what he would call the "formula" of his art. He did so many years ago when writing "*Mes Haines*," and is evidently still quite satisfied with the result, for he returns, in the "*Documents Littéraires*," to the "formula" which he then discovered, and quotes it with complacency. I, too, am therefore justified in treating it with respect, and not regarding it as one of the utterances of what M. Zola calls his hours of weakness—his *heures lâches*. This, then, is the definition: "A work of art is a corner of nature seen through the medium of a temperament." A "corner of nature!" Here we are well within the regions of science. Astronomy, geology, botany, and, I will grant for the sake of argument, even sociology—all these cover "corners of nature," more or less extended, all embrace facts and certain theories, more or less definitely established, explaining the facts and their relations. But a "temperament!" What has that to do with the matter? The astronomer does not examine the stars "through the medium of his temperament," nor a geologist the strata of the earth, nor a botanist the structure of plants. And if a sociologist does so examine the phenomena of society—as, in fact, sociologists mainly do—why, then, he is doing what in him lies to destroy the scientific character of his special "ology." No. The object of the real scientist is to cultivate his powers of observation, of classifying and systematizing fact, and even to foster, while he restrains, that superb gift, the scientific imagination—but to get rid altogether of his temperament. He wishes to see his "corner of nature" in an absolutely dry light, and is great in so far as he succeeds.

But the artist, as M. Zola very rightly tells us, does see his "corner of nature" "through the medium of his temperament"—a very different thing. And as he images that corner of nature back to us in the mirror of his art, he shadows it with his gloom or floods it with his sunshine, his passion makes it hot and lurid, his imagination irradiates it, his fancy plays over it, his nobler aspirations glorify it with shafts of purest light, not a feeling of his soul but casts upon it some reflection. These additions from the artist's temperament are of the very essence of art. Without them the image of the corner of nature is but as a dry photograph if mirrored in paint, or as a dull statement of facts if mirrored in words. It has no claim to be regarded as a work of art at all. M. Zola

himself would recognize this freely and always, if he were not blinded by his scientific pretensions. Has he not gone so far as to say "In my view a work of art is an individuality, or personality. What I look for above all else in a picture is a man, and not a picture?"\* And if the action of the individual upon the object presented be so all-important, what becomes of that dry light which is the light of science? What becomes of our novelist's claim to sit in the professor's chair, and conduct a series of experiments, *coram populo*, for the benefit of man?

A series of experiments—alas! shall I confess that that claim to attach scientific value to the novelist's creations, as if they were experiments in science, and to employ them for the solution of social problems, seems to me more illusory than all. A novelist produces a certain character. That character is born partly of observation, but very much more, if the character is to have *life*, of the novelist's imagination. It is placed by the novelist in a world, or, as M. Zola would prefer to say, in an environment, which is also the result in part of observation and in part of imagination. The environment acts on the character in a certain manner, and that M. Zola regards as the equivalent of a scientific experiment. But all the elements of a scientific experiment are wanting. We touch fact at no stage of our proceedings. When a chemist puts certain bodies into a crucible, he knows exactly what those bodies are, and to what action he subjects them, and his "temperament" has nothing to do with the result. Here, however, the contents of the crucible are hypotheses, guesses, surmises, intuitions, observations, and the altogether uncertain action to which they are subjected is "temperament." One might as well expect to obtain a purely scientific result by alchemy and the black art. Of course I do not mean any such absurdity as that the novelist's observations of life and character go for nothing, and that he has no power of revealing what lies hidden in the hearts and minds of men. He possesses such power unquestionably. Take "Adam Bede," for instance. We know the people in that book better, with a closer intimacy of knowledge, than nine-tenths of the persons whom we meet in actual life. The world to which it introduces us is for us all as a corner of the real world. The writer by her consummate art produces upon us the highest of art illusions—the illusion of reality. Let us honour with all honour what is so admirable. Let us honour it too much to palter with language, and talk of science when in fact we are dealing with art.

Now, of course there are temperaments and temperaments, some very good, and some not quite so admirable, and upon the quality of the temperament will in a great measure depend the quality of the art. A few years ago, as I well remember, Mr. Liebreich, the

\* "Mes Haines"

oculist, read a paper at the Royal Institution, proving, to his own but not Mr Ruskin's satisfaction, that certain peculiarities in the pictures of Turner and Mulready were due to eye diseases, which prevented those artists from seeing the world as it is seen by men whose eyes are quite healthy. They looked at objects, such was Mr Liebreich's contention, in the one case through a lens that had lost its shape, and in the other, its colour. Even such a lens, as I make bold to affirm, is M Zola's temperament, and if I were at the present moment reviewing his novels, nothing would be easier than to show what a distorting and sombre influence it has exercised upon his vision of nature's corners, and how exclusively it has led him to dwell upon the dust and the cobwebs. But my task here is only very incidentally connected with his novels. I am dealing with him mainly as a critic. If, however, I can show, as I think I can, what fantastic tricks that temperament of his has played with his criticism—why, then, I shall have disposed of his scientific pretensions even more effectually perhaps than if I had established the unscientific character of his fiction. For the critic is bound to a severe and equitable impartiality which is by no means necessary to the artist.

M Zola's temperament, the essential literary character of him—in speaking of this it must of course be understood that I place his private character entirely to one side. Of what he may be in the ordinary relations of life I neither know, nor have a right to know, anything. It is only his character as a writer that can possibly be here in question. When I say, therefore, that the essential quality of his spirit is coarseness, I must be exonerated from all intention of personal discourtesy. Naturally, there are many other hues blended in the temperament through which he views life, art, and letters. But coarseness is the prevailing tone. He seems to see everything through what may be called an *animal* atmosphere. Does this expression seem unduly strong, and unwarranted by the ordinary amenities of literature? I scarcely think M Zola himself would repudiate it. Possibly he might even regard it as a compliment. Has he not assured us that the result of all investigations into the various classes of society is "immediately to reach the beast in man, whether covered by a black coat or by a blouse" \* And it is this beast which his temperament leads him always to see, and to see exclusively. A swarming, huddled mass of growling creatures, each hounded on by his foul appetites of greed and lust, the strong succeeding rightly in virtue of their strength, and the weak, as rightly, being pushed into the mire—such is his outlook on humanity. Love he scarcely recognizes save in its purely physical

\* "Nous arrivons tout de suite à la bête humaine, sous l'habit noir comme sous la blouse"—*Roman expérimental*, p. 266

aspect All nobler aspirations and emotions he regards as the lying inventions of writers who deceived their fellows in the dark ages before the dawn of "Naturalism" For the conflict with the evil in itself which every soul of the better kind is impelled to wage unceasingly he has but words of scorn Alas! there are some of us whose "temperaments" are less advanced, so that they cannot share his pride in the contemplation of man as the Yahoo, and might even see cause to regret that science should have power to "multiply tenfold the activity" of a creature so foul and noisome

Shall I show this temperament of M Zola in operation? His friend, M de Goncourt, a "Naturalist" like himself, but with more delicate aspirations, had suggested to the younger writers of the school that they should take the higher classes as subjects of study, and so perchance produce novels of a somewhat better savour than have lately been current

"Excellent advice," answers M Zola, "but where are we to find that better world? If we are curious, if we look through the keyholes, I suspect that we shall see in the higher classes exactly what we saw in the people, for the human animal is the same everywhere, the garment only differs Such was the opinion I formerly maintained, and the echoes of the law courts justify me abundantly We who are people of mean condition and small fortune, we only know the world through the disgraceful trials that break out every winter"

Whereupon, taking for text a series of lamentable trials, and recapitulating their incidents, he asks, with honest indignation

"Shall we be told that we are liars when we relate such things in our novels? Will people shrug their shoulders, and declare that we do not know the world? Shall we be accused of taking pleasure in casting dirt upon it, and defaming it? The world—this is the world when any passion agitates it, when some violent drama tears aside its politeness and conventions Filth is at the bottom of it" \*

Is this quite the dry, pure light of science? one is tempted to ask Are the only "human documents" on which any particular class inscribes its history the "Newgate Calendar" and the police reports? Can life in all its fulness—and one would fain add, in all its beauty—be studied only in the Divorce Court and the Old Bailey? Is there nothing of noble or good that lies outside the ken of the Public Prosecutor? This is what comes of pursuing scientific investigations through the medium of a temperament †

Take, again, M Zola's criticism on M Daudet M Daudet, as we all know, is a writer of very singular charm There is about him a fascination of sympathetic grace and poetry and strength Even

\* Du Roman, in "Le Roman Experimental," p 284

† M Zola, looking through his temperament, regards *Mes Bottes* as the right sobriquet for the typical working man. About gave to his working man the sobriquet of *La France* So do temperaments differ

the rugged M Zola acknowledges an influence so seductive, \* modulates the harsh tones of his voice when speaking of the life and works of this spoilt child of literary fortune, and like

"Fell Charybdis, murmurs soft applause"

But what does M Zola see to praise, and what to dispraise, in M Daudet's novels? To us, poor Protestants that we are, and weary perchance of the dreary monotone of adultery that draws through nearly all French fiction—to us there came a sense of relief in being introduced to a world in which some women were good and pure, and a few men not altogether scoundrels. There ~~exist~~, as we know, aspects of French life which French literature seems almost of set purpose to treat with a conspiracy of silence. One was grateful to any writer who had the courage to break that silence. One was glad to meet with such characters as Madame Fromont or Madame Roumestan, to catch such a pretty glimpse of youth in its freshness and purity as may be seen in the *famille* Joyeuse, to note how chaste and maidenly is the sad love idyll of the poor lame workwoman Désirée Delobelle. But all this side of M Daudet's talent is naught to M Zola. What he has to say of Madame Fromont is contained in less than two lines, of Madame Roumestan he says nothing, of Désirée Delobelle he says little, while as to the *famille* Joyeuse, they are naturally the "least successful point in the novel." They are evidently not the result of actual observation. "By contrast with the strong colour of the things really seen, they become all pale—they are tainted with conventional respectability." They are "to be condemned from every point of view." M Daudet is not to be forgiven for sacrificing the peccant artist, Félicia Ruys, to these *bourgeoises*, these "dolls." Need M Zola have warned us that such "objections" might possibly have been "inspired" by "his own writer's temperament?"

But it is the same throughout. I could illustrate M Zola's exclusive appreciation of the coarser elements in humanity by any number of examples selected almost at hazard from the volumes before me. What else is it that induces him to regard Messrs Erckmann-Chatrian as exhibiting in their novels a world all falsified by optimism, as presenting "an eternal lie in their pictures of the soul?" To what else can be attributed his admiration for the "real philosophy and living style" of M Huysmans, who, "as an observer not going beyond the facts, sees but the beast in man." In truth, nothing mollifies this stern Naturalist. If he attacks the whole Romantic school, as he does again and again, it is clearly not because their sentiment so often rings hollow and false, but because

\* "Ce mot de séduction est le mot juste il a séduit ses amis, séduit le public séduit tous ceux qui l'ont approché"—*Les Romanciers Naturalistes*, p 257

they had any sentiment, any feeling, any aspirations at all He cannot forgive them According to him, they were all liars\* We have not, on this side of the Channel, been in the habit of regarding the French stage as over-squeamish It is far too squeamish for our fautor of "Naturalism" He cannot away with its conventions He devotes a whole volume to show that such shreds of reserve as it still retains ought ruthlessly to be torn away, and man be presented on the boards naked and unashamed

Added to this coarseness of vision, which affects equally M Zola's outlook as an artist and as a critic, there is that in him which affects his outlook as a critic only, and yet is of such strength as to colour his criticism even more powerfully perhaps than his coarseness A high authority assured us some few years ago that the critics were those who had failed in literature and art The statement is sweeping There are critics who have never even tried to succeed in either, and such may find comfort in the thought that the men who *have* succeeded are sometimes incapacitated by their very success from also succeeding as critics Few indeed are the artists who can sufficiently detach themselves from their own art to be able to judge the art of others, the methods of others, and the aims of others, in an absolutely dispassionate spirit Their comprehension has a comparatively narrow boundary Their sympathies are restricted Has not the author of the "Earthly Paradise" lately told us that he feels no sympathetic admiration for the author of "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained?" And this one-sidedness, which in no way detracts from the artists' effectiveness as artists, and is often no doubt a help, may very much affect the value of their critical utterances They cannot criticize without, consciously or unconsciously, bringing their own productions into question M Zola is a case particularly in point No one can deny that he is a novelist of very great power His strength does not exactly lie where he thinks it does, as might be shown easily enough on due occasion, but of the strength itself there can be no question And it is simply as a masterful novelist, using his own works for universal standard and criterion, that he sits in the critic's judgment-seat

Let me illustrate my meaning M. Zola's style is, according to the purists in such matters, very far from admirable It altogether lacks the beauty and dainty strength, the supreme charm, of the masters. Even a foreigner may note, in the volumes now before me, passages not a few in which the metaphor is jumbled, and the meaning obscured by the use of abstract instead of concrete terms Accordingly, M Zola seems to make light of style "What value," he asks, "should we attach to correctness, the observance of rules, the perfection of the whole? There are pages, scarcely even

\* M Cherbuliez, in particular, "lies at his case."



written in French, which are superior in my eyes to the most admirably conducted works, for such pages contain a whole personality—they have the supreme merit of being unique and inimitable” So, too, he tells us in a long essay on the novel, that style is altogether a matter of individuality, that “it is possible to write badly, incorrectly, in a wild, harum-scarum way,” and yet take rank among the gods So also, he declares, “it is not true that beauty alone is immortal, life is more immortal still,” and “the noise which is made about form will pass” Again, among M Zola’s gifts delicate, light wit assuredly finds no place He has nothing of what the French call *esprit* Accordingly, he gravely assures us that “the man of genius is not *spirituel*,” which is surely a strange assertion to come from a fellow-countryman of Voltaire Or take a much more important matter According to M Zola, “there is not a critic in France” French criticism seems certainly to have passed the meridian of its palmiest day Still, one has seen occasionally an article by M Scherer, or M Taine, or M Montégut, or M Deschanel, or M Renan in a literary mood, or even by the younger writers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, as M Brunnetière—an article that was not without merit, so that so sweeping an assertion excites perhaps at first a feeling of surprise The explanation, however, is not far to seek The function of the critic, in M Zola’s view, is to herald the advent of all new writers, and to proclaim their merits to the world “He must study their temperaments, show the rare qualities which they bring with them, and thus educate the public, which will at last be tamed and rendered tractable There can be no nobler part than to accustom the great multitude to the troubling splendours of genius” But unfortunately, as M Zola declares sadly, there is no critic of any name or power who has proved worthy of the superb mission of thus “vulgarizing” the novels of the “Naturalist” school M Montégut is simply “made dizzy,” “blinded” by them, as by the sudden splendour of the sun M Taine, “in whom the young novelists had put all their hopes,” has proved false, and turned out to be no more than a “professor” In short, there is no critic who “will set everything in its right place, throw back the past into the shadow, and place the present in a great light of truth and justice,” and because there is no critic who will put himself at M Zola’s point of view for the purpose of advertising M Zola’s art, therefore there is no critic at all

Politicians are judged from much the same standpoint M Zola makes short work of them “Any one,” he declares, “may become a Secretary of State, if he really wishes it—and has no genius” And he professes to explain “why we, the writers, have so great a contempt for political men . . . Our pride comes of this, that we are in the only absolute which exists in the world, that of pure thought while they are struggling miserably in the relative of human things bound hand and foot by necessities of all kinds, condemned

to acts of cunning, folly, and crime" Now, of course one might question how far it was consistent for so positivist a personage to claim to be in any absolute at all But letting that pass, I doubt if the reason here given fully accounts for M Zola's dislike for the politicians He himself seems to suggest another and a stronger reason, when he says, for instance, of Gambetta "I am told that in painting and sculpture he despises our French school, and swears only by antiquity and the Renaissance, and likewise in literature that he limits his sympathy to the classics, and is thus more *bourgeois* than the *bourgeois* M Thiers Well, that is quite enough for me the man is judged He is not with us, the moderns and believers" And again he declares, even more explicitly, in an article entitled "Drunken Slaves," "in my eyes the crime of the band (of politicians) is unpardonable they do not love literature, and I hope that literature will nail them to some eternal gibbet of ridicule" There is no critic, as we have just seen, because no writer will say the right thing about the "Naturalist" novels, and even so, all politicians are contemptible because they refuse to read those same novels with pleasure and approval, and to take them as a basis for scientific legislation Truly we are becoming very exclusive M Zola looks forward to a time when the "missionaries of our sciences"—mark the royal plural—will go forth to interpret "our gospels, our texts of truth," and "conquer intellects" I fear that in the church founded by these Hot Gospellers of Naturalism there will be a very "short way with dissenters"

It is needless, perhaps, to say that in M Zola's judgments on other writers the same spirit of rigid "Naturalist" orthodoxy prevails All the "Naturalist" authors, without any exception, so far as I can see, are very great men As to the authors of the earlier romantic generation of 1830, they are what the French call his "black beast," the wehrwolf that lurks in the sombre places of his imagination He rages against them continually Chateau briand's literary "royalty was but a disguise at which every one now, smiles" Victor Hugo, compared to Balzac, and again to Littré, is but a rhetorician and a little man Alfred de Musset fares better, because, though "at starting he seemed to have draped himself in the romantic rags, yet now we can almost believe that he adopted that carnival costume in order to cast ridicule on the dishevelled literature of the time" Théophile Gautier was but a player upon words—a "melodist playing a romantic air" "George Sand represents a dead formula—no more." M Dumas the younger is only a "brain all beclouded with philosophic fumes" And so on Nor is it to be wondered at that they all did so badly, seeing that Romanticism itself is a "leprosy" In short, their merit, in so far as they had any, was to "hasten the advent of the Realist school" This will be their "eternal honour" with posterity

Now, I repeat, it is no part of my purpose to bring against

M Zola any charge of personal arrogance, still less of personal vanity All I wish to establish is, that in his criticism, as in his novels, "temperament," and convictions of a fervour almost religious, play an altogether disproportionate part And, unfortunately, what he sees through temperament and prepossession he regards as seen in the dry light of science Hence his error In his narrowness of vision, he is, as it were, the Comte de Chambord of literature

One word in conclusion M Zola claims again and again that the present is his, and the future also "A literature," he tells us, "is but the product of a society At the present hour our democratic society is beginning to find in 'Naturalism' its literary expression, at once magnificent and complete" Putting aside these adjectives as not tending to elucidation, it may perhaps be profitable to consider how far M Zola is right Is it true that Naturalism is a form of literature that will more and more commend itself to democracy? Naturalism, as preached by M Zola, means an insistence on the coarser and more animal elements in human nature He himself is constrained to admit that there are "certain things which it is impossible to put into print" But what he is too squeamish to print to-day, others will glory in printing to-morrow, and an ever-widening circle of coarseness must be the result This is what "Naturalism" means as to subject As to style, it means rough, irregular power—crude, strong, gaudy colours in the pictures of life, and much hard hitting in controversy, everywhere a tone of exaggeration and violence It is a literary system in which there is no room for beauty, or grace, or elegance, or distinction, a garden in which the fine flower of perfectness would be looked upon only as a withered weed Now, can it be truly said that there is nothing here calculated to appeal to the culture of the uncultivated?

But if it were rash to assert that M Zola, by vulgarizing literature, will not be able to reach lower strata of readers, we may at least constantly affirm that his claim to be in possession of the future is no more than an ill and an idle dream Let us grant that man has been developed from the brute Let us grant that there is a varying proportion of the brute still left in him But if there be one thing clearer than another in his obscure history, it is that the course of his development has led him gradually and ever more and more to emancipate himself from the brute, and to conquer his full manhood This is what civilization means This is what morality means This is the edifice which Christianity would crown with its sublime ideals Here lie our hopes for the future of the race And M Zola, so far from marching, as he fondly imagines, in the advanced guard of human progress, is really loitering behind, and finding the while only too much pleasure in the companionship of laggards, malingerers, and camp-followers of the less reputable type

FRANK T MARZIALS

## RAILWAY RATES.

ONE result of the fierce and constant competition of the present day has been the development of an exceeding sensitiveness in every class of business with regard to very small details of profit and loss. The larger the business, the more important, in a certain sense, is the effect of such details.

The bearing of this upon railway business has been twofold.

On the one hand, the railway companies have lost no opportunity of extending their operations, even when the resulting profit has been such as would to the eye of the uninformed public appear to be microscopic. On the other hand, bitter, loud, and frequent has been the outcry which has come from a great variety of trades and industries, complaining of their treatment by railway companies.

These complaints have not, as a rule, had any reference to the manner in which the services of the railways have been performed, for in point of efficiency our English railways would be very difficult to surpass.

But before the Select Committee of the House of Commons (commonly called Mr Ashley's Committee) which finally reported in 1882, after taking evidence during two sessions of Parliament, there were many expressions of the dissatisfaction which has been the ground of these complaints.

No one who reads that evidence would deny that the dissatisfaction is well founded, and that some remedy is really needed.

By far the loudest and most general complaint is that which is directed against the low rates charged by railways upon imported or exported goods, as compared with higher rates charged by them upon articles produced in this country for home consumption.

The reiteration of this complaint has been more constant in the case

of the agriculturists than in that of any other classes, but this may be to some extent accounted for by the fact that the low prices of imported foreign food affect more prejudicially that class than any other and that food bears a very large proportion to our other imports

On the other hand, the agriculturist is also seriously affected by the cost of moving an important part of his raw material (*viz.*, feeding stuffs for stock and manures), as well as by the cost of sending his own produce to a profitable market

But it is by no means for agriculturists alone that this question of railway rates has a vital interest, for in many branches of industry, and particularly in those in which operations are upon a large scale, a very slight increase in the cost of movement either of raw material or of produce may swallow up all anticipated profit, and practically shut out the manufacturer from important markets

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that most classes of men are at first sight ready to believe that they are being unfairly dealt with by others. This tendency it is more difficult to counteract in proportion as the conditions of mutual accommodation are imperfectly understood

It seems, therefore, worth while to endeavour to place before those who are interested in this question some of the conditions of the very intricate problem of the settlement of railway rates

This is of course only a small part of the very wide question of railway policy, but it is a very important part, and one upon which there seems to be good ground for thinking that much less benefit is to be obtained by legislation than is generally supposed and hoped for from that source by the public. Nor is it at all improbable that the direction of legislation, in order that it may be beneficial, will be required to be very different from what has generally been anticipated

It may be well at the outset to state that the writer of this paper has no interest whatever in any railway in the world, and that his conclusions are the result of a brief, but, while it lasted, an assiduous, study of the subject in connection with the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill brought in by Mr Mundella in March 1886, and read a second time in May. One object of the paper is to discourage the indulgence of hopes destined to be frustrated, and to turn the attention of those who are anxious to remedy the evils of which they feel the effects in a direction in which efforts are more likely to bring good results

The Bill which has been mentioned was, as was stated by Mr Mundella in the House of Commons, to a great extent based upon one prepared by his predecessor at the Board of Trade, but it contained important additions and alterations, some of which at first were much criticized, but may, it is hoped, by the consideration

of what follows be rendered more acceptable in proportion as their purpose and intention become better understood

A second object of this paper, therefore, is to remove objections to which an imperfect acquaintance with the subject has already given rise, and which may be expected to reappear if the Government, as is expected, repeat the endeavour to pass a measure of railway legislation

Much information may be derived from the reports of Mr Ashley's Select Committee in 1881 and 1882, and from two articles by Sir Thomas Farrer—one in the *Quarterly Review*, vol cxiv, p 287, 1868, and another in the *Fortnightly Review*, vol xxxii New Series, 1882 The report presented by Sir B Samuelson, M P, I R S, to the President of the Association of the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom on the Railway Goods Tariffs of Germany, Belgium, and Holland, is well worth reading And no one who wishes to go thoroughly into the question should neglect to read "Railway Transportation, its History and its Laws," by Arthur T Hadley (New York, 1886)

First of all, it is most important to recognise that the railway interest and the public interest ought to be considered, and, as far as possible, treated as identical

This does not mean that in every respect the railway shareholder (still less the railway director) for the time being is likely to regard the question of rates from the same point of view as the producer or the consumer of home or foreign goods But the public interest is a much wider and a much more enduring interest than that of any producer, consumer, director, or shareholder And it is in this sense that it is of the first importance to consider the identity of the public interest and the railway interest as a condition of the problem

It is, however, certainly at the present time true that the prosperity of the railways is essential to the public convenience and to the development of trade Nor should those who are specially interested in railways need to be informed that to develop trade and to consult the comfort and convenience of the public must be their first object, and that only by the pursuit of these objects can they hope to reach secure, and therefore permanent, prosperity

It will be well here to enumerate a few of the special points to which attention ought to be directed in any practical consideration of this subject for instance, the magnitude of the capital invested, the special circumstances and character of the investment, the different charges which have to be met, the nature of the monopoly and the nature of the competition, the conditions of the traffic and its relations to other forms of trade, the various complaints and remedial proposals which have been made, and those which have, either after experience or as the result of discussion, been abandoned

It may not be possible in this paper to deal separately with each and all of these points, but every one of them has distinct reference to the issue

One of the most practically important characteristics of railway undertakings, and therefore of the railway interest as a whole, is the magnitude of the investment. It is supposed to exceed considerably our national debt. This magnitude has of itself a special effect upon the relation of railway enterprise to other branches of commerce, for when once the capital is invested, not only can it never be withdrawn or contracted, but it constantly tends to increase, and constant expenditure is required to prevent its destruction. And the success of the undertaking depends entirely on the well-being of other and wholly distinct forms of commercial activity. Therefore railway companies are specially sensitive to depressions and stagnation of trade, and are specially interested in promoting the circulation of that which brings them the traffic, which is their life-blood.

The blood in their veins cannot accelerate its circulation till the acceleration has commenced outside in other veins, nor, on the other hand, can anything stop circulation in their veins but their own ill-health or stagnation outside them.

Now, the first charge upon the revenue of every railway is an unvarying, or at any rate an undiminishing sum—viz, the interest upon the capital, to the magnitude of which attention has been drawn. The capital itself is represented chiefly by the permanent way, the rolling stock, and the station buildings and appurtenances, though these are by no means the only objects in which it is expended. The interest upon this capital is a fixed charge.

But besides this, there are other charges so constant as to merit inclusion with the interest of expended capital under the name of fixed charges. These are chiefly such as reconstruction, replacement, repair, and the payment of an immense staff both for superintendence and labour. These charges vary so slowly and so slightly that, although they are not actually invariable, they may be for all practical purposes regarded as if they were fixed charges. A separate class of charges consists of those which are more immediately dependent on the amount of traffic, and which, consequently, bring with them a certain amount of remuneration. These are the cost of movement or transfer from point to point on the railway system, and the charges connected with collection, loading, covering, unloading, and delivery—all of which are grouped under the name of terminals.

It is of course clear that, although each of these classes of expenses are from the railway point of view constant, yet they cannot always bear the same proportion to each other or to the total. For, in some rates the cost of movement, in other rates the

terminal services, may be the most important, and in some each may represent hardly any appreciable cost to the company, while in all cases the fixed charges are a portion of the current expenses, which form in a certain sense part of the cost of service, and all these charges at all times have to be met

Meanwhile, as has been said, the circumstances of railway business do not permit very elastic administration

A railway, therefore, while it has the advantages which accrue from a monopoly both legal and natural, has also certain disadvantages which are inalienable from its position, and if the net result be a loss, the loss would be felt not only by the railway company, but very severely by the community at large. It will, then, probably be admitted that, in the interest of the public, the efficient maintenance of the railway is the first point to be secured. The railway company must be trusted to know at any rate its own interest, and it cannot be said to be of any serious importance to the public from what sources the constant charges above mentioned are severally met by the railway company, provided that no undue preference be shown to the disadvantage of particular freighters.

That is to say, it is of no real importance to the public—(1) that the fixed charges should on all rates bear the same proportion to the cost of movement, nor (2) that the cost of movement should be paid for by a mileage rate, nor (3) that terminal charges should be uniform upon all classes of goods at all stations

And yet in some of the complaints made against the railways it would almost seem to be implied that the public had an interest in the apportionment by a railway company of certain of the charges it has to meet upon certain branches of the traffic, from which spring the general net receipts which are the source of its revenue

For this reason it may be well to state at once that there are certain classes of goods, the contents of which could not be made to pay a share of all of those charges, equal to what is easily borne by other classes, without great inconvenience to the public

As a rough guide to the discrimination between classes of goods in this respect, it may be taken as generally true that the ability to bear high charges falls with the value of the goods carried

It costs a railway very little more, or less to convey a ton of coal or iron than to convey a ton of silk, but the disturbance of trade created by forcing railway companies to carry silk and coal at the same rate would be very serious. For the comparatively higher rate charged upon silk is paid without injury to trade, the amount of silk conveyed being trifling in comparison with the amount of coal, and the rate is repaid to the trader by the consumer in the price of silk goods, bearing, as it does, an insignificant proportion to the intrinsic



value of the goods. But any increase in the charge upon coal would affect vastly larger interests, and react seriously upon many trades, to the manifest injury of the general public, coal being of small intrinsic value, and the rate for conveyance bearing therefore a large proportion to that value than is the case with silk.

The above considerations suffice to show that the relations of railway traffic to the various other forms of trade are complicated and peculiar.

It must further be borne in mind that the system of rating or fixing the various proportions of charge to be levied on different classes of goods must be based upon some definite general principle.

There appear to be two general principles, one or the other of which must be adopted and adhered to as the fundamental principle, inasmuch as they are distinct and almost mutually exclusive. Either (1) the charges must be based upon "cost of service," which must include fixed charges, cost of movement, and terminals, or (2) the charges must vary with the circumstances of the traffic, and must be based upon "what the traffic will bear."

It is true that it may be possible to interlace these principles to some slight extent, but either one or the other must be taken as the guiding principle, the application of which may perhaps be modified by the operation of the other. Whichever is the guiding principle will be found in every rate.

If the "cost of service" be the principle adopted, and if equalization be insisted upon, so that every rate is to bear its part of all the charges upon the company, there seems to be no escape from "equal mileage rates," that is to say, that every consignment of goods or every passenger must be charged simply according to distance, with the addition of the terminal services required.

And at first sight, no doubt, this may appear to be the right basis. Many persons are found to urge that legislation ought to impose this principle upon the railways.

But by one after another of the Commissions and Committees which have investigated this subject, this principle, in spite of all that has been said in its favour by many witnesses, has been abandoned, on the express ground that it would be in the interest neither of the public nor of the railways. The following are the reasons quoted in the Report of Mr Ashley's Committee from that of the Select Committee of the House of Lords of 1872, in which that Committee endorsed the conclusion of the Royal Commission of 1867 —

"(a) It would prevent railway companies from lowering their fares and rates so as to compete with traffic by sea, by canal, or by a shorter or otherwise cheaper railway, and would thus deprive the public of the benefit of competition and the company of a legitimate source of profit.

‘(b) It would prevent railway companies from making perfectly fair arrangements for carrying at a lower rate than usual goods brought in larger and constant quantities, or for carrying over long distances at a lower rate than for short distances

“(c) It would compel a company to carry over a line which has been very expensive in construction, or which, from gradients or otherwise, is very expensive in working, at the same rate at which it carries over less expensive lines

“In short, to impose equal mileage on the companies would be to deprive the public of the benefit of much of the competition which exists or has existed, to raise the charges on the public in many cases where the companies now find it then interest to lower them, and to perpetuate monopolies in carriage, trade, and manufacture in favour of those routes and places which are nearest or least expensive, where the varying charge of the companies now creates competition. And it will be found that the supporters of equal mileage, when pressed, often really mean, not that the rates they pay themselves are too high, but that the rates others pay are too low’

If, then, the principle that each class of goods is to be charged according to the distance over which it is carried be surrendered, it is clear that each class of goods cannot be made to pay a definite proportion either of the fixed charges, or of the cost of movement, and therefore it is impossible to base the system of rating upon “cost of service” as a fundamental principle to be recognized throughout

But if the “cost of service” cannot be taken as the fundamental principle which is not to be lost sight of in making any rate, and if it is the interest of the public that the railways should prosper, no alternative remains but to let the railways manage their own affairs, and apply their own knowledge gained by experience in the application of the other principle—viz, “what the traffic will bear”

And this is the conclusion which was come to by Mr Ashlev’s Committee, after a very careful consideration of the question in all its bearings. They sum up their remarks on this point in these words “Your Committee cannot recommend any new legislative interference for the purpose of enforcing upon railway companies equality of charge” In another place the same Committee use even a stronger phrase—viz, “It may therefore be assumed that some of the inequalities of charges complained of are to the advantage rather than to the disadvantage of the public”

But it is in the application of this principle that numerous complications enter into the question, from which apparently certain erroneous impressions have been derived

There exists, for instance, in the minds of some persons an impression that because some traders are charged less than an average for freight, *therefore* others of necessity are compelled to pay more than they would be charged if the said low rate had not been given, in other words, that some pay more *in order that others may pay less*

It is assumed that when goods of any class are carried at less than the actual average cost of moving such goods, the railway company must be a loser by carrying them. But this is not so.

To take the commonest and simplest case when trucks have to be returned full or empty, it is more profitable to railways to run them full than to run them empty, provided that the rates paid are sufficient to cover the difference between moving them full and moving them empty, together with the expense of filling and emptying them. And any business obtained at these rates by the railway will tend to relieve the rates for which the trucks were run out, in consequence of the charge for the run home being to some extent borne by the rates for the goods in the return trucks, although, in consequence perhaps of competition, the only rate obtainable for them may be far below the average cost of moving such goods.

Therefore the effect of the low rate in this instance is to relieve both the railway and the goods upon which the charge for the return journey would otherwise have fallen—viz., the goods with which the trucks were run out.

Another erroneous impression which seems to be prevalent is, the assumption that through traffic and local traffic ought to be dealt with on the same terms.

But in many if not most of the British railways at any rate, the through traffic between large centres of trade is subject to competition, and at the same time is of such volume that even a share of it may be extremely important as a source of revenue.

It is obviously in the public interest that the force of competition should, wherever it is brought to bear, be allowed to have its full effect. And it would not be difficult to show, by an argument analogous to that used in the instance of return trucks, that it is an advantage to the local trader that the railway on which he depends should be able to secure the through traffic by favourable through rates, so that it may not be forced to rely solely upon the local traffic.

For instance, the traffic from Liverpool to London is of sufficient constancy and volume to be an object of competition to rival railways and steamship companies, and the loss by any railway company of its whole share of this traffic, in consequence of being crippled in competition by regulations as to rating, would tend to increase the burden which would then have to be distributed over the local traffic, but which the through rates, low though they may be in comparison, at present, to say the least, give help to bear.

Again, a through rate over the whole or a portion of the lines of one company may be an important portion of a rate for a long through route, extending over a distance covered by several companies not necessarily in competition with each other. Such through routes and rates are often needed in order to forward trade by economy of

time and labour in the public interest, encouragement being given by their means to the use of the shortest route

The fact is, that the public interest renders it necessary that the railways shall be allowed to meet competition where it exists by lowering their rates, and by this and other means to foster trade in their own districts. They must be trusted to look after their own business, which, as has been already said, can only succeed by meeting the public wants. The monopoly which is so often spoken of as to have assumed much larger proportions than it really has, is not so complete as to permit any considerable railway to boast that it is not subject in some part of its business to severe competition in the matter of through traffic

The local traffic, on the other hand, is subject to a different set of conditions. In the first place, it is in proportion more expensive than through traffic in respect of cost of service. The local staff has to be maintained, roughly speaking, at a uniform minimum strength; their hands may be full of work or may be often idle, but their number cannot be reduced, nor can the accommodation in sidings, goods stations, and so forth, be diminished, and all of these are sources of constant expenditure for maintenance. The collection and delivery *en route* of local goods are, in proportion to their value, more expensive than the starting, running, and arrival of through trains

*Per contra*, the local traffic being on a smaller scale and less constant, is more sensitive to overcharge, and it is the interest of the railway to endeavour to encourage local traffic, because the development of it both adds to the through traffic and tends to widen the field for the normal rates

As a matter of fact, it is for the most part true that the maximum rates allowed by Act of Parliament are rarely approached, even for local traffic

A most important and instructive example of the operation of the motives which have been explained is given by Mr Hadley on pp 116, 117 of the book above referred to

It was proved by practical experience that it was in the interest, not only of a railway, but of two different sets of traders in the same article, who used the railway, that that set of traders whose goods travelled the longer distance should pay less than the other set of traders whose goods travelled a shorter distance over the same line. All the parties concerned agreed to that arrangement as the most profitable to each under the circumstances. Analogous cases may be found in many other places

Sir Thomas H Farrer also gives a good illustration from German experience, in which the result of the establishment of through rates, calculated on the same basis as the local rates, was the total loss to

the railway of the through traffic, which was thereby immediately diverted to a water route. And we in England have sea routes available on all sides.

The argument, so far, has been based upon the effect of the rates upon railway business.

But there is another point of great importance to home producers, and especially to local traders, which is brought out in the evidence given before Mr Ashley's Committee.

The importation of foreign food is mainly for the population of our great centres, such as the black country and the metropolis. In consequence of the through rates it now goes there direct from the ports. But if these through rates were not given, the importations from abroad, instead of going direct to the centres of population, would, on arrival at the ports of importation, remain there for distribution in those districts which at present feed the ports, instead of being fed by them.

Consequently, the interest of our agriculturists is rather to allow the progress of that food, the importation of which they cannot prevent, to be as direct and rapid as possible towards its destination, and to encourage the acquisition of that traffic, if it must exist, by whatever railway they themselves are interested in, instead of attempting to arrest its progress from the ports through the country, and thus risk the spoiling of their nearest markets, besides spoiling the business of their nearest railway.

It would be unwise even to insist that the through rate shall not be lower than the rate for any shorter distance.

An excellent illustration of this can be derived from the L & S W R and the G W R, both of which railways go from London to Exeter, the G W R being twenty-five miles longer than its rival. Competition for the Exeter traffic renders it necessary that the G W R should make its Exeter rate no greater than the L & S W R Exeter rate. If the limit above mentioned were made compulsory, as is often urged by complainants against inequality, the result would be that the G W R would be forced to be content with lower average rates throughout than the L & S W R, but with a longer line to maintain.

There appears, however, to be one rule which may fairly be insisted upon in defence (to adopt for a moment the language of a Protectionist) of the home producer from excessive foreign competition.

It does not seem too much to demand that similar goods, similarly packed, in similar quantities, and in every respect without exception requiring similar service, should be conveyed at similar rates over the same portion of a line or the same route, *without regard to the country of origin*.

But if the terms of this demand be carefully considered, it

will not be found that very much is gained by it for the local trader or the agricultural freighter, for it would mean that he must conform precisely to the conditions under which importers get their through rate in order to be able to claim similar advantages. That something, however, would be gained is apparent from the following facts, given before Mr Ashley's Committee (answers 1021 *sqq*, 1881)

"The rate for *foreign cattle* from Newcastle to Manchester is £2 4s 3d, for English £3 7s per small waggon, and corresponding difference for large waggons

"The sheep rates are—for foreign sheep £2 4s 3d, for English £2 14s, in a small waggon, £2 19s 3d and £3 5s 9d respectively in a large one

"For seven imported cattle, carriage from Newcastle to Wakefield would be £1 11s 6d, for seven English, in a similar waggon, £2 12s

"The foreign cattle are placed in the through fast trains, whereas this accommodation is refused to home stock "

Other instances might be quoted

It would be difficult for the railways to show that these do not amount to undue preference, and this burden of proof Mr Mundella in his bill proposed to place upon them

The arguments given above have been by some (*e g*, by Mr J Buckingham Pope in "Railway Rates and Radical Rule, 1881") regarded as simply "railway" arguments, and in Mr Pope's book—which, by the way, is written specially for "electors"—Sir Thomas Farrer is much taken to task for having adopted this line of argument before the Committee, and in one of the articles above referred to. A passage is cited from Mr Barclay's draft Report submitted to the Committee, which embodies the essence of what may fairly be called the anti-railway argument, as follows —

"The business of a railway is to carry traffic, and when, by carrying it at an unremunerative rate (that is, offering a bounty), or by charging excessive rates (that is, imposing a tax), a railway company diverts traffic or production from the natural and consequently the cheapest channels, it must thereby increase the general cost of commodities to the consumer "

It is curious, and so far satisfactory, that the complaint here is ostensibly directed against the raising of prices of commodities by one who was pleading the cause of the agriculturist

But the paragraph cited contains a *petitio principii*, the nature of which it was partly the object of this article to expose—viz, that the low through rates must be unremunerative, and the local rates excessive

No one denies that the railway companies, like all other companies, are often obliged to make sacrifices to meet competition. The plea is, that these sacrifices are beneficial and not detrimental, either to the general public or in the long run to the railways, and that they tend to lower rates all round, rather than to raise them

## TERMINALS

Up to this point our attention has been occupied with rates charged to cover the fixed charges and the cost of movement, and it has been contended that, in the interest neither of the public nor of the railways ought uniformity to be insisted upon by legislation.

There is another entirely distinct class of rates, to which reference has been made, and to which careful attention is not less required. It will again be pleaded that uniformity imposed by legislation is not the right remedy for the evils complained of.

The cost of collection, loading, covering, unloading, and delivering which are the chief items included under the determination of "terminals," falls upon the railways for most descriptions of freight.

The disputes that have arisen over this class of rates, owe their origin chiefly to the fact, that in the earlier legislation concerning railways the functions they had to perform were expected to be very different from what they have since become.

They are now practically carriers, but they were originally regarded merely as owners of permanent way.

The transition has been gradual, and now it is shown by successive Acts as they are passed that the recognition of charges for the services incidental to the work of carriers is necessary.

There can be little doubt that for all parties it is desirable that terminal charges should be clearly distinguished from the other rates, and clearly classified and legalized. That this is so in the case of the smaller traders and agriculturists needs no demonstration, for they have not as a rule sufficient hands to devote to these services at a distance from their workshops and homesteads, without loss of time and labour. Whereas the railway company, in undertaking these services upon its own premises, is only performing part of the functions for which it is specially intended.

While, however, these functions can be most cheaply and adequately performed as a rule by the railway companies, and ought to be paid for on a public, intelligible, and legally recognized classification, there is, on the other hand, nothing contrary to public policy in permitting railway companies to make special terms with wholesale traders or local associations, by whom either greater or smaller services are required with either greater or less regularity.

There may be some ground for the claim on the part of the companies to be allowed to distinguish between "station" and "handling" terminals, but to the general public it does not much matter whether this distinction is or is not legalized. It is obvious that the services rendered for different classes of goods, and for the same classes of goods at different stations, differ widely. What is really requisite is, that the public should know clearly beforehand what services they can obtain, and what they will have to pay

for them, and wherever special rates, whether high or low, are given or charged, the justification for the exception ought to be made public without any necessity for recourse to litigation.

This very desirable publicity was one of the results which might have been anticipated if clauses 24 and 28 of Mr Mundella's Bill had become law, providing for classification and publication of rates and charges, and for the publication of reports upon complaints, and the adjustment of them, through the action of the Board of Trade *sine ulla solemnitate*, or, at any rate, without all the expense and ceremony attendant upon litigation.

Reference was made early in this paper to the practical effect of the magnitude of the capital involved in railway enterprise. Two other practical effects, due partly to the same cause, are seen in (1) the power with which, as with the *vis inertiae* of a great mass, the railway companies are able to resist attack by litigation, and (2) the consequent immunity with which they have been able to make too free with differential, preferential, and, it is to be feared, secret and private rates.

Publicity, as far as it can be obtained, will go far to break down this abuse of the advantage the companies must always to some extent possess from the length of their purses, but more by far will be achieved by curtailing the power of appeal, and by diminishing the difficulties caused by the expenses of litigation.

Towards the attainment of the last-named object a most important step will have been gained when *locus standi* has been given to local authorities and associations, and chambers of commerce and agriculture. By this provision a corporate purse will be substituted for a private purse, and public opinion will be aroused to support local claims. And a yet further step of hardly less importance towards the same end is the mobilization of the Railway Commission as a court of record.

It is much to be hoped that none of the proposals above referred to will be allowed to drop out of the Railway Traffic Bill when it is again brought forward, so that while less alarm may be stirred up among railway shareholders, less prejudice against railway companies may exist in the public mind.

There are several other very important points which were aimed at in the last and with which the next Bill will of necessity have to deal. It has not been thought necessary, nor would space permit, to deal with them in this paper, as they are not quite general, but of general interest, and have not yet met with such general approval.

Meanwhile, agreement has nearly been arrived at upon a centralized system of rates, and the earlier that is done the better for all concerned.

CHARLES JUST, Nov 5, 1891.



## PROFESSOR DICEY ON HOME RULE \*

EVERY sensible advocate of Home Rule for Ireland must feel grateful to Professor Dicey for the "case" which he has made out against that policy. It is refreshing, in the first place, to encounter in so heated a controversy a disputant who never loses his temper, never calls his opponents names, never takes a paltry advantage, is uniformly courteous, strives to be scrupulously fair, and who is evidently less set on defending a foregone conclusion than on defeating what he believes to be a dangerous experiment in politics. These are great merits, but they are not the only merits of Professor Dicey's volume. The chief value of his book lies in the fact that it is an exhaustive summing-up, vigorously written and lucidly arranged, of the case against Home Rule. A Home Ruler must feel, when he has read it, that he knows the worst that can be said against him. And that is an immense relief. It is also a great advantage in another way. For if such a champion as Professor Dicey has failed to destroy the case which he has assailed, that case may fairly be regarded as triumphant. A more formidable antagonist is not likely to appear in the arena. And this is the estimate which the opponents of Home Rule in the press and on the platform have formed of Professor Dicey's "Case against Home Rule". Their ablest organs have saluted it as an unanswerable summary of their thoughts and reasoning. A book which wins such encomiums as this from the *Spectator* and *the Times*, and from Lord Selborne among lawyers, may well be regarded as the strongest argument that has yet been offered, or is likely to be offered, against Home Rule. It is obvious that the opponents of Home Rule prudent in going into the same case against Home Rule. By A V Dicey, B C L, LL D, Vinerian Professor of Law in the University of Oxford. London Murray 1886

\* really a service

raptures over Professor Dicey's book? Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that he has destroyed the case for Home Rule. Has he not destroyed much else besides? What becomes of the case of the "Unionists," whether Liberal or Tory, if Professor Dicey's argument is to hold the field? Professor Dicey is certainly logical, from his own point of view. He is not afraid to face the conclusion to which his reasoning inevitably leads. He sees plainly that the alternative to Home Rule is the maintenance of the present system of Irish Government, administered, indeed, more humanely, more justly, more intelligently and firmly, and supplemented by a solution of the agrarian problem, but the same system still, unless it can be altered—which Professor Dicey thinks desirable—in the direction of the French system, in the direction, that is, of more centralization and less self-government. Not only does he hold, "with the firmest conviction, that any scheme of Home Rule in Ireland involves dangerous, if not fatal innovations on the constitution of Great Britain," he is equally convinced (1) that Ireland possesses "none of the conditions" necessary for "local self-government," (2) that the Irish could not be induced to accept any such boon in answer to their demand for Home Rule. His own view is, "that in Ireland, as in France, an honest centralized administration of impartial officials, and not local self-government, would best meet the real wants of the people."\* He is therefore a "supporter of things as they are."

On the other hand, all the opponents of Home Rule <sup>know of</sup> everything <sup>now of</sup> <sup>his</sup> <sup>aha</sup> <sup>some</sup> <sup>desirable</sup> <sup>inevitable</sup> <sup>method</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>subject-matter</sup> <sup>limits</sup> <sup>self-government</sup> <sup>must be</sup> <sup>granted to Ireland</sup> <sup>Lord Hartington is of opinion</sup> <sup>"that it is</sup> <sup>desirable for Irishmen that local institutions of self-government such</sup> <sup>as are possessed in England and Scotland, and such as we hope to give</sup> <sup>in the next Session in a greater extent to England and Scotland,</sup> <sup>should also be extended to Ireland"</sup> <sup>He</sup> <sup>"would not shrink from a</sup> <sup>great and bold reconstruction of the Irish Government"</sup> <sup>And</sup> <sup>instead of thinking, with Professor Dicey, that</sup> <sup>"an honest centralized</sup> <sup>administration of impartial officials, and not local self-government,</sup> <sup>would best meet the wants of the people,"</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>"would not be disposed</sup> <sup>to deny"</sup> <sup>that Irish administration</sup> <sup>"is at present too centralized in</sup> <sup>Dublin"</sup>†

Mr Shaw-Lefevre has "informed the public ‡ that Mr Chamber-

\* Pp 26-31, 134, 137-8, 279, 288

† Speech in Belfast, Nov 5, 1885

‡ Speech at Manchester, May 7, 1886

lain" in June 1885 "proposed to the Cabinet a scheme for a National Council for Ireland His National Council was to consist of two orders," was to embrace all Ireland, "and Ulster was not to have a separate Council" Mr Chamberlain has also advocated Mr Butt's Home Rule scheme,\* the American system of State Legislatures,† and the form of Home Rule which prevails in the local Legislatures of the Canadian Dominion ‡

Mr George Trevelyan has proposed 'a freely-elected body,' to which he would commit "the charge of the higher and the middle-class education of the country All public funds, all payments from the Exchequer on behalf of education, should be placed in the hands of this body Whatever more was wanted should be raised by internal Irish taxation, which this elective board should levy at its will, the State interfering only so far as to see that the system of taxation was fair and just to all classes" He "would have no *ex officio* Government members" To these elective boards he would also hand over "Government loans and grants to public bodies or to individuals, bridges and roads, and asylums, even the administration of the poor-rates and the system of poor relief"

Lord Selborne, too, who has pronounced a public eulogium on Professor Dicey's book, was one of a Cabinet which certainly intended to grant a considerable extension of local self-government to Ireland Mr Goschen also, I believe, has expressed himself in the same sense

On this ground, then, can the Liberal Unionists claim Professor Dicey's volitional ally? If he is opposed to Home Rule, he is also opposed to the various and mutually destructive schemes A controversialist respects the laws of logic cannot take as much of an argument as suits his convenience he must take it entire or leave it alone If Professor Dicey's book is good against the policy of Home Rule, it is also good against the policy of the Liberal Unionists Home Rulers may fling it at their heads with as much justice as they have been flinging it at the heads of the Home Rulers

But what of the Conservative party? In his speech on the Address last September Lord Randolph Churchill declared that "the great sign-posts of the policy" of the Government were "equality, similarity, and simultaneity of treatment, as far as practicable, in the development of a genuinely popular system of local government in all the four countries which form the United Kingdom" § On this Professor Dicey observes

"The true watchwords which should guide English democrats in their dealings with Ireland, as in truth with every other part of the United

\* Letter in *Daily News* of May 17, 1886

† Speech on first reading of Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill

‡ Speech on second reading of Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill

§ Mansard, vol 308, p 132

Kingdom, are not 'equality,' 'similarity,' and 'simultaneity', but 'unity of government,' 'equality of political rights,' 'diversity of institutions'."\*

Professor Dicey gives reasons for this opinion, which appear to me to be valid

Lord Salisbury has never, as far as I know, expounded his views at length on the question of Irish government, but his Newport speech shows that he has thought out the subject much more thoroughly than Lord Randolph Churchill, or even than the leading men among the Liberal Unionists. The institution of local self-government in Ireland he pronounced to be "a very difficult question," and in the following passage he placed his finger at once upon the kernel of the difficulty —

"A local authority is more exposed to the temptation, and has more of the facility for enabling a majority to be unjust to the minority, than in the case when the authority derives its sanction and extends its jurisdiction over a wide area. That is one of the weaknesses of local authorities. In a large central authority the wisdom of several parts of the country will correct the folly or the mistakes of one. In a local authority that correction to a much greater extent is wanting, and it would be impossible to leave that out of sight in the extension of any such local authority to Ireland."

This seems to me a much wiser and more statesmanlike view than a National Council with a multitude of elective boards scattered broadcast over Ireland, or even than Lord Hartington's suggestion that "the extension of Irish management over Irish affairs must be a growth of small beginnings," leading up to such "a great and bold reorganisation of the Irish Government" as shall eventually know of, and something "like complete control over her own affairs" to what multitude of local boards all over Ireland, without a recognised central authority to control them, would inevitably become facile instruments in the hands of the emissaries of disorder and sedition. And even apart from any such sinister influences, they would be almost certain to yield to the temptation of being oppressive, extravagant, and corrupt, if there were no executive power to command their confidence and enforce obedience. Without the previous creation of some authority of that kind it would be sheer madness to offer Ireland the fatal boon of local self-government. It would enormously increase without conciliating the power of the Nationalists, and would make the administration of Ireland by constitutional means simply impossible. The policy of the Liberal Unionists is thus much too large or much too small. It is too small to conciliate, and therefore too large to be given with safety. All these proposed concessions are liable to one insuperable objection, they would each and all enable the Irish to extort Home Rule, but under circumstances which would rob it of its grace and repel gratitude. Mill has some admirable

observations bearing on this subject, and I venture to quote the following passage —

"The greatest imperfection of popular local institutions, and the chief cause of the failure which so often attends them, is the low calibre of the men by whom they are almost always carried on. That these should be of a very miscellaneous character is, indeed, part of the usefulness of the institution, it is that circumstance chiefly which renders it a school of political capacity and general intelligence. But a school supposes teachers as well as scholars, the utility of the instruction greatly depends on its bringing inferior minds into contact with superior, a contact which in the ordinary course of life is altogether exceptional, and the want of which contributes more than anything else to keep the generality of mankind on one level of contented ignorance.

It is quite hopeless to induce persons of a high class, either socially or intellectually, to take a share of local administration in a corner by piecemeal as members of a Paving Board or a Drainage Commission" \*.

Mr Mill goes on to argue that it is essential to the healthy working of any scheme of local self-government that it should be under the control of a central authority which is itself in harmony with public opinion.

Both experience and authority are therefore on Professor Dickey's side when he rejects all petty schemes of local boards which may be suggested as an answer to the demand for Home Rule. None of such schemes would satisfy the demand, and, failing to satisfy it, would be simply mischievous. For practical purposes, therefore, Professor Dickey proves too much. He is a prophet without followers—*vox clamantis in deserto*. Those who profess to follow him are all backsliders. When they reach the brink of his conclusion they shiver and turn back. He has done a signal service to the cause of Home Rule by forcing the question to a definite issue between that policy and the present system, between a fresh departure and "things as they are." He believes with De Beaumont, and so do I, that what is needed in Ireland is "a strong central government," "an administration superior to parties, under whose shadow a middle class might spring up and become enlightened, while the power of the aristocracy was passing away." De Beaumont said what Lord Beaconsfield expressed some half-dozen years afterwards, in one of the most powerful speeches ever delivered in Parliament on the subject of Ireland—namely, that Ireland possessed "the weakest executive in the world," an executive which could not enforce justice all round, and which left the mass of the population at the mercy of a prejudiced oligarchy. There was then—that is, about fifty years ago—no educated middle class in Ireland, and De Beaumont could think of no better plan for getting rid of Dublin Castle government and demolishing the power of the dominant caste than by "drawing closer the bond between England and Ireland, bringing Dublin as near as possible to London, and turning Ireland into an English county." This he proposed to do by "re-

\* "Considerations on Representative Government," p. 281.

forming the Viceroyalty and abolishing the prevailing system of local administration "

But Professor Dicey is in error in supposing that De Beaumont, whose work deserves all the praise which he bestows upon it, recommends this drastic remedy as the normal method of governing Ireland. On the contrary, he speaks of it as a temporary expedient, necessary "during the period of transition through which Ireland was passing." So intolerable, in fact, did De Beaumont consider the administration of Ireland, so deep seated seemed to him its maladies and vices, that he saw no hope except in the entire uprooting of the whole system. And this, in his opinion, could only be done by transferring the seat of Irish government to England while the transformation was going on. This seems to me clear from the very passage which Professor Dicey has quoted, and which I give in a note, in order that the reader may judge for himself. The "local administrations" which De Beaumont proposed to abolish could in no sense be described as examples of local self-government. They had no representative character, and the people had no voice in them whatever. In short, De Beaumont saw plainly what Burke deplored more than forty years previously, when he wrote the following words, almost from his deathbed —

the "All the evils of Ireland have been carried out Ireland without the aid of a peppercorn rent in power or influence, public or individual, to the little narrow fiction that domineers over here. Through that alone we reach, feel, hear, or understand everything relating to that kingdom. Nor do I see any way interiere, that I know of, except in giving their countenance and the sanction of their names to whatever is done by that Juno" †

De Beaumont proposed a reconstruction of Irish government, and, as a necessary preliminary condition, he insisted on the destruction of the Junto, and the removal bodily for a time of the Irish Administration to England. Is it possible to conceive a more emphatic condemnation of the system which Professor Dicey upholds with all the resources of a well-stored mind and the dexterity of a skilled dialectician? I do not forget that the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Acts are subsequent to the publication of De Beaumont's book. But that fact does not affect the question, for the system of Irish administration has remained essentially the same. I humbly submit, therefore, that De Beaumont, though summoned as

\* "La réforme de la vice royauté et l'abolition des administrations locales d'Irlande ne sont, sans doute, que des changements de forme. Mais ce sont des moyens pratiques indispensables pour exécuter les réformes politiques dont ce pays a besoin. Il faut que, pendant la période de transition où se trouve l'Irlande, ceux qui la gouvernent soient placés absolument en dehors d'elle, de ses mœurs, de ses passions, il faut que son gouvernement cesse complètement d'être irlandais, il faut qu'il soit entièrement, non pas anglais, mais remis à des anglais."

† Burke on "Irish Affairs," edited by Matthew Arnold, p. 376

a witness in support of the "Case against Home Rule," is in reality a most powerful witness for the other side

Nor is this all I shall venture to put Professor Dickey himself into the witness-box, and appeal to his own most candid admissions as an argument against the "case" which he has set up He is not blind, like more light-hearted opponents of Home Rule, to the danger of the course which he recommends "We have nothing before us," he says, "but a choice of difficulties or evils" "Any possible course open to English statesmanship involves gigantic inconvenience, not to say tremendous perils" Certainly the perils of maintaining the Union in its present form and under existing conditions must be sufficiently apparent from Professor Dickey's succinct summary of the problem

'The maintenance of the Union [I should add in its present form] must necessarily turn out a severe task is ever taxed nation's energies, for to maintain the Union with any good effect, means that, while refusing to accede to the wishes of millions of Irishmen, we must sedulously do justice to every fair demand from Ireland, must strenuously, and without fear or favour, assert the equal rights of landlords and tenants, of Protestants and Catholics, and must, at the same time, put down every outrage and reform every abuse'

What hope is there of this? Our only guide to the probabilities of the future is our experience of the past And what has that been in Ireland? In every year since the Legislative Union there have been multitudes of men in England as upright, as enlightened, as well intentioned towards Ireland, as Professor Dickey, and with better opportunities of translating their thoughts into acts Yet what has been the result? *Si monumentum requiris circumspice* Behold Ireland at this moment, and examine every year of its history since the Union Do the annals of any constitutional Government in the world present so portentous a monument of parliamentary failure, so vivid an example of a moral and material ruin "paved with good intentions"? Therein lies the pathos of it Not from malice, not from cruelty, not from wanton injustice, not even from callous indifference to suffering and wrong, does our misgovernment of Ireland come If the evil had its root in deliberate wrong-doing on the part of England it would probably have been cured long ago But each generation, while freely confessing the sins of its fathers, has protested its own innocence and boasted of its own achievements, and then, with a pharisaic sense of rectitude, has complacently pointed to some inscrutable flaw in the Irish character as the key to the Irish problem The generation which passed the Act of Union, oblivious of British pledges solemnly given and lightly broken, wondered what had become of the prosperity and contentment which the promoters of the Union had promised to Ireland The next generation made vicarious penance, and preferred the enactment of Catholic emancipation to the

alternative of civil war, and then wondered in its turn that Ireland still remained unpacified. Then came a terrible famine, followed by evictions on a scale so vast and cruel that the late Sir Robert Peel declared that no parallel could be found for such a tale of inhumanity in "the records of any country, civilized or barbarous." Another generation, pluming itself on its enlightened views and kind intentions, passed the Encumbered Estates Act, which delivered the Irish tenants over to the tender mercies of speculators and money-lenders, and then Parliament for a time closed its eyes and ears, and relied upon force alone to keep Ireland quiet. It rejected every suggestion of reform in the land laws, and a great Minister, himself an Irish landlord, dismissed the whole subject in the flippant epigram that "tenant right was landlord-wrong." Since then the Irish Church has been disestablished, and two Land Acts have been passed, yet we seem to be as far as ever from the pacification of Ireland. Surely it is time to inquire whether the evil is not inherent in our system of governing Ireland, and whether there is any other cure than that which De Beaumont suggested, namely, the destruction of the system. It is probable that there is not in all London a more humane or a more kind-hearted man than Lord Salisbury. Yet Lord Salisbury's Government will do some harsh and iniquitable things in Ireland this winter, just as Mr. Gladstone's Government did during its term of office. The fault is not in the men, but in the system which they have to administer. I see no reason to doubt that Sir M. Hicks-Beach has done the best he could under the circumstances, but, unfortunately, bad is the best. In a conversation which I had with Dr. Dollinger while he was in full communion with his Church, I ventured to ask him whether he thought that a new Pope, of liberal ideas, force of character, and commanding ability, would make any great difference in the Papal system. "No," he replied, "the Curial system is the growth of centuries, and there can be no change of any consequence while it lasts. Many a Pope has begun with brave projects of reform, but the struggle has been brief, and the end has been invariably the same: the Pope has been forced to succumb. His *entourage* has been too much for him. He has found himself enclosed in a system which was too strong for him, wheel within wheel, and while the system lasts the most enlightened ideas and the best intentions are in the long run unavailing." This criticism applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to what may be called the Curial system of Dublin Castle. It is a species of political Ultramontanism, exercising supreme power behind the screen of an official infallibility on which there is practically no check, since Parliament never refuses to grant it any power which it may demand for enforcing its decrees.

But let us hear Professor Dicey's opinion of the system which he seeks to perpetuate —



"On one point alone (it may be urged) all men, of whatever party or of whatever nation, who have seriously studied the annals of Ireland, are agreed the history of the country is a record of incessant failure on the part of the Government, and of incessant misery on the part of the people. On this matter, if on no other, De Beaumont, Froude, and Lecky are one."

If this were said of any country outside the British Empire, is there an intelligent man in England who would not without hesitation lay the blame upon the Government? Professor Dicey leaves the question of guilt open, but insists that "England," from whatever cause, "has failed in Ireland in achieving the elementary results of good government." This, he thinks, "is as certain as any fact of history or of experience." I do not know that the most extreme of Nationalists could draw up a more formidable indictment against English rule than this, in other words, a more cogent argument in favour of Home Rule. "The Act of Union," Mr Dicey affirms, "did not lead to national unity," on the contrary, it "has at last placed England and Ireland farther apart morally than they stood at the beginning of the century."

"The failure of English statesmanship, explain it as you will, has produced the one last and greatest evil which misgovernment can cause. It has created hostility to the law in the minds of the people. The law cannot work in Ireland because the classes, whose opinion in other countries supports the action of the Courts, are in Ireland, even when not law-breakers, in full sympathy with law-breakers" (Pp 72, 71).

It is the able and accomplished advocate of "England's Case against Home Rule" who makes this ruinous confession of what the advocates of Home Rule may urge "in a way which is at once legitimate and telling." And he adds, with most honourable candour, that a Home Ruler may argue that "this fact is for his purpose all the more instructive if it be granted that the errors of British policy do not arise from injustice or ill will to Irishmen. The inference, he (*i.e.*, the Home Ruler) insists, to be drawn from the lesson of history is that it is impossible for the Parliament of the United Kingdom to understand or provide for Irish needs." Professor Dicey does not dispute the justice of the inference, on the contrary, he gives reasons which explain it. For example "A foreign critic like De Beaumont finds it far easier than could any Englishman to enter into the condition of Ireland." The English nation "has combined extraordinary talents for legislation with a singular incapacity for consolidating subject races into one State," whereas "France has shown a power, quite unknown to Englishmen, of attaching to herself, by affection, countries which she has annexed by force." "The assailants of popular Government" are wrong when they "point to the misrule of Ireland as a proof that the Parliamentary system is vicious." What those critics do prove is, that a representative assembly is a bad form of government for any nation

or class whom it does not represent, and they establish to demonstration that a Parliamentary despotism may well be a worse form of government than a Royal despotism" "Down to 1782 Ireland was avowedly subject to the despotism or sovereignty of the British Parliament, and at every turn the interest of the country was sacrificed to the exigencies of English politics And even at the present day the most plausible charge which can be brought against the working of the Act of Union is that Ireland under it fails to obtain the full benefit of the British Constitution, and that, in spite of her hundred representatives, she is not, for practical purposes, represented at Westminster in the same sense as is Middlesex or Midlothian" \*

Mr John Morley was lately taken very severely to task for saying that the British Parliament has commonly yielded to fear rather than to reason But Professor Dicey says in substance much the same thing in the following passage †

"All the inherent vices of party government, all the weaknesses of the Parliamentary system, all the evils arising from the perverse notion, that reform ought always to be preceded by a period of lengthy and more than half-factitious agitation, met by equally factitious resistance, have been fostered and increased by the interaction of Irish and English politics No one can believe that the inveterate habit of ruling one part of the United Kingdom on principles which no one would venture to apply to the government of any other part of it, can have produced anything but the most injurious effect on the stability of our Government and the character of our public men The advocates of Home Rule find by far their strongest arguments for influencing English opinion in the proofs which they produce, that England, no less than Ireland, has suffered from a political arrangement under which legal union has failed to secure moral unity" ‡

And Professor Dicey's judgment is, that for "these evils, arising from the connection, the blame must rest on English statesmen"

These, be it observed, are the frank admissions of a writer of great ability, wide reading, and singular honesty, extorted from him by the logic of facts in the course of an elaborate argument against Home Rule and in support of "things as they are" And they are admissions, not of facts which are ephemeral or transitory, the offspring

\* Pp 81-83 This last admission is hardly consistent with p 288, where Professor Dicey speaks of "the Parliament of the United Kingdom," as "an assembly, be it noted, in which the voice of Ireland is freely heard" A nation "freely heard," but never listened to, may reasonably complain of contumely added to wrong Can Professor Dicey cite any single boon of any importance which the British Parliament has ever granted simply to "the voice of Ireland freely heard" ?

† I have observed, as a general rule, that when the opponents of any reform point out the dangers which they think likely to proceed from it, they call it "warning," but denounce as "intimidation" the danger signals which the advocates of reform hoist up to avert its rejection

‡ P 152 Here, again, I must note what seems to me an inconsistency In the passage quoted above the author admits that "legal union has failed to secure moral unity" Yet on p 161 he seeks to discredit the policy of Home Rule by describing it as "a plan for disuniting the parts of a united State" What is the value of "a legal union" which has failed to secure "moral unity" ?

of this or that passing Administration or official, but of facts which have their roots beneath the very foundations of the present system of Irish government, and are inseparable from it. There is, moreover, another consideration, which has escaped Mr Dicey's criticism, but which must convince any dispassionate mind which ponders it, that the British Parliament is incompetent to manage Irish affairs, and must become increasingly incompetent year by year. In ordinary circumstances Parliament sits about twenty-seven weeks out of the fifty-two. Five out of the twenty seven may safely be subtracted for holidays, debates on the Address, and other debates apart from ordinary business. That leaves twenty-two weeks, and out of these, two nights a week are at the disposal of the Government and three at the disposal of private members, leaving in all forty-four days for the Government and sixty-six for private members. Into those forty-four nights Government must compress all its yearly programme of legislation for the whole of the British Empire, from the settlement of some petty dispute about land in the Hebrides to some question of high policy in Egypt, India, or other portions of the Queen's world-wide empire, and all this amidst endless distractions, enforced attendance through dreary debates and rapid talk, and a running fire of cross examination from any volunteer questioner out of the 600 odd members who sit outside the Government circle. The consequence is, that Parliament is getting less able every year to overtake the mass of business which comes before it. Each year contributes its quota of inevitable arrears to the accumulated mass of previous Sessions, and the process will go on multiplying in increasing ratio as the complex and multifarious needs of modern life increase. The large addition recently made to the electorate of the United Kingdom is already forcing a crop of fresh subjects on the attention of Parliament, as well as presenting old ones from new points of view. Plans of devolution and Grand Committees will fail to cope with this evil. To overcome it we need some organic change in our present Parliamentary system, some form of decentralization, which shall leave the Imperial Parliament supreme over all subordinate bodies, yet relegate to the historic and geographical divisions of the United Kingdom the management severally of their own local affairs. Professor Dicey regards all plans of this sort as a retrograde movement, the premonitory symptom of incipient dissolution.

I should have better hope from governing Ireland (if it were possible) as we govern India, than from Professor Dicey's method of passing "things as they are." A Viceroy surrounded by a Council of trained officials, and in semi-independence of Parliament, would have settled the Irish question, land and all, long ago. But imagine India governed on the model of Ireland the Viceroy and

the most important member of his Government changing with every change of Administration at Westminster,\* his Council and the official class in general consisting almost exclusively of native Mussulmans, deeply prejudiced by religious and traditional enmity against the great mass of the population, himself generally subordinate to his Chief Secretary, and exposed to the daily criticism of an ignorant Parliament and to the determined hostility of eighty-six Hindoos, holding seats in Parliament as the representatives of the vast majority of the people of India, and resenting bitterly the domination of the hereditary oppressors of their race—How long could the Government of India be carried on under such conditions?

● Viewing it all round, then, it must be admitted that the problem which Professor Dicey has set himself is a sufficiently formidable one. Read the remarkable admissions which I have quoted from his book, and add to them all the other evils which are rooted in our existing system of Irish government, and then consider what hope there is, under “things as they are,” of “scrupulously doing justice to every demand from Ireland,” “strenuously, and without fear or favour, asserting the equal rights of landlords and tenants, Protestants and Catholics,” “putting down every outrage, and reforming every abuse,” and all the “while refusing to accede to the wishes of millions of Irishmen” for a fundamental change in a political arrangement that has for centuries produced all the mischief which Professor Dicey admits, and much more besides, while it has at the same time frustrated every serious endeavour to bring about the better state of things which he expects from—what? From “things as they are!” As well expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. While the tree remains the same, no amount of weeding, or pruning, or manuring, or change of culture, will make it bring forth different fruit. Professor Dicey has demolished what Lord Beaconsfield used to call the “bit-by-bit” reformers of Irish Government—those who would administer homœopathic doses of local self-government, but always under protest that the supply was to stop short of what would satisfy the hunger of the patient. But a continuance of “things as they are,” gilded with a thin tissue of benevolent hopes and aspirations, is scarcely a more promising remedy for the ills of Ireland. Is it not time to try some new treatment—one which has been tried in similar cases, and always with success? One only policy has never been tried in Ireland—honest Home Rule. It is recommended by wise men and skilled practitioners, and has been for a long time

\* From the beginning of 1880 till now there have been six Viceroy and nine Chief Secretaries in Dublin—namely, Duke of Marlborough, Earls Cowper and Spencer, Earls of Carnarvon and Aberdeen, and the Marquis of Londonderry, Mr Lowther, Mr Forster, Lord Cavendish, Mr Trevelyan, Mr Campbell Bannerman, Sir W Hart Dyke, Mr W H Smith, Mr J Morley, and Sir M Hicks Beach. A fine example, truly, of stable government and continuous policy!

passionately demanded by the patient. At present the case stands thus. The existing system has admittedly failed. This is the confession of its latest and ablest champion. "Every scheme" (within that system), says Professor Dicey, "has been tried in turn, and no scheme has succeeded." It "is a record of incessant failure on the part of the Government, and of incessant misery on the part of the people." It "has produced the one last and greatest evil which misgovernment can cause." "Irish disaffection to England is, if not deeper, more wide-spread than in 1800." It is, in short, "a political arrangement under which legal union has failed to secure moral unity." Is it possible to conceive a more complete surrender at discretion of "things as they are" than these suicidal admissions? Yet this is the position, his guns spiked by himself and his ramparts\* lying all in ruins around him, from which Mr. Dicey ventures on the following surprising challenge —

"The support of the Union [as it is] is, after all, let controversialists say what they will, the policy which holds the field, and it is (strange though the assertion may appear) on the advocates of innovation, not on the supporters of things as they are, that lies the burden of making out their case."

"The advocates of innovation" need only reply that Professor Dicey has saved them the trouble. He has made out their case for them.

But "the advocates of innovation" are of two sorts: those who are in favour of local self-government, more or less, but short of Parliamentary Home Rule, and those who advocate Home Rule in the sense of a Legislative Body in Dublin, with executive powers, but subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. To both of these classes of innovators Mr. Dicey is irreconcilably opposed. He is one of "the supporters of things as they are," since he sees no prospect of Frenchifying our administration of Ireland (pp. 26, 27). A controversialist who occupies so exposed a position has need to look well to his weapons. Let us then examine his arguments against Home Rule—not in detail, there is no space, nor is there any necessity. Their validity can be tested by some proof examples.

The first criticism that I have to make is, that a large proportion of Professor Dicey's arguments against Home Rule are of the nature of unfulfilled prophecy. In his opinion, "the injury to be done to England" by Home Rule is a "certainty" (p. 16). It would be equivalent to a loss of "moral character" (p. 144). It would also be "vile treachery," which "would approach to infamy," since it would probably leave "English subjects who had always obeyed the law \* at the mercy of conspirators whose lawlessness had taken

\* While I am writing, Justice Lawson has just been denouncing an Ulster Protestant jury for condoning the murder of a British soldier by an Irish Protestant, and an Ulster member of Parliament has publicly declared that if the Imperial Parliament pass a law which happens to offend his Orange prejudices, he will disobey that law. Obedience to laws which favour oneself and oppress others is a very cheap kind of loyalty.

the form of cruelty and tyranny, and whose vindictiveness was certain to punish as criminality former acts of loyalty or obedience to English sovereignty" (pp 144-5) It would "mean loss to Great Britain both in money and men," amounting, in men, to "the sacrifice of a seventh part of the population of the United Kingdom" (pp 145-6) Ireland under Home Rule would be "a foe, or at best a very cold friend, upon our borders" (p 147) "Our diplomacy would be constantly occupied with the intrigues carried on in Dublin" (p 148) "That the Gladstonian Constitution cannot satisfy Ireland is all but certain" (p 267) "An Irish Parliament would assuredly pass laws which every man in England, and many more throughout Ireland, would hold to be unjust, and which would certainly set aside imperial legislation" (p 210) Home Rule would mean "courts, an army, and a police, controlled by the leaders of the Land League," and that again would probably mean "rents abolished and landlords driven into exile" (p 211) A Home Rule Parliament would "desire that the country shall defend itself," and would therefore insist on having an army (p 269) Under Home Rule we should probably see "British subjects killed by a mob in Belfast or in Dublin, whilst British troops stand quietly by, and under the direction of an Irish Home Secretary take no steps to prevent murder" (pp 263-4) "Suppose that the first Irish Ministry, on their accession to power, propose to inaugurate the new era by a free pardon of all the political offenders, dynamiters and others" (p 264) \*

Certainly, if Home Rule is to be refused till all these prophecies are disproved, and all these suppositions shown to be absolutely impossible, Ireland must go without Home Rule for ever "If the sky fall, we shall catch larks" But he would be a foolish bird-catcher who waited for that contingency And not less foolish is the statesman who sits still till every conceivable objection to his policy has been mathematically refuted in advance, and every wild prediction falsified by the event, for that would ensure his never moving at all *Sed et aternamque scilicet* A proper enough attitude, perhaps, on the part of an æsthetic philosopher speculating on politics in the silent shade of academic groves but hardly suitable for a practical politician who has to take action on one of the most burning questions of our time Human affairs are not governed by mathematical reasoning You cannot demonstrate the precise results of any legislative measure beforehand as you can demonstrate the course of a planet in the solar system "Probability," as Bishop Butler says, "is the guide of life," and an older philosopher

\* Is Mr Dicey serious in harping this and other outrageous improbabilities? An Irish Ministry could not at present do anything of the kind The political offenders in question were tried and convicted in Great Britain, and would be beyond the jurisdiction of an Irish Ministry

than Butler has warned us that to demand demonstrative proof in the sphere of contingent matter is the same kind of absurdity as to demand probable reasoning in mathematics. You cannot confute a prophet before the event, you can only disbelieve him. The advocates of Home Rule believe that their policy would in general have an exactly contrary effect to that predicted by Mr Dicey, and their faith rests on better evidence than his unbelief. First, every act of legislation is, before experience, amenable to such destructive criticism as he urges against Home Rule. I have not a doubt that Professor Dicey could have made out an unanswerable "case" against the Great Charter at Runnymede, and he would find it easy to prove on *à priori* grounds that the British Constitution is one of the most absurd, mischievous, and unworkable instruments that ever issued from human brains or from the evolution of events. By Professor Dicey's method of reasoning the Great Charter and other fundamental portions of the Constitution ought to have brought the Government of the British Empire to a deadlock long ago. Every suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, every Act of Attainder, every statute for summary trial and conviction before justices of the peace, is a violation of the fundamental article of the Constitution, which requires that no man shall be imprisoned or otherwise punished except after lawful trial by his peers. Consider also the magazines of explosive materials which lie hidden in the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, if they could only be ignited by the match of an ingenious theorist. The Crown, as Lord Sherbrooke once somewhat irreverently expressed it, "can turn every cobbler in the land into a peer," and could thus put an end, as the Duke of Wellington declared, to "the Constitution of this country."† "The Crown is not bound by Act of Parliament unless named therein by special and particular words"‡. The Crown can make peace or war without consulting Parliament, can by secret treaty saddle the nation with the most perilous obligations, and give away all such portions of the empire as do not rest on Statute. The prerogative of mercy, too, would enable an eccentric Sovereign, aided by an obsequious Minister, to open the jails and let all the convicted criminals in the land loose upon society. § But criticism which proves too much in effect proves nothing.

Secondly, every stage in the progress of constitutional reform has, in matter of fact, been marked by similar predictions falsified by results,§

\* Creasy's "Imperial and Colonial Constitutions of the Britannie Empire," p. 155.

† May's Const. Hist. i. 313.

‡ Blackstone's "Commentaries," by Stephen, ii. 491-2, 497, 507.

§ We need not go far afield for illustrations. A few samples will suffice. "It was natural," says Mill ("Rep. Gov." p. 311), "to feel strong doubts before trial had been made how such a provision [as the Supreme Court of the United States] would work, whether the tribunal would have the courage to exercise its constitutional power, if it did, whether it would exercise it wisely, and whether the Government would consent peaceably to its decision. The discussions on the American Constitution, before its final

and the prophets who condemn Home Rule have no better credentials, indeed, much worse, for they proclaim the miserable failure of "things as they are," whereas their predecessors were in their day satisfied with things as they were. Thirdly, some of Mr Dicey's most telling points are now obsolete and irrelevant. For instance, the exclusion of Irish members from the British Parliament (p. 82). Mr Gladstone has in public repeatedly withdrawn that part of the Bill, and declared his readiness to make provision for continued Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament. With the fall of that objection falls also the argument from the so-called "tribute" which Professor Dicey hangs on it (p. 269). But it is necessary to say a word or two on this "tribute" question. Professor Dicey believes that all Ireland,

adoption gave evidence that these natural apprehensions were strongly felt, but they are now entirely quitted, since during the two generations and more which have subsequently elapsed nothing has occurred to verify them, though there have at times been disputes of considerable acrimony and which became the badges of parties respecting the limits of the authority of the Federal and State Governments'. The Austrian opponents of Home Rule in Hungary predicted that it would lead straight to separation. The opponents of the Canadian Constitution prophesied that Canada would in a few years be annexed to the United States and Home Rule in Australia was believed by able statesmen to involve independence at an early date. Mr Dicey himself tells us 'that the wisest thinkers of the eighteenth century (including Burke) held that the independence of the American Colonies meant the irreparable ruin of Great Britain. There were apparently solid reasons for this belief: experience has proved it to be without foundation. The various changes in our own Constitution, and even in our Criminal Code, were believed by 'men of light and leading' at the time to portend national ruin. All the judges in the land, all the bankers and the professions generally, petitioned against alteration in the law which sent children of ten to the gallows for the theft of a pocket handkerchief. The great Lord Ellenborough declared in the House of Lords that the learned judges were unanimously agreed that any mitigation in our law would imperil the public security.' "My Lords," he exclaimed, "if we suffer this Bill to pass we shall not know where we stand: we shall not know whether we are on our heads or on our feet." Mr Peel, when leader of the House of Commons in 1807, declared that he could not conceive a time or change of circumstances which would render further concessions to the Catholics consistent with the safety of the State." (Croker I. p. 112) "I was a very wise man, but here is his forecast of the Reform Act of 1832: 'No kings, no lords, no inequalities in the social system: all will be levelled to the plane of the petty shopkeepers and small farmers: this, perhaps, not without bloodshed, but certainly by confiscations and persecutions.' "There can be no longer any doubt that the Reform Bill is a stepping stone in England to a Republic, and in Ireland to separation." Croker met the Queen in 1832, considered her very good looking, but thought it not unlikely that "she may live to be plump Miss Guelph." Even Sir Robert Peel wrote: 'If I am to be believed, I foresee revolution as the consequence of this Bill,' and he "felt that it had ceased to be an object of ambition to any man of equable and consistent mind to enter into the service of the Crown." And as late as 1849 so robust a character as Sir James Graham thought the world was coming to an end because the young Queen gave her confidence to a Whig Minister. "I begin to share all your apprehensions and forebodings," he writes to Croker "with regard to the probable issue of the present struggle. The Crown in alliance with Democracy baffles every calculation on the balance of power in our mixed form of Government. Aristocracy and Church cannot contend against Queen and people mixed: they must yield in the first instance when the Crown, unprotected, will meet its fate, and the accustomed round of anarchy and despotism will run its course." And he prays that he may "be cold before that dreadful day." (*Ibid.* in 113, 140, 176, 181, 356.) Free Trade created a similar panic. "Good God," Croker exclaimed, "what a chaos of anarchy and misery do I foresee in every direction, from so comparatively small a beginning as changing an *average* duty of 8s into a *fixed* duty of 8s, the fact being that the fixed duty means *no duty at all*, and *no duty at all* will be the overthrow of the existing social and political system of our country." (*Ibid.* in 13.) And what have become of Mr Lowe's gloomy vaticinations as to the terrible consequences of the very moderate Reform Bill of 1866, followed as it was by a much more democratic measure?



Ulster included, would join, "and justly join, in denouncing as at once ignominious and ruinous the payment of a tribute raised for imperial purposes at the moment when Ireland ceased to have any vote in the direction of imperial policy" (pp 268-9) The objection is no longer relevant, but is it sound? It may be presumptuous, especially for a layman, to question any opinion on constitutional law given by the eminent author of the "Law of the Constitution," but I am sure that Professor Dicey is one of the last men to repel criticism by the weight of any authority I shall therefore venture to say that in the passage just quoted, and in other parts of his volume, he seems to me to have forgotten the cardinal distinction which Burke draws, in his splendid speech on American taxation, between "the Constitution of the British Empire" and "the Constitution of Britain" Burke would never have asserted, as Professor Dicey does (pp 15-17), that "it is not the doubt as to the reality of the blessing to be conferred on Ireland, but the certainty [''] of the injury to be done to England, which causes their opposition to Home Rule" \* Mr Dicey argues throughout as if England alone, in the strictest sense, were the British Empire, and had accordingly an exclusive right to decide an issue which concerns the Empire at large It is this narrowness of view—if I may take the liberty of saying so—which has misled him on the subject of the alleged injustice of taxation without representation No higher authority on that subject exists than Burke, yet Burke insists on the constitutional right of the Imperial Parliament to demand for imperial purposes a financial contribution from the subordinate legislatures Professor Dicey himself does not insist more strongly than Burke does on the omnipotence of Parliament "Her power," he says, "must be boundless," and he tests this power as follows —

'We are engaged in war, the Secretary of State calls upon the Colonies to contribute Some would do it, I think most would cheerfully furnish whatever is demanded One or two, suppose, hang back, and, easing themselves, let the stress of the difficulty lie on the others Surely it is proper that some authority might legally say 'Tax yourselves for the common supply, or Parliament will do it for you' The case is to be provided for by a competent sovereign power, but then this ought to be no ordinary power—nor ever used in the first instance This is what I meant when I have said at various times that *I consider the power of taxing in Parliament as an instrument of empire, and not as a means of supply*'

The principle of what is inaccurately called the "tribute" in Mr

\* Compare this with the following language of Burke, spoken, be it remembered, before the Union — "The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of an extensive Empire in two capacities one is the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power, the other and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her imperial character, in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, *without annihilating any*'

Gladstone's Bill could not be more clearly defined. It makes no difference as to principle how the right of taxing the Colonies for imperial purposes is to be exercised, whether by an agreement to pay a certain sum for an indefinite time, or for a given period, or by an extraordinary vote to meet an extraordinary emergency. The principle is, that Parliament, in its imperial capacity, has a right to call, as it shall see fit, on any constituent member of the empire to bear its share in the burdens of the empire. There could, therefore, have been nothing unjust or "ignominious" in Ireland's contribution to imperial taxation under Mr Gladstone's Bill, even if not a single Irish member remained in the British Parliament. Still less could this have been the case when it was a voluntary arrangement on the part of Ireland made legally through her chosen representatives. The maxim that there can be no taxation without representation is one of those constitutional truisms which would soon wreck the Constitution if pushed beyond the narrow limits of their proper application. Strictly interpreted, it would exempt women from taxation, and all males without votes. In 1831 "the entire electoral body of Scotland was only 4,000" \*. Does it follow that the rest of the population of Scotland had up to that date been illegally taxed? When Burke argued against the right of Parliament to tax the colonies he was using "right" in what logicians call its "second intention." Men may individually and as a Government have a right to do what nevertheless it would not be right for them to do. An abstract right may become a concrete wrong.

My fourth special criticism on Professor Dicey's argument against Home Rule is, that much of it, while appropriate enough in the form of amendments to a Bill in Committee, cannot properly be called arguments against Home Rule at all. Right or wrong, they might be accepted without prejudice to the principle of Home Rule, which, let it be repeated, means in this controversy a Legislative Body in Ireland, legislating for affairs exclusively Irish, with an executive under its control. All else is open, and when the advocates of Home Rule point to other countries and to our colonies as examples of the beneficial working of Home Rule, they are not so foolish as to suggest that the analogies are complete, but only that they are sufficiently near as *prima facie* arguments †. Some others of Mr Dicey's objections rest on an equivocal use of words. "nation" and "nationality" are instances. For example "Mr Parnell and his followers accept in principle Mr Gladstone's proposals, and are therefore willing

\* Creasy, p. 30

† This is my answer to some criticism which Professor Dicey has done me the honour of making on my pamphlet on Home Rule, on page 190 of his book. Having, however, in that criticism attributed to me, by an oversight, a quotation from another writer, he has written to me in most courteous terms to request me to make public the fact that he has corrected the mistake in his second edition.

to accept for Ireland restrictions on her political liberty absolutely inconsistent with her nationality" (p 32) "Rhode Island has all the freedom demanded for his country by an eminent Home Ruler. He surely does not consider the inhabitants of Rhode Island to be a nation" "Ireland would not under Federalism be a nation" (p 182) "A nation is one thing, a state forming part of a federation is another" (p 33) [*e.g.*, Bavaria or Hungary?]. In these passages nationality is made synonymous with absolute independence, and Mr Dicey's whole "case" rests at bottom on the assumption that this is the kind of nationality which the Irish desire, and that they will never remain satisfied with anything short of complete separation from the British Empire. I believe, on the contrary—and my belief rests on no more violent assumption than that the Irish are not fools—that the Irish Nationalists would in a body reject as a fatal gift the boon for which Mr Dicey thinks they are craving. The nationality they cherish is something quite different.

"A portion of mankind, says Mill, "may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be governed by themselves, or a portion of themselves, exclusively."\*

Among the causes which generate this sentiment he mentions "community of language," "identity of race and descent," "community of religion," "geographical limits," "a common name" "But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents, the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections—collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past." Scotland and Wales have an intense pride in their distinct nationalities, but this pride does not derogate from—it increases—their common pride in their heritage as members of the British Empire. The liveliest ardour of individual nationalism may co-exist with love of a larger country under the over shadowing ægis of either an imperial or federal flag. A soldier is not less loyal to the national flag because his first thought is for the colours of his regiment. That this was Mill's view, the whole passage, and also his illustrations, show.

I can only cursorily glance at a few more of Mr Dicey's objections. "Home rule," he says, "is a plan for revolutionizing the Constitution of the whole United Kingdom" (p 17). How? Was the Constitution revolutionized by the Act of Union? If not, how can it be revolutionized by a modification of that Act? Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was constitutionally insignificant in comparison with the Act of Union, which not only destroyed a Parliament

centuries old, but in addition repealed specifically the fundamental statutory covenant which ordained—

"That the said right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom in all cases whatever, and to have all actions, &c., decided in His Majesty's Court therein finally, and without appeal from thence, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be, established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable" (Act, George III c xxviii, 1783)

Mr Dicey objects to the personification of nationalities, "the delusion of personification" (pp 10-11), and then presently falls into that very "delusion" when he speaks of England as a person—"her honour," "her obligations" (pp 12, 13). He attacks the idea that a portion of a nation has a right to speak with the authority of the whole. "The will of a locality is admitted not to be the expression of the will of the nation" (pp 29, 30). This assumes the existence of a united nation, which he denies on p 128. "The two countries [England and Ireland] do not yet form one united nation." "The feeling of nationality," we are told, "has played a very subordinate part in fomenting or keeping alive Irish discontent," and therefore the true and only remedy is an agrarian law (pp 96, 288). The history of Ireland since the Union refutes this assertion. From Grattan downwards Ireland's demand for Home Rule has been primarily political. But if we grant Mr Dicey's assertion for the sake of argument, it destroys the main part of his "case," which assumes that the real desire of Irish nationalists is for national independence and complete separation. He thinks (p 212) that the Irish would not be satisfied even with "colonial independence." Why, if the real root of their discontent is agrarian, and a reform in that direction would cure the discontent?

But want of space forbids me to pursue this criticism in detail. After all, the real question is, What is to be done now? The Irish question will brook no delay. Men may talk lightly of the ease with which eighty-six Irish members may be kept in order in Parliament. They forget that the Irish people are behind the Irish members. How is Ireland to be governed on parliamentary principles if the voice of her representatives is to be forcibly silenced or disregarded? Could even Yorkshire be governed permanently in that way? That is the difficulty which Professor Dicey never faces once in his able book, and his evasion of it proves that he sees no practical method of facing it from the ground of "things as they are." If I mistake not, his book will be found to advance instead of impeding the cause of Home Rule. When the British public come to see that the only alternatives are Home Rule and "things as they are," they will choose Home Rule. But in any case opponents as well as friends must welcome into the arena the advent of a combatant who delivers his hardest blows with knightly courtesy.

## DOGS IN LONDON.

ONE of the surest indications of the advance and spread of healthy feeling in this country is the effort societies are now making to secure the welfare of our suffering fellow-creatures. For many years we have had in our midst a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, but it is only quite recently that the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children has been able to make any headway. We have now another society springing up for the prevention of hydrophobia, whose operations, if judiciously carried out, must inevitably tend to relieve humanity of the risks of a horrible form of disease, while animals especially dogs, will also benefit by immunity from the same.

The advance from solicitude for the welfare of animals only to that of human beings is one on which the nation may well congratulate itself, for the latter will always be found to comprehend the former. Those who are kind to their fellow-creatures will always be found to be also kind and considerate to animals, while, on the contrary, those who are merely fond of animals are known to be often averse to children, and to care little for the welfare of the human race.

The fact is, the love of animals in itself is very frequently merely the liking for them so far as they pander to our own selfish amusements, and in many cases the love extends to them as it does to inanimate objects, our goods and chattels, and no farther. So much is this the case that the kindly feeling as to possession goes as far as our own children—that is to say, it is not uncommon to meet with persons who are fond of their own children and their own dogs, but who care little for the children of others. The feeling alluded to, however, as now spreading over the country is beyond all this—it is the love of humanity which is springing up and influencing so many—love for those who are not known, and with this comes also a feeling for animals, of a higher nature than that possessed by

those who may love animals only, but who dislike what they call the "gutter children"

The great antagonism which has recently been shown by rival parties as to the operation of the Dog Laws during the present year is a result of an advance of healthy sympathy on the part of the majority, causing natural differences with those who are lagging behind. On the one side are those who look upon humanity as the first consideration, and wish to do justice to animals, but not at the sacrifice of the people, while on the other side are the sentimentalists and dog-fanciers, who care little for humanity, and who find their selfish amusements curtailed for the benefit of the public. It is actually a case of the public generally against a small party, but though so small it is of considerable position and wealth, and influence with the Press. With all this antagonism, however, there is a steady advance in healthy tone. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether a dog that appears to be mad ought to be killed, based upon the question as to whether he is dangerous or not, but all concur that if he is killed in public, some method must be devised by which it can be done without shocking the fastidious. The truncheon, which is given to the police to be used upon a man when necessary, is too cruel an instrument to be employed on a dog. In using the truncheon against a man it is considered desirable not to hit him on the head, but on the body. On the other hand, if by accident a dog is hit on the body instead of on the head, it is at once recorded as cruelty. Again, if in dispatching a dog an extra blow or two be given to ensure death, cruelty is immediately charged, though in what it consists has not as yet been stated. Altogether, the truncheon is doomed as the weapon by which a dog is to be dispatched on an emergency, though what weapon should be used in its place is yet uncertain. It is still doubtful also whether the alleged cruelty in the action is to the dog, or whether it is not the effect the action has upon the refined feelings of children and others passing by.

It is interesting to ascertain what kind of action towards animals is to be allowed, and the impression arrived at is that with many it is considered a matter of convenience. Animals may be caught in traps and lose their legs thereby, birds may be wounded and allowed to die in the fields, ferrets may have irritating muzzles, wounded hares may be retrieved by dogs, pigs and calves and other animals may be bled to death, but dogs when found mad are not to be hit on the head with a policeman's truncheon, even though the action may save several of the community a horrible death from hydrophobia.

Fortunately this is not the opinion of the public generally. The sound view of the matter is, that the welfare of humanity is the first consideration, and that when human life is in danger from a dog, that dog must be rendered innocuous in the most expeditious manner.

practicable, it present no better weapon in an emergency than the truncheon is known

Among other statements regarding dogs it has been averred with authority that rabies is almost invariably propagated by the bite of an animal already suffering from the disease, and various theories as to its spread have been based on this assumption. Yet there are those who still believe in its spontaneous production, and it is not more than fourteen years since Mr Fleming stated that "the etiology of rabies has yet to be elucidated, as it may be said we are in complete ignorance of the circumstances on which its spontaneous production depends," and again "Few veterinarians now deny, in an absolute manner, the spontaneous production of the malady, yet none can assign its genesis to any specific cause."

With this view before us it is difficult to comprehend how entirely, during the recent prevalence of rabies, the fact has been lost sight of, that the general condition of the dogs during the period may have had very much to do with the spread of the disease.

It seems to have been forgotten that while during ordinary seasons dogs bitten by a mad dog might for the most part escape unharmed, yet that during the recent season there may have been a predisposition among dogs to develop the disease. This has been particularly brought out by the fact that during the past few years epilepsy has increased as rabies has increased, and that during the past year, while there have been so many cases of rabies there also have been more cases of epilepsy, with appearance of madness thus giving the inference that one form of epilepsy may be a *function* of rabies. So that those who civil at the present statements of the veterinarians are forced into this dilemma—either that the cases of apparent rabies which are declared to be epilepsy are actually rabies in the first stage, or else that while rabies is rife epilepsy also becomes epidemic, in which latter case it is clear that the prevalence of epilepsy indicates a condition of the dog favourable to the spread of rabies.

Before proceeding further, it may appear desirable to point out that the wild and reckless statements that new and more severe restrictions were placed upon dogs, under the Commissioner's orders, after the 1st of April, 1886, are entirely erroneous. There has been no alteration in the manner of dealing with dogs under the various Acts for many years past. The method of proceeding is laid down by law, and the police have no option as to varying the process.

The following returns will show the uniformity of proceeding during the recent prevalence of rabies —

| <i>Killed in the Streets and Dogs Home as rabid</i> |  |             |
|---|--|-------------|
| During the eight months ending March 31, 1886       |  | 305 dogs    |
| " " " commencing April 1, 1886                      |  | 274 "       |
| <i>Seized in the Streets and sent to Dogs' Home</i> |  |             |
| During the eight months ending March 31, 1886       |  | 27,137 dogs |
| " " " commencing April 1, 1886                      |  | 21,682 "    |

This at once disposes of the statement that, during the progress of the disease, some new and specially restrictive measures with reference to the dogs were suddenly introduced. The same vigorous action was pursued throughout so far as the dog is concerned. But, on the other hand, owing to the inconsistent decisions of magistrates, the owners of dogs were not summoned in any number until June, 1886, and it is instructive to notice that the outcry with regard to the restrictions on dogs was raised at the time when the owners were brought before the police courts for not keeping them under control, and lapsed at the time that the summonses were discontinued. The inference is, that so long as there were only restrictions on dogs, their owners made little or no objection, but as soon as the law was put in force against the owners, in the interests of the public, to compel them to protect the public against their dogs, and as soon as the owners were inconvenienced by appearing in the police courts, a violent outcry was raised on behalf of the dog. And it is suggestive of the insincerity of the arguments put forward by dog owners as to cruelty that in one of the newspapers in which the alleged cruelty to dogs was made much of, there were at the same time advertisements with woodcuts, in one of which a remarkably cruel muzzle is recommended for ferrets, and in another a hare is held up in a sportsman's hand, having been retrieved after a run of half a mile.

It is exceedingly amusing to find on looking into the records of the past relating to rabies, that on each occasion when precautions have been taken to prevent its spread, there has been an agitation on the subject, increasing as the laws passed have been more restrictive. So that as the majority pass more stringent measures the abuse of the Executive for putting those measures in force is more unmeasured.

In London the disease among dogs has often assumed alarming proportions, and extraordinary precautions have been taken. In 1759-60 madness raged among dogs during the winter and early spring, and the magistrates issued orders for persons to confine their dogs to the house for a month, and ordered all dogs found at large to be destroyed. It is said, probably without truth, that a sum of two shillings was paid for every dog so killed, and that there were dog-hunts through the streets—accounts which probably gave rise to the highly sensational statements fabricated from time to time during the present year and published in the daily papers.

Through many years of fluctuations rabies again appeared in England in 1856 in a very severe form, and in 1865 it prevailed in and around London to an unusual extent, the total number of deaths during the year from hydrophobia being 19.

In 1866 the disease again assumed a formidable aspect in England, and on April 16 of that year a notice, under the Order in Council for the Cattle Plague, was issued as to stray dogs in Middlesex—

“That with a view to prevent the propagation of disease by dogs,



any dog found straying about the jurisdiction, and without a collar having the name of the owner on it, may be destroyed."

The Commissioner of Police, however, appears to have declined to carry out the work in so wholesale a fashion, and limited the destruction of dogs by the police to those that appeared to be mad.

At this time the Dogs' Home authorities had not taken in hand the merciful work of destroying useless and ownerless dogs, and there was no Act of Parliament referring to the subject. The consequence was that stray and starving dogs infested the parks until people were much inconvenienced and even alarmed.

A lady writing to the Press at this time states

"These poor creatures often follow me close, in hopes of a few scraps of food or a few kind words, and my sympathy for their misery is mixed with terror that they may not be able to resist the temptation of taking a piece of flesh out of my leg. I have often appealed to a policeman to put a merciful end to a wretched object, but unless the dog is mad he has no power to touch it. Some benevolent ladies are getting up a hospital for neglected dogs, Would not a speedy death be a more sensible and merciful arrangement?"

When the Metropolitan Streets Act was passed in 1867 the Commissioner was enabled to direct all stray dogs to be seized, and this practice has remained in force continuously to the present time. We have the authority of Mr Fleming for stating that after this "the number of cases of hydrophobia immediately began to diminish in and around London."

The diagram to be seen at Scotland Yard, showing the number of dogs seized monthly since 1868, is an interesting study. Up to 1873 about 10,000 per annum were seized, but in May 1874 3000 were seized, and the total seizure that year exceeded 19,000, this average was maintained until 1877, when, during the month of December, there was a sudden rise to 5000, giving a total of 24,000 for the year. In 1878 the total number seized was over 30,000, and in the following year 25,000. From 1880 to 1881 the numbers averaged about 17,000 per annum. Towards the end of 1885 rabies became prevalent to so alarming an extent that in December special efforts were made, and no less than 9000 dogs were seized, raising the number for the year to over 25,000. During the current year there has been a steady decrease in numbers seized each month, until in November the normal number has been reached. The total will probably exceed 48,000, but owing to the great number restored to owners, the number taken to the Dogs' Home will probably not exceed 35,000.

In 1871, rabies showed itself in a truly epizootic and alarming manner, on account of which the "Dogs Act, 1871," was passed and almost immediately enforced, but apparently not with sufficiently severe restrictions, as Mr Fleming ascribes the wide and

serious extension of the epizooty in a great measure to the insufficiency of the police measures adopted in the different towns and districts, and to the late period at which they were introduced

Since that time stringent measures have from time to time been taken whenever the disease has again appeared in an epizootic manner, especially in 1875 and 1885. But owing to the inadequacy of the measures that can be taken, and the strenuous resistance to the law by a small minority, the disease can only be kept under, ever ready to spring up and rage again as soon as the condition of the dog gives it a fair field

Mr Fleming's proposed precautions are far more stringent than the police have any power to carry out, and are well worthy of consideration, if the disease is to be stamped out. Among other proposals he says "The destruction of dogs must be carried out assiduously. No dog should be allowed to be at large, and all stray dogs should be caught and killed immediately, if without a muzzle." And he gives a word of serviceable caution to those who have pet dogs "The cruel custom of pampering and over feeding dogs, giving food which is unnatural to them, or in too great quantities, should be particularly guarded against, and all dogs ought to have a sufficient amount of exercise."

From a perusal of Mr Fleming's book ("Rabies and Hydrophobia") it is difficult to comprehend how a dog can be kept in health in London without either cruelty to the dog or great inconvenience to the public, and this probably accounts for the bitter feeling which arose for a time between the public generally and those few who possessed dogs. It is further apparent that, however stringent the measures are made in London, it is impossible to reduce rabies beyond a certain point so long as it exists outside, and dogs from the exterior are able to wander into the Metropolitan Police District.

Owing to the prevalence of rabies in 1868 Sir Richard Mayne issued an order, under the Metropolitan Streets Act, that all dogs in the street should be muzzled. The publication of this order was the signal for an onslaught upon the Commissioner by a great portion of the Press, and it is amusing to find that the letters written in 1885-6 are almost identical with those written in 1868, in their wild and groundless accusations, even down to the malicious assertion that fees were given to the police for every stray dog captured.

In the *Daily Telegraph*, June 23, "Cynophile" writes that Sir Richard Mayne, having no occupation just now for his Army of "Martyrs," has issued an edict, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is called upon to proceed against him.

The *Standard* alludes to the "Dog Slaughter." The *Daily News* suggests that stray dogs have been secured by means of a reward of

threepence to sixpence, but does not suggest who furnishes the money. The *Daily Telegraph*, July 2, 1868, begins an article "Without delay the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals must prosecute Sir Richard Mayne. A yelp of anguish, a howl of despair, a moan of entreaty is heard in the streets of London, and makes all humane persons ashamed to look their own dogs in the face, four-footed friends are torn ruthlessly away if not accompanying their masters or mistresses," &c

The *City Press*, July 1 "The Dog Ukase of Sir Richard Mayne has been generally condemned as useless for purposes of protection to the public and chiefly injurious to the canine object of it."

The *Lancet*, July 12, has an article on "Legalized Cruelty."

It appears that periodically London is seized with a panic, severe restrictions are called for, and immediately they are imposed and the evil is mitigated, the Executive are roundly abused for doing that which the law calls upon them to perform.

It does not appear to be generally known that while the seizing of dogs in the metropolis can be regulated by the Commissioner, the killing of mad dogs rests with the constable. By the Act of Parliament, the order under which the police officer acts is mandatory, and if he has reasonable grounds for supposing a dog to be mad when at large in the streets, and dangerous, he is bound to kill it.

The number of mad dogs found in the streets of London fluctuates from year to year and from month to month, and the monthly diagram since 1879 is most instructive. It shows a gradual increase year by year up to the present year, and it shows also that the number invariably falls about February and rises again to July or August, except under abnormal conditions, as in 1885.

In every year the maximum in the hot weather is four or five times the minimum in the cold weather.

It is not supposed that all these cases are cases of true rabies, but sufficient has been seen during the past year to make it appear very certain that in addition to the ordinary cases of epilepsy there is also a disease pronounced to be epilepsy, in which the dogs when alive appear to have rabies, and after death are said to have had epilepsy. During the past six months there has been a *post-mortem* examination on nearly every dog killed as rabid. With regard to the year 1885, there were two high periods, in July and again in November, the number of dogs killed as mad being over fifty in each month, in March, 1886, the number fell to about fifteen, then again rose in July and August to over fifty, and then rapidly declined, in November it reached the normal condition of former years. Owing to the prevalence of rabies on the outskirts of London it is probable that the disease may be again introduced in April or May, and stringent measures may then be necessary.

Probably the most encouraging aspect of the results of the Dog Regulations is to be obtained from the returns of the Registrar-General. For the year ending the 31st of March, 1886, the deaths from hydrophobia amount to thirty-one, there being seventeen deaths in the four months August to November. Since the 1st of April, 1886, there appear to have been only five deaths from hydrophobia.

Another interesting fact is that given by Mr Sewell, veterinary surgeon, who has made the *post-mortem* examinations on the dogs killed as mad during the last six months. He states that last year he had to attend privately seventy-nine cases of rabies in dogs, whereas in the year with the muzzling order in force he has only had twelve cases. His evidence also is that a heavy blow on the head stuns a dog, and it can then be dispatched by repeated blows, and he is of the opinion that the disease might be stamped out by compulsory use of the muzzle.

Little has been said on the subject of muzzling dogs, because this depends upon the decision of the magistrates in each case as to the meaning of "under control," but it is obvious that the Dogs Act is for protection against dogs, and not merely a restriction on dogs. With this in view, it is easy to deduce the amount of control necessary to hinder a dog when in the streets from biting a passer-by. If a dog is merely muzzled he may stray away, get his muzzle off, and then bite, if he is merely led he may bite at will. It is therefore clear that for the purposes of the Act a dog is not so under control that he cannot bite any person unless he is *both muzzled and led*.

The practice, however, has been to allow all muzzled dogs to wander at large while the order under the Act has been in force, unless they appear to be ill or starving, when they are taken to the Home.

There is no regulation muzzle, and no special form of muzzle appears ever to have been approved. All that has been required is that the muzzle should secure the public from the bite of the dog, and, at the same time, that it should not subject the dog to cruelty. There are many forms of wire muzzles which meet the requirements, but few leather muzzles appear to do so.

It is most gratifying to find that, while so many cases of self-sacrifice and devotion have occurred among police officers in shielding the public from mad dogs during the late prevalence of the disease, no case of unnecessary hardship has occurred to the dogs seized or killed.

In four or five cases allegations of cruelty have been made, but in each case they have been proved to be entirely unfounded.

It is to be noted that at the time rabies has been nearly extirpated about London, it is still prevailing in the surrounding districts, and will continue to do so until some common action can be taken throughout the country.

CHARLES WARREN

## THE LOWER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

WE have all read an admirable treatise from the hand of a gifted penwoman, slashing at all our hopes, and attempting to destroy the very fabric of the movement for the Higher Education of Women. And wherefore? Because—we gather from her argument—it means loss of money, time, and, above all things, strength. A highly educated woman, we are told, is incapacitated for her natural functions. She is a woman destroyed, a man not made. All her finer and more valuable attributes are blurred. She is unsatisfying as a companion, worthless as a wife, incapable as a mother. A girl's physical strength can never carry her bravely through the arduous struggle for honours, degrees, and professorships, and land her safely at the other side. Mental success must be obtained at the loss of physical powers. A girl is weaker, physically, mentally, morally, than a man, therefore she must take the lowest seat.

Of course the actual facts as to the relative numbers of boys and girls who fail from over-pressure in brainwork have been already erroneously stated by a man, and ably proved to be so by a woman. That part of the argument is finished. Our attention is now obtrusively drawn to a lower field. We would fain have passed over the ignoble theme, but we are called upon to face the facts of the disastrous system of education which has till lately prevailed. We are told a woman's highest aim is to be a good animal. Undoubtedly to be a good animal is one of the requisites of successful living. But is it life altogether? Without infringing on man's royal prerogative, have women not a right to live—to live as beings answerable for their all? Our opponent says, and others have said before her, "There is one sphere for woman's thought and work and action." But when we come to inquire what it is, it appears that

the one sphere is that of wife, mother, and household drudge. Perhaps these Professors of the Lower System of Education know of some sphere for women's souls. If so, their discreet silence is to be commended. We might have supposed that the domestic sphere did not include all the thought of which even a woman is capable. But no, there is a sharp line drawn, so far can they advance, but here they must stop. No further, say the new King Canutes. We ask is this compatible with human nature? Is there any point at which humanity can stand still, intellectually, socially, mentally, morally? No, we progress or retrograde. Towards what shall we move? is the only question.

Now the progress of the Lower System of Education does not seem to tend towards improvement. The aim seems to be to teach women to suit themselves to others' requirements, because their well-being depends on others' approval. A woman's laudable ambition, say this school of philosophers, is first to become a wife, forgetting that the desire to become a wife does not necessarily include the desire to become a good wife. The direct road to become a wife is not by the development of the intellect, but by the development of certain feminine qualities, bad and good. A girl is to cultivate her love of dress, her taste for frivolities, her desire to please. Her life must embody soft pleasure, that she may be the embodiment of it to a sterner companion. What does a feminine life imply in these people's mouths? Vanity, ease, luxury, dissipation to the prescribed amount, lack of method, disrespect of time, carelessness of everything. Little failings incidental to those of the weaker sex are to be condoned, and little weaknesses made greater, for by their weakness they shall rule. Haphazard, aimless, helpless, women's lives must be, for their help comes from without. They are not strong enough, poor things, to fight life's battle. They must find some one to fight it for them. But does their taste for amusement and frivolities always stop when they have gained the husband? Is the desire for admiration, sometimes grown into a craving, always satisfied in the humdrum domestic career for which the Professors of the Lower System are so anxious that girls should be carefully prepared? Have these women any serious thoughts and worthy studies to fall back upon when they are once "settled?" They know nothing of all that. They were only taught to win men's admiration, to gratify their own desires. Why should marriage change them? There is no terminus in the education of human character, there are only stations.

We have read, too, the ardent philippics on energies strained and frames exhausted by mental work, but although an equal number of constitutions are ruined by physical exertion there is no war cry raised because of that. Where are the lamentations about over-

danced girls, over-dressed girls, over-driven girls, over-dissipated girls? What of the weary dinners, the over-heated theatres, the glaring ball-rooms? What of mornings begun at mid-day, of afternoons harassed with the desire of getting through in one day a week's social duty, of days spent in racketing railway travelling for two days' giddy visit to a fashionable house? Is this the life that will make strong women to be the mothers of a giant race?

Putting aside the facts that women desire some happiness of their own, and that they prefer to find it themselves without having arbitrary rules laid down for them, putting aside the question whether a present generation of one sex is to be entirely sacrificed for a future generation of the other, let us consider the dicta laid down for us by the advocates of the Lower System. "Women are made and meant to be, not men, but mothers of men." "A noble wife, a noble mother, &c." True most true, but what are the means to the end? Should we set out with the object of making a good wife or a good mother before we have considered how to make a good woman? How do we get good human character? Is it not by the cultivation of all higher attributes, and the suppression of all lower? Is it not by the development of all the faculties, the increased desire for all good? We are told, to be good wives and mothers, women must sink the race in the individual, and crave, not all good, but the good of husband and children. And yet at the same time women are not to exert themselves, but to push on others to get it for them, to be, in fact, the spur for the willing horse. It is a capital sketch of the old fashioned idea of a woman, but we decline to admire or endorse it. The individual good—decidedly, according to one of our best ethical schemes, if each man is happy, who shall be miserable? Neither men nor women are conducing to the general good when they shut up their own house to mind their neighbour's shop. This essential for good wisdom is also an essential for good womanhood. The individual first—nations and races are formed of men and women, not of droves of cattle. We want good characters. Will good characters ever be formed by helpless, dependent lives? Do great individuals spring from a cowed and conquered people? Let a ruler be appointed by a people, let a husband be chosen by a woman, but woe to the people who think they can live by the bounty of their king, and that their own independence, their own endeavour are nothing, and woe to the woman who thinks of her husband likewise. Look at the inmates of the workhouse, the paupers who cringe and fawn. What effect has that dependence on character? Yet the noble wife is to spring from a training not very different. All her life long she has never tasted the bread of independence. She waits whiningly for others to provide all that she requires, and hangs her whole weight upon some one

man, from necessity, not choice. Why does a man's opinion immediately suggest a broad, well-balanced view, while the term "feminine" implies in most cases something weak and contemptible? Does it mean that man's vices are noble, and woman's virtues, faults? No, it means that a man has been trained and educated by the struggle of life. Each generation of men starts at a higher stage of development than the last, while women, so far as their minds and characters go, have been left uncultured, and in the general affairs of life they have made no progress worth speaking of.

But in spite of this advance, we say—nay, rather in consequence of it, men have by no means outgrown such failings as tyranny and a desire for domination. And in spite of the rosy views of men to be found in the article in question, we are afraid it is not quite old-fashioned to suppose that men still wish to make women dependent upon them and subject to their wishes. This is natural enough. The affairs of the world are carried on by self-reliance and love of power. These qualities are kept in check in the sphere that has developed them, but at home, through want of independence and self-reliance in woman, they have become things with even uglier names. On the other hand, we are told, women are puffed up with inordinate vanity, their little knowledge appears to them the height of wisdom, for their unreasonableness has no experience but a domestic one to temper it. They think they can rule and decide in every sphere because they are quite aware that in the one sphere they are far more experienced than men. But are these the faults of Higher Education? Who would select as his general adviser a man who knew only one sphere of life? How can women on such a system be ever the useful companions to men whom our adversaries so much admire? "Women," say they, "do not desire emancipation." It is true. They have never been slaves. What they do desire is education, education that will enable them to find happiness within themselves, that will give them glad hours, bright dreams, and noble ambitions, under whatever roof they may call their home. They desire intellectual preparation for intellectual intercourse—if needs be, stimulated by competition. But they do not intend because of this to give up all claim to the happy life ordained for them as companions to men. On the contrary, they wish to become better fitted for that life than they are at present. They wish to enable themselves to enter into all men's views and thoughts. They wish to live with them as rational beings, as classmates in the school of life, though one may perhaps be on the higher, the other on the lower, form. This is better than that men and women should be foes, forced to be allies in order that each may fight more successfully for his or her selfish interest. It is better for a woman to look on all good men as her friends—one dearest and best of all—than to look on all men as foes,



to be bittled with according to the rules of the lists, in order that one may be out-manœuvred and captured by a strategy that it is a life's work to learn and to put into execution. And men and women can never work side by side unless the ground, whether for battle or for production, is the same, nor can they be either worthy allies or useful fellow-labourers, unless they have together prepared a plan of campaign, and together considered the work that needs doing and the means that are ready to hand.

Again, say our opponents, while women have been clamouring men have been advancing. They have no longer any petty feelings of jealousy. They only desire what is best for all, not what is best for men. We wish we could honestly think so. But it would be contrary to all experience of human nature that men should not feel themselves injured by finding women in the field to increase the competition already felt to press very sorely. Yet in other matters men still have their eyes half shut. They still think it is well for a woman to marry for a subsistence, for a home, for a champion, and not for love. So well that it appears to men to outweigh all the sacrifice. Men prefer to be foes out-manœuvred into matrimony rather than the best of friends. This may read well enough in romances, and please the ear in tinkling rhyme. But how is it in fact? Try this syllogism. Men are loved because they are strong, all men are strong, therefore they may all be loved. Or, again. Women are to be weak. Compared to men they are to be as "moonlight unto sunlight" and as "water unto wine." But does real virtue, not that of the glass-house and conservatory sort, require no strength, and are our "noble wives and mothers" to fare no better in education or in life than the heroine of Locksley Hall?

There is one question, asked in the article which has given rise to this protest, too amusing to be "passed over." It is asked in reference to Lady Jane Grey, who wanders like a ghost, poor creature, through this controversy—not surely as a punishment for a too vaulting ambition. Lady Jane Grey is admitted to have been a happy, or at least unobjectionable, instance of a learned woman. But, adds the writer, do we admire her education or her character? We are tempted to ask in reply, What is the idea of education in the minds of the adherents of the Lower System? Does not education form character? Would the character of Lady Jane Grey, or of anybody else, have been the same if the education had been different? Should we have admired her character as we do if she had been brought up a washerwoman, or as maid-of-honour to Queen Catherine de Medici? We are striving for education in order to the better formation of character. We want to stay the riotous growth of frivolous, worthless, and unhappy women. Of course, if women could be pitchforked into life with all their finer attributes and qualities full grown, we should have nothing

more to say But we assert that the attributes and qualities so much desired cannot be obtained for a girl by priming her with accomplishments and just a sufficient smattering of knowledge to make her an agreeable but not too intelligent companion for men, and then turning her loose at the age of eighteen, or before it, to find the particular man whom in the wisdom of Providence, or more probably by the want of wisdom of her educators, she is destined to accept as a husband Education is the development of faculties, the motive power, the basis of character When we want a musician we do not put a fiddle in a boy's hand and tell him to work till he can play *second* in the orchestra, and at the same time take lessons in drawing, we put the instrument in his hand and tell him to do his best and study everything that will tend to make him a good musician It is the same for a life-worker, a life-artist, as surely we wish a woman to be We must give her education, which is her instrument, and tell her to do her best, to study, to develop her faculties, her talents, her powers We cannot say, at any fixed point in her development "So far is good, beyond that is bad" The aim must be at the highest point, however far short the accomplishment may come We care for the woman's character, not for what she does—say the cavillers Yes, but the doing makes the character

And what is the remedy which the advocates of the Lower System, through Mrs Lynn Linton, propose? They admit that there is a difficulty as to women's employment How do they meet it? The scheme is simple, they condemn women to manual labour They may be tinkers, tailors, portmanteau-makers, or anything of that kind We gather that they may cover toys with poisonous paint at 2s a week, and yet our philosophers would not exclude them from the highest society Nothing is degrading to women so long as it is not intellectual Our "noble wives and mothers" are not strong enough for quiet study or intellectual excitement in a well-aired lecture room, but they may stand for twelve hours at a stretch behind a counter in a draughty and ill-ventilated shop They may strain eyes and injure weary backs over sewing There is no danger, apparently, of destroying fair young faces, of blunting fine feelings, of decreasing vital force, by such a profession as 'hat of the theatre Women may be the hangers on of fashion, and may minister, without danger to themselves, to its shifting whims in every department And all this with the hope, distinctly held out to them by the article before us, that perhaps if they make themselves very pleasant, "the countesses and dames for whom they devise their dainty costumes may even—not treat them as intelligent companions, but—agree to meet them on equal terms at balls and dinners" Women may do all this, and verily they would have their reward But there is one thing a woman may not do She may not be independent She

may depend upon a husband, or upon a fashion in flowers or jackets, but she must not be mistress of her own destiny, above all, she must not think

We are told that the true way to help women is to receive working women into society, and the writer marvels why men shopkeepers are received, but not milliners or lady shopkeepers. The idea betrays the essential narrowness of the Lower School, and the remedy is somewhat of a specific. Still, the reason why men have risen from the earth is not far to seek. Apart from the innate vulgarity which worships wealth, and would associate with its tailor, or even its dustman, on that ground, irrespective of any mental qualifications, the reason why men who have risen are received into intelligent society has always been that they have something to contribute. Their birth may be nothing, their education may be self-acquired, but they have got something in the struggle of life which is valuable to others. They become friends of men of genius or talent because they have fitted themselves to be so. It was not by dependence on others that these men rose, they may not have been educated, but at least they were allowed to educate themselves. This is the liberty which we claim for women.

But this is a much larger question than a question of any "society," London or provincial, learned or frivolous. We not only ask that women may be allowed to get their own living in spite of the fine feelings of fathers and brothers. Not only do we go so far as to think a lady might be perfectly happy even if she had given up "society." There is a wider question than this. We admire our sister who carries on the milliner's shop as much as our brother who rises from the ranks. But we object to the idea that women's work must be confined to manual labour, entirely for the same reasons as we should object to be tied to associate with none but self-educated men. Anything is better than dependence on others, either for man or woman. But are we to allow our ideal of womanhood to be exclusively shaped on the ideals of the workshop and the counter? Is the taint of money-making, uncounteracted by ideas, to cover over and blot out all that is fair and beautiful in the minds of women? Are the attributes of the merchant and the travelling agent to be the exclusive models of women who work for their living? Will these employments, better than intellectual ones, fit them to be the companions of our best men and the teachers of our most hopeful children? Is man, who devotes his life to art, thought, or scientific discovery, to be satisfied with a wife who is either a frivolous society doll, or a sweet and patient drudge, or a woman with the ideas of the shopman with whom he would find no pleasure in associating? Are the great men who are to be born in the future, if only women will refrain from study, to be guided by the remem-

brance of their mother's face, as she appeared in powder and paint in some stupid vaudeville before a cheering theatre, are they to gaze admiringly on the trade gesticulation, or to listen lovingly to tales of sharp bargains and skilful adulteration?

Women whose characters have been formed by mechanical labour, unmitigated by higher education, are, according to these thinkers, to be the mothers of the Bacons and Goethes of the future. They object to over-pressure. So do we, but we object to it in any direction, and if in one direction more than another it would be in the direction from which comes least general profit, that of the mechanical and the material. Our fiery leveller would abolish all grades of rank and breeding and reduce women to one dead level of unintellectual pursuit. Men would alone be in possession of thought and knowledge, and would form an aristocracy of culture. This is rank anarchy and demoralization. How under such a system could a philosopher of the Lower System obtain a hearing even for criticism of her own sex? We maintain, on the contrary, that the effort for higher education is simply an effort to secure in the case of women what has always been the case with men. Women's ideals should be formed, as men's have been, by those who have lived out of the roar of traffic, out of the glare of politics, far from the influence of mobs, away from the contamination of commerce and the drudgery of manual labour. The women we want to form women's ideal of education are women with calm, well-balanced minds and hallowed hearts, equal to men in ideas and mental prowess, if inferior to them in mental, because in physical, endurance, and perhaps making up in spiritual insight for their lack of physical strength. This is the goal towards which we invite all women to strive whose position is fortunate enough to enable them to do so. Happily, in spite of the Lower plan of Education for women, the road is plain and the gates are already open, and it requires no gift of prophecy to foresee the time when highly educated women may be taught to study some stranded philosopher of the Lower System, long reduced to a fossilized condition, as we now study the extinct creatures of the mud period of the earth's history.

HELEN MCKERLIE

## JUBILEE-TIME IN IRELAND

IS it remembered how in August last Mr. Parnell foretold that if the Government did not take measures to relieve the Irish tenants, not only would there be a disturbed and troubled winter in Ireland, but that before long Sir Michael Hicks Beach would be treading the same miserable path towards repression which led to the ruin of so many of his predecessors? At the time, of course, the entire Ministerial following derided the false prophet. The Dissident Liberals were above all loudest in their mockery, yet only four months have gone by and arrests and prosecutions are once more the commonplaces of the time. Not that any Irishman is in the least disturbed by the storming and threatening of a landlord Executive, least of all the hardened sinners who are the latest to be indicted, but it is to be hoped that the occurrences which have brought about the collapse of so much boasting over the ease with which a certain statesmanship could govern Ireland, without resort either to stick or sugar-stick, will at least impose some modesty on the 'prentice hands of the Combination and incline the opponents of conciliation to less dogmatism in their pronouncements on Irish affairs.

Now that the Government has entered on its career of championship of the evictors and extortioners of the island, we shall of course be told that "firmness" and "vigour" and "determination" are all that are required to secure a complete triumph over what is described as lawlessness and disorder. This would be refreshing and consoling if the story were not so old! Does Secretary Beach, for instance, believe in the encouraging shouts of those who are at this moment hallooing him on at his quarry? Does he know exactly whither he is going? Or does his mind revert to that January afternoon, six years ago, when another Chief Secretary stood at the table of the House expounding his new Coercion Bill, and amidst the shaggy mutterings of his wrath

against "dissolute ruffians" and "village tyrants" and "*mauvais sujets*" letting fall in a sad sort of aside, that cry of despair—"I think we have all pretty well given up prophesying about Ireland" The remark was in itself the best answer to his demands for unlimited arrests as a means of pacification, but Lord Salisbury's mentors, not having had Mr Forster's experience, cannot be expected to show any signs of want of confidence in their specifics One would think we had not heard of them all before, and that what in 1866 Mr Bright called "that ever-poisonous and ever-failing medicine," was a cordial now prescribed to the patient for the first time For how many generations have statesmen of a similar faith promised their believers the vision of a Hibernia Pacata, as the result of their ministrations, and for how many generations has the prospect eluded and mocked their hopes like a mirage?

We are now in the Jubilee year of Her Majesty the Queen, but at the end of half a century which has done such great things for the British people, how much nearer are we to peace in Ireland? If Her Majesty could be questioned as to her recollection of the Celt of 1837, would she be able to declare that he was a whit more reconciled now than then to the rule of what Mr Chamberlain describes as "alien boards and foreign officials?" The dreadful agitator, but for whom all would be peace and plenty, who was the pest of her advisers in 1837, is then pest still His name only is changed With weary feet he grinds at the same eternal treadmill, and his crimes against society and civilization are denounced in the same strain with undiminished zeal by new generations of English politicians The same threadbare tragedy holds the boards The actors alone are different Doubtless the anti-Irish statesmen of the present day will be ready enough to admit that there was something in the contention of the older agitators whom their fathers stoned My Lords Salisbury and Hartington do not advocate, for instance, the repeal of Emancipation, the re-imposition of the Tithes, the re-establishment of the Irish Church, the abrogation of the Ballot Act, the restriction of the Franchise or the destruction of the rights which the tenant has acquired in the soil It is even not unfashionable amongst their followers to speak in praise of O'Connell, while the Young Irelanders of '48 were of course all "gentlemen" as compared with the outlaws and proscripts of the present time The latter-day agitator, however, turns to the literature of the period in which these dead Irishmen lived, and in the venom with which the men whose contentions are now established were then assailed, finds balm for his wounds Mayhap, even he is audacious enough to think that if the present generation passes away, leaving the fate of his country still unsettled, the anti-Irish politicians of a coming age will see something to deplore in the unyielding resistance to every demand with which, A.D. 1886, the moderate claims of Ireland were met

The confidence, however, which each cycle of repressive statesmen show in their theory of the art of Government is very notable "A little while and again a little while" and all will be well True, the democracy, of late years, tiring somewhat of these everlasting predictions, shows restiveness and an inclination to enforce the ancient *Cuthgimra* penalty against defeated generals So it has come that the Saugrado who now prescribes for Ireland, being either over-anxious for his reputation, or so little assured of the virtues of his pinacca, will only warrant its efficacy if "resolutely pursued for twenty years" Looking back, therefore, over the list of statesmen who have advised on Ireland during the reign of the Queen, Lord Salisbury must be set down as the weakest and least confident medicine-man of the Victorian era For a great opening, truly, would arise for remunerative soothsaying if the seer (who was fee'd out of hand) were allowed twenty years' margin for the fulfilment of his prophecies! Yet the British public, with centuries of failure staring them in the face, allows Lord Salisbury to set out on his mission to outshine, by the lustre of his statesmanship, such feeble impostors as your Henrys, Johns, Edwards, Elizabeths, Cromwells, Williams, Georges, and so forth, and so, in the seven hundred and fifteenth year of the married happiness of Great Britain and Ireland we are entertained with the enjoyments of the Salisbury honeymoon!

Four months only of the twenty years of firm and resolute Government having gone over, it were, perhaps, to inquire too curiously, to speculate whether each of the fifty-nine periods of four months each that remain of the twenty years is to be studded with incidents, such as the evictions, riots, prosecutions, panel-quashings, and *maisons* which have illustrated the prologue of the piece Perhaps his Lordship has formed no intentions as to the remaining nineteen years and two-thirds, perhaps he fancies the Irish enemy will be cowed and prostrate before it expires, or will amiably reform The matter is left at large But this at least must be said for the prelude to our twenty years' novitiate, that in little more time than it took Mr Gladstone to produce a constitution for Ireland which satisfied five-sixths of the Irish people at home and abroad, Lord Salisbury has succeeded in rousing the disaffection, contempt, and ridicule of all these persons towards his Government, and with this, the hatred and scorn of the remaining sixth, for whose behoof he is supposed to be labouring A reward might well be offered for the production of any Irishman (not a paid servant of the Castle) who would applaud the statesmanship which, having described the movement of millions of people against hunger and homelessness as "organized embezzlement," would then send its agents on the sly to the landlords to caution them that if certain evictions were carried out, adequate police protection would be refused Perhaps even the

paid servants of the Castle themselves would shrink from unqualified laudation of a Prime Minister who, having denounced in 1883 certain proceedings in the Queen's Bench under the statute of Edward III, as an unconstitutional device of antiquarian lawyers, would then himself require his own law officers to soil their hands with the same musty implements. The opponents of the Gladstonian settlement have been driven to resort to methods which their own "friends" in Ireland well know no Liberal administration dare think of. Their Kerry missionaries made a treaty with the alleged criminals of that region, more signal and notorious than any compact of Kilmainham, to General Buller, was given in charge the intimidation of the landlords, *vice* Captain Moonlight superseded, and the edicts of the local Ribbon tribunals were much more effectually enforced by a County-court judge sent down *ad hoc* from the Castle. Then, appalled by the outcry and the Frankenstein they had created, General Buller is recalled, and a suitable vacancy found for him by a decree which transported Sir Robert Hamilton to Van Diemen's Land. One county, however, had been pacified, as Gordon pacified the Soudan, by tearing the *Kowbashi* from the hands of the slave-driver and laying it on the shoulders of the Pashas themselves, but when the roar of landlord indignation paralyzed the work, there remained thirty-one Irish counties still un-Bullerized.

Irish politicians, therefore, demand why the Kerry policy, if it was just and lawful, was not extended or why the remaining thirty-one counties should be harried by rack-renters because of the dearth of Moonlighters in their populations? The Executive boasted through its Secretary at Bristol that it was "putting every pressure on the landlords to give abatements, but always within the law," but this pressure having in some cases failed, Sir M. Beach turns round and arrests his co-workers who could not avail themselves of the Kerry curb for putting similar "pressure" (which they also assert to be always within the law) on landlords who proved deaf to Castle admonitions. What would be thought in England if the Government sent its agents round amongst the gentry dropping hints about their exactions, reducing their police protection, and threatening to cut it off completely if a certain line was not taken to oblige Ministerialists? And then, when the gentry grew mutinous, what would be said of the plan of appeasing them by prosecuting the respectful imitators of the Government policy? For what right has Sir Michael Beach to put "pressure," within or without the law, on landlords to refrain from exacting those contributions afterwards glorified as "their just and lawful debts?" And who constituted him judge of the boasted legality of this loudly advertised "pressure," of which the men of Bristol were told? Tested by its reception by the landlords, one would



say, from their protests in the *Times*, that it was as unwelcome to them as if it proceeded direct from Rory of the Hills himself. But, above all, if pressure may legally be brought to bear to restrain the enforcement of what are poetically known as the "solemn contracts" of the tenants, coming as such pressure does, from quarters picturesquely described by Mr Chamberlain as "alien boards and foreign officials maintained by 30,000 bayonets," why may not the native authorities who legally and morally represent popular power endeavour to sustain this useful pressure at the point where the Beach dynamics fail? To prevent or suspend the enforcement of "solemn contracts" or "just debts" by any means is either legal or illegal, and if the debts are just and the contracts solemn, the last persons to impair the validity of the rights of the obligee should be the constituted guardians of authority. But if Sir Michael Hicks Beach may give himself a license of examination and inspection into these nice matters, why may not Mr William O'Brien or Mr John Dillon?

It may be pleaded in abatement of the Irish Secretary's attack on rights which we understand are part of the fundamental bases of society, that he did not proceed to extremes, or that if he found the landlord intractable he went his way and left him in the unimpaired enjoyment of his sacred possessions. A poor defence. For the extremes to which he went in the exercise of the dispensing power is a matter of controversy between the landlords and General Buller or Captain Plunket—the transactions being mostly hidden from the naked eye beyond the reach of criticism. And as to the second excuse, can it be contended if the exercise of any right becomes so noxious to the public as to demand Executive "pressure" to restrain its enforcement, that when this fails or is set at naught, or is eased off, the threatened community may not proceed to reapply it in a more effective form? The entire Tory and Unionist alliance went on its knees, so to speak, during the autumn to implore the rack-renters to moderation. Lord Hartington made his appeal in the House of Commons while supporting the rejection of Mr Parnell's Relief Bill. Lord Randolph Churchill at Dartmouth declared his confidence in their generosity and good sense. Lord Salisbury was equally certain that none of them would prove unreasonable. Did these noble lords consider the alternative if their remonstrances failed? Were the tenants then quietly to submit to the inevitable? Ministerial appeals notwithstanding, it was found that many landlords were holding out, and then Sir Michael Beach at Bristol boldly enunciated his "pressure" scheme for such of them as needed it. This too failed, and its failure was the justification of the "Plan of Campaign." For, so far back as the 20th of March last, the *Times* and Sir James Caird announced

"it is not too much to say that the rental of 538,000 holdings is practically irrecoverable by anybody, whether landlord, English Government, or Irish Government" This declaration left only 121,000 holdings unaffected, yet, with a bad harvest since then, and produce of all kinds still lower in price, it is calmly assumed to be "a conspiracy" to take means for the protection of the threatened tenants in the most distressed areas

The Plan of Campaign having been proclaimed as illegal, Englishmen are now told, with the omniscience and assurance which distinguishes their instructors on Irish questions, that all Irish tenants have had their rents fixed by an impartial tribunal, which carefully calculated for them a rental on which they could live and thrive, and that their position involves no hardship whatever Will it, therefore, be believed that, out of nearly 700,000 agricultural tenancies, only 90,000 were able to go into court? True, 85,000 more registered rents fixed by what the Land Act humorously described as "agreements" between the parties, which means that the landlord compelled indebted tenants to accept about half the reduction which the Courts would have given, were their cases tried, by a threat to writ and eject them for arrears on the hanging gale There are, therefore, over 400,000 peasants from whose rent not a farthing has been struck off—nearly half of them being leaseholders—who are prohibited from having their rents fixed, the remainder being generally cottiers, too poor or too intimidated to incur the vengeance of their landlords by fighting them in court

The case of the leaseholders deserves special notice, as they were the most improving tenants, and hold over 130,000 of the larger farms No clearer proof could be given of the partisan character of the administration of the Land Act than the fact that, though one of its clauses empowered the Commissioners to break all leases made since the Land Act of 1870, which had been forced on tenants, and which were "unreasonable or unfair," having regard to the provisions of that Act, not more than 100 have since been broken by them Over 1,200 forced leases were brought before the Court, but that tribunal calmly took the ground that an exorbitant rent was not one of the elements to be regarded as "unreasonable or unfair," and hunted the impudent tenants off! Decisions like these by ermined judges greatly endear the law to suitors who resort to them, and ensure for it a measure of respect second only to that accorded to the dicta of a harlequin by reverent pantomime-goers The Land Commission also refused to break a number of leases on a law-point upon which their ruling was afterwards reversed by the Court of Appeal, but, by the time the hardy suitor who appealed had his case adjudicated on, the six months limited for the operation of the leasebreaking section expired, and

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the other leaseholders who had been defrauded by the discredited law-point were thus defrauded of their rights. That a decision which was afterwards pronounced to be bad law should still be allowed to operate seemed inequitable, and I called attention to this hardship in the House of Commons some years ago, but only to receive the usual snub awarded to rebellious malignants who awkwardly obtude petty parochial grievances upon a great Imperial Parliament.

The exclusion of the leaseholders as a body from the Land Act was deliberately resolved upon in 1881 despite the protests of the Irish members, who, as usual, foretold the consequences, but the force of legal superstition was too strong to touch written contracts. Other contracts might be invaded, but not such as were dignified by parchment. The feelings of the general body of the leaseholders at being denied the fixing of a fair rent which has lightened the load of many of their neighbours, may be imagined from their failure in the face of falling prices to appreciate mere legal distinctions. Most of them are so rude and barbarous in their ideas that they are unable to realize the added element of sanctity and holiness which is given to contract by means of sealing-wax and sheepskin. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that all other savages respect some fetish, and that these leaseholders, being generally Popish, are naturally of an idolatrous turn of mind, yet such is their vanity, their lack of education and of sound economic views, that they cry out on pen, ink, and parchment as impostures, when they see all other contracts relating to land overridden and the rent of holdings adjoining their own reduced eight shillings or ten shillings an acre.\*

\* As to the way the thing works in practice one instance from the estate of a "model landlord," the Duke of Devonshire, may be given. After the passing of the Land Act of 1881, Mr Douglas Pyne, a Protestant tenant on the Devonshire estate in County Waterford, asked an abatement in his rent. To this he received in writing from the agent, Mr Currey, the very fair reply that if he was dissatisfied with his rent he could go into the Land Court and get it fixed there. Mr Pyne accordingly did so, and some £8 or £10 was taken off by the Sub Commissioners. The Duke appealed, and at the rehearing, instead of raising the question of value, which would have been reasonable enough, he instructed his lawyer to oppose the tenant's right to the benefit of the Act on a law point. This turned on the evidence of the agent who invited Mr Pyne originally to go into the court, and who now produced letters from him which the court held amounted to an agreement for a lease. These agreements operate under the Act as effectually as a lease itself to prevent the court from fixing a fair rent, and therefore Mr Pyne by this device was defeated and his "fair rent" fixed by the Sub Commissioners was quashed. For years since he accordingly has been paying a rent which the court of first instance declared unfair, and which the Duke prevented the Her Majesty's Commission adjudicating on after inviting the tenant to use the Land Act. Moreover had blood being once created, His Grace regularly serves Mr Pyne with a writ for the old rent the moment it falls behind. If a millionaire peer who voted for the Land Act and whose heir was in the Cabinet which passed it thus respects its rulings as to rent, what will not pauper or Tory landlords do? Mr Pyne has since been elected by his Catholic neighbours M.P. for West Waterford and in the House of Commons he will henceforth enjoy the privilege of hearing the noble Marquis, who is heir to the Devonshire property, expound his views on the sacredness of legal rights. It should be added that, though the Marquis of Hartington declared himself at Belfast, in November, 1885, as in favour of giving leaseholders the benefit of the fair rent clauses of the Land Act, this did not prevent the subsequent service of writs on Mr Pyne for the old rent.

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Of the farmers other than leaseholders who have not gone into the Land Court, it may be said that the bulk of them have been kept out by poverty. The tenants who live on small patches of Western land seldom have money to fee a lawyer to conduct their case, well knowing that the landlord, for the purpose of "making an example," would appeal, and thereby double the costs. The Land Commission, with the fatuity or malignity which has marked its entire career, refuses costs in the Sub-Commissioners' Courts, where the tenants are almost invariably successful, and for appeal purposes it has adopted a ridiculously low schedule of costs so that the landlords, who in nineteen cases out of twenty are appellants, and are mostly the unsuccessful parties, are encouraged to list vexatious or hopeless appeals to deter others from going into court. The amount a tenant recovers in costs against the landlord where the rent is appealed from, never pays his solicitor's bill, or recoups him for being kept hanging for days round the courts waiting the hearing of the case. The towns fixed by the Land Commission for hearing appeals are so distant from the majority of the tenants that many a one would think less of a journey to America by himself than face the expense of bringing witnesses to the far-away places where it pleases the Land Commissioners to sit. All this makes in favour of the landlords, by deterring tenants from resorting to the courts, but, above all, those who are in arrears are so completely in their grip that most of them could reply in the words of Horne Tooke when told that the Law Courts are open to them, "Yes, and so is the London Tavern."

What, therefore, were the friends of the tenants to do whom the Government failed or neglected to protect? Will those who denounce the immorality of the Plan of Campaign suggest a plan which would save them from being expelled from their homes and left without any refuge except the poorhouse? Should they submit to be quietly hunted out like vermin from their shelter? Many a peasant through its operation will have a roof over him this Christmas, and many another will have some better "kitchen" than salt to his potatoes for his Christmas dinner! Whether the Plan of Campaign be legal or not, a jury will decide. The proclamation denouncing it is mere waste-paper, but, as to its lawfulness in the moral sense, the question does not to my mind admit of discussion to anybody who knows Ireland. We have unfortunately to bear the rule of a people who know nothing about our country, and whom it is well-nigh hopeless to educate—not because of prejudice, which is wearing off, though it was a heavy obstacle, but because it takes half a lifetime living in any community to get even the fringe of an insight into the condition of the poor. In Ireland, moreover, the intricacies of the laws relating to land and their administration have a bearing on the daily life of the peasantry, which no one who has

not lived there can understand. They are hourly wrested, half in malice half in avarice, to the prejudice of the people, so that the life of a rackrented tenant under a poor absentee, whose agent is his magistrate, grand juror, and poor-law guardian rolled into one, is little short of a living torture, and is far less tolerable than was that of the slaves on Southern plantations. Without one feeling in common with his masters except hate, he drags out a cheerless existence absolutely without hope. Subsisting on the meanest food dressed in the wretchedest rags and dwelling in a den unfit for swine, he is liable at any moment, by the blackening of the potato, or a fall in the price of produce, to see his wretched holding confiscated, and his family expelled at the will of distant lords, whom he has never seen, or whose reward for the gold he has extracted for them from a few niggard acres is the spui of processes and law costs, the moment the seasons drive him into debt. No Englishman that ever lived, if he had the wisdom of fifty Solomons, could realize the position of the Irish cottier, unless he witnessed his hardships and necessities, and this fact it is which renders so exasperating the besotted speeches of every platform ignoramus, whose strength of view and dogmatisms on Irish disorders is proportionate to their ignorance.

Without going the length of the *Times*, or Sir James Caird, in declaring that no rent is collectable from 538,000 holdings, anybody who knows the acreable value of land may roughly calculate the contribution which should be paid to the landlord on the majority of Irish farms, after allowing for the maintenance of the cultivator. The following is their classification in 1880, taken from "Thom's Directory" —

| Not exceeding | 1 to 5 | 5 to 15 | 15 to 20 | 30 to 50 | 50 to 100 | 100 to 200 | above 200 |
|---------------|--------|---------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| 1 acre        | acres  | acres   | acres    | acres    | acres     | acres      | acres     |
| 50,613        | 64,292 | 161,35  | 136,518  | 72,923   | 56,229    | 22,413     | 9,599     |

Each of these holdings represents a family of at least five persons, and if the cost of supporting them be taken at the workhouse scale of, say, three shillings a week, each tenant will require to earn £39 a year to feed and clothe his household. How much, then, would be left to the landlord out of the holdings up to twenty acres (representing 412,758 families) if the tenants were allowed maintenance on the pauper scale? Not one penny, yet these 412,758 holdings in all probability pay £3,000,000 rent in ordinary times. Most of that rent is ground out of the rags and misery and hunger of their families. Some of it is made by labour in England, more of it comes from America and Australia. None of it would be derived from legitimate agriculture by which the husbandman that laboureth first eats of the fruits. But does not this point to over-population and early marriages?

The statistician replies that there are fewer marriages and fewer births per thousand in Ireland than in any European country, while the density of population per square mile is similarly lower. Then it will be said that if many of the cottiers had their land for nothing they could not live by it. True, if that is any reason for rack-renting them. Then it will be asked, why should the minute division of holdings deprive a landlord of a rental which would be paid him if the land were held in large tracts? First, because if it were not for the labour of the tenants most of this land would be mere waste, and second, because few of the holdings could be consolidated with real profit. The landlords carried out all the consolidations they were able after the famine clearances, and with what profit? Alan Polok's giant tract in Galway, miles in extent, once maintained hundreds of families. Polok, sen., who died in 1881, was a Scotch capitalist, and worked the land in the most scientific manner. His son imitated him, yet he was, as the people say, "broken out of it" last year, and had to call an auction of all his effects. But the clearest justification of the tenant's position is the right which the Land Acts recognize him to have in his farm. Since 1881 the word "landlord" is, indeed, a misnomer, and, scientifically speaking, should be no longer employed, as the tenants' interest is now the superior of the two. Rent was declared by the Act 1881 to be no longer chargeable on the tenants' improvements, and though unfortunately this proviso has been nullified in the Law Courts, its effect on the popular mind can never be rooted out. Everything in Ireland that gives the land value has been put on it by the tenant. Unlike the English practice, the Irish landlord lays out no money on improvements, and though the Act of 1881 allowed the proprietors of "English managed estates" to claim certain exemptions from the operation of that measure, a return of the number who have succeeded in establishing that claim would not show 1,000 acres so held out of the 20,000,000 in the island. The Act makes a forfeiture of all its benefits possible half-yearly, in default of punctual payment of the rent, and as it is notorious that tenants rarely have any money laid by, one of the main ideas in the mind of evictors since its passing has been to break their tenancies under it. Once gone they could never again be set up, even if the tenant was reinstated in the farm, and the landlord thereafter would have practically the same powers as over a tenant-at-will.

Now part of the Irish contention is that a tenant's interest should not be finally forfeited for non-payment of a six months' rent, as it is often worth fifty times that amount, but that a longer period should be prescribed, and that where his holding falls into the landlord's possession it should be redeemable at any time,

with all its old status, on payment of the debt, just as real estate would be against a mortgagee who foreclosed. Since 1881 the tenant's interest has become the dominant and genuine interest in the land. It will fetch a much higher price at an auction than the landlord's, while, if foreign competition and prices remain as at present, the landlord's ability to exact rent must in the end disappear. They will of course fight like tigers against this, for an annual impost of £12,000,000 is involved, but if the land will not make what the law entitles them to, Viceregal proclamations will not help them to collect it. Territorial fury at the present moment springs from rage at the silly rejection of Mr Gladstone's Purchase Bill, which contained such terms as will never again be offered, and the knowledge of the tenant's strength in combination. Both sides see that if a large insurance fund were established, as it easily might be, by the farmers paying into it as much money as the landlord refused to take for rent, such of them as could be evicted in a twelvemonth might be comfortably maintained out of the contributions, while the rest quietly cultivated their land. This view was frequently put forward by me in October, 1885, and, though successfully acted on upon several estates during Lord Carnarvon's Viceroyalty, it was never assailed by the Attorney-General, who then, as now, was the Right Hon Hugh Holmes. It was only discovered to be "organized embezzlement" when Irish votes were no longer needed for the Conservatives.

The peasant is willing to pay the landlord the exact value of his interest in the soil and no more, as soon as it is ascertained by a system in which he has a voice, but meantime he is not willing to march into the poorhouse because laws made in London, which neither he nor his representatives were parties to, say he must. This may be called stealing the landlord's property, but if so, when a slave worth 1,000 dollars marched himself off a Georgia plantation and took refuge on free territory, was he guilty of theft? Had he not rather the sympathy of civilized mankind? Englishmen understood black slavery in America. They know nothing of white slavery in Ireland, and when they know as much about it as do those whom the shoe pinches, their judgment on the morality of the Plan of Campaign will be entitled to consideration. The struggle in Ireland to-day is a continuance of the old warfare of the clansmen for a foothold on the soil of their fathers. The descendants of the confiscators now, as of yore, have on their side foreign laws and foreign bayonets, but, while the centuries have taught the planters no lesson, they are made at least to learn at every onset with their despised serfs that experience and suffering have taught the peasant a great deal.

T M HEALY.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES

THE great celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University has just called attention anew to the condition and tendencies of higher education in the United States. There were present at the festivities in the early days of November not only about 2,500 of the alumni of the College, but representatives from nearly all of the other prominent institutions of learning in the land, as well as from several of the Universities of the Old World. Never before were so many presidents of colleges and eminent professors gathered together in the Western World. The note that was sounded at the very beginning of the festivities continued to be heard to the end, and no one could have been in attendance without realizing, and in some degree measuring, the extent of the interest that is now everywhere felt in the methods of higher education. Harvard is not only the oldest and largest of our universities, but she is the leader and representative of a tendency that is exerting a vast influence on the other colleges of the land. Some account of this influence and tendency may not be out of place.

The early history of our colleges was shaped after the English model. It has been estimated that within a very few years after the settlement of Massachusetts Bay the colony contained as many as a hundred men who had received the honours of Oxford and Cambridge. When, in 1636, Harvard College was founded by a gift of the Colonial Legislature, and given the name of a son of Emmanuel College in old Cambridge, it was but natural that the methods of the old colleges should be given to the new institution. The other colleges that in due course of time came to be founded took on similar characteristics. Nor was there any very striking or radical change of method or of spirit till past the middle of the present century. The applicant for admission was required to read easy Latin and to know something of Greek and the mathematics. After his admission he was expected to devote four years chiefly to supplementing the frugal knowledge he had already acquired in those three great branches of learning. There was very little of the natural sciences, there was even less of the applied sciences, there was



next to nothing of history. In short, until near the outbreak of our Civil War, it might have been said in plain descriptive prose, as has since been said in the epigrammatic propagandism of a theorist, that "a university is a place where nothing useful is taught."

But about the middle of the present century it came to be seen that the condition of higher education was not satisfying the demands of the country. Colleges had been multiplied in all parts of the land, as if it were the province of higher education to carry itself to the door of every man's home. The numerous religious sects felt the necessity of having schools for the training of the clergy. These schools were the victims of a somewhat active rivalry, and in consequence it was impossible to raise the low standard of scholarship that prevailed. Nearly all of the newer colleges had attached to them is an integral part a preparatory school, the business of which was to give students such meagre preliminary training as was necessary for admission to the college or university. Thus the colleges were able to make a very considerable show of numbers, though in many instances the rolls were made almost exclusively of pupils who might as well have been in any one of the primary or secondary schools of the land. But the deceptive character of this apparent prosperity could not long be concealed. When statistics came to be carefully brought together, it was found that the relative number of students in the higher courses of instruction was steadily growing less and less. It was also evident that there was a widespread feeling of discontent with the courses of instruction given. The clamour was everywhere heard that the classical tongues were no longer called for, that this is a practical age, that if students are not to be taught in the universities what they can turn to use in the affairs of life, they may as well get on without the universities altogether. This feeling it was which, ever growing deeper and more widespread, had the general effect of reducing the number of students in all the colleges of the country. Young men everywhere were going into the professions without that preliminary collegiate training which in the early history of the country was considered a necessary prerequisite of success.

How should this evil tendency be met and averted? Many ways were suggested, and not a few were adopted. One of them was through the establishment of separate technical schools. In the older parts of the country several schools were endowed for the purpose of affording opportunities for special training to such as might have no opportunity or inclination to take the more orthodox course in arts. The Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, the Chandler Scientific School at Dartmouth, the Stevens Institute at Hoboken, the Polytechnic Institute at Troy, the School of Mines at Columbia College in New York, were all the fruits of this impulse. In some of these schools the course of study continued through three years, in others it extended, as in the old college courses, through four. It will be observed that there were two systems even of the schools above named. Some of them were connected with colleges already established, others were entirely independent and isolated. As a rule, however, it may be said that in all instances independence went as far as to the establishment of separate courses of study for the separate schools. Students of the regular college course, and students of the newly established scientific schools, never met in the same lecture rooms,

although they might meet on the same college grounds, and might even be pursuing the same studies in common

As a class, these newly established schools could not be regarded as very prosperous. Whenever they were established in connection with one of the older universities, the students never seemed to feel quite at home in the companionship of the members of the older college. Whenever they were given an absolutely independent existence it was often found that the expense of establishing and keeping up libraries, museums, and the other necessary appliances, was much greater than the financial condition of the school would warrant. The result was that although there were a few very signal examples of success, the experiment, as a whole, could not be regarded as having changed the general drift.

Another series of efforts was made by establishing parallel courses of study in several of the colleges and universities already existing. One of the first to advocate such a change was President Wyland, of Brown University. He presented with great cogency the arguments which at a later period became very familiar to those engaged in educational affairs. The necessity of change in methods presented itself in two forms. In the first place, it was irrational that every student up to the close of his collegiate course should be required, on pain of forfeiting all chance for a degree, to take precisely the same course as that marked out for every one of his fellows. The method in vogue, it was urged, not only required every candidate for a degree to take a prescribed amount of Greek, Latin, and mathematics, but it also gave him almost absolutely no opportunity of taking any more than the amount prescribed. The old curriculum was a hard-and-fast requirement that gave no possible play for differing abilities and tastes. Such a method could never develop to the highest pitch of scholarship more than a very small number of persons in any class. Students are spurred on to their best efforts only when their enthusiasms are moved, and a prescribed course, however excellent in itself, can never stir the enthusiasm of more than a limited number of those who are required to take it. The consequence is, that we are brought at once to the second reason for a change—namely, the inability of the old method to draw within its influence any considerable number of those who, under a better system, would be glad to avail themselves of a course of university study. The very fact that the classes in college were every where growing less and less, showed that the education given was not the education that was desired. The defect in the existing system, it was said, was open to the view of any one who would observe. There were large numbers of people who do not admit the superior efficacy of training in the ancient languages and in the mathematics, and who assert that large numbers must either go through life without the advantage of a liberal education, or the requirements must be so changed as to furnish the opportunities desired.

The agitation that ensued resulted in the establishment of parallel courses of study in several of the universities of the country. In some of the institutions favouring this method of meeting the new demand, what was known as a "Scientific Course" was provided for. Greek and Latin were either omitted altogether, or were required of the students in only very moderate amount. French and German were given a prominent place in the new requirements, and there was a generous introduction of history and the various natural

sciences. In short, the effort was essentially the same as that which in Germany had resulted in the Real Schools, and the consequent admission to the university of students who had no knowledge of Greek, and very little knowledge of Latin. The new courses extended through four years, and culminated in the degree of Bachelor of Science. There was also provision made for those who desired Latin, but had an antipathy to Greek. German and French were given the place held in the old curriculum by the Hellenic tongue, while the full quota of Latin continued to be required. This course led ordinarily to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. Finally, a fourth course was added, designed to substitute for advanced studies in the mathematics and in the natural sciences, studies in history and in modern literature. Some two years in the preparatory schools, and about the same length of time in the university, were devoted to the modern languages, after which the time of the remaining two years was given to studies in literature and cognate branches. This course also led to a degree—that of Bachelor of Letters.

This method of solving the problems of higher education was adopted by a few of the older and by nearly all of the newer institutions. From 1850 to 1870 it was what might be called the predominant method. Though the older schools clung with a strong conservatism to the methods of the fathers, the newer colleges and universities in the middle of the country and in the West almost without exception adopted what may be called the System of Parallel Courses.

While the success of this system was perhaps such as to satisfy its friends, it was not enough to convert its enemies. The older institutions, like Harvard and Yale, and the other colleges of New England, practically assumed that the system of parallel courses was a surrender to Philistinism in which they could take no part. A few of them have maintained this position to the present day. All of the more prominent universities, however, have felt themselves obliged to seek the same ends by other means. Harvard University has been the leader of this third movement, and the means by which its ends have been accomplished is known as the "Elective System."

Until about 1870 the courses of study prescribed for the degree of Bachelor of Arts gave to the student very little latitude for choice. In the fourth year the candidate had placed before him a number of subjects from which he was at liberty to select enough to make up the requisite amount of instruction. But the field of choice was limited and the variety of studies was correspondingly meagre. This characteristic carried with it, of course, the impossibility of anything but very elementary work. A little Latin, a little Greek, about the same amount of the mathematics, a trifle of history, taught in a very dull way, for the most part from a very dull textbook, the elements of half a dozen of the sciences, including psychology and logic—such was the pabulum on which the college student in one of the older colleges was mainly obliged to be fed. It can hardly be considered very surprising that the relative number of students in college was steadily declining. But about seventeen years ago Mr. Eliot entered upon his administration as President of Harvard. It was understood that he was chosen to his position as the representative of a new and vigorous policy that had

already, in some measure, been entered upon by his predecessor. That policy involved a multiplication of the courses of instruction given, and the offering of a substantially free choice of courses during the later years of the curriculum. Gradually this freedom was extended down nearly to the beginning of the course. Indeed, it has now come to include almost the whole of the studies of the freshman year. Meantime it has been practicable to multiply the opportunities afforded the individual student. When everybody was taught as much as anybody it was impossible to do very much of any one thing. But as soon as freedom of choice was offered, it was found that students demanded advanced courses, and consequently advanced courses were provided. The courses in every branch of knowledge were so multiplied that in less than a score of years the aggregate number was three or four times as great as it had been when the reform was begun. The Harvard catalogue now shows an array of courses in history, in political economy, in the various sciences as well as in the languages of Europe and Asia, that quite reminds one of the wealth of learning offered by one of the larger universities of Germany. It is thus made quite possible for the student to concentrate his work in such a way as not only to learn a little of many things, but also to learn much of the particular subject of his choice. The drift has been towards the German rather than towards the English methods, and in the freedom of choice now afforded the German limit has very nearly been reached.

While this change has been going on at Harvard under President Eliot's inspiration and direction, a similar tendency has shown itself in those institutions which at first tried to meet the requirements of the age by establishing "parallel courses." It was found, not unnaturally, that the decision early in life to pursue a certain course of study was sometimes a premature decision, and consequently that room ought to be provided for subsequent change of purpose. The system of parallel courses, like the old classical courses, afforded no room for change of studies when once a course had been entered upon. It was everywhere found necessary, therefore, to give something of the same flexibility to the new courses that Harvard was giving to the old. At the University of Michigan and at Cornell University, the two most conspicuous and prosperous examples of the parallel course system, the first two years are for the most part prescribed, while the last two are for the most part elective. Thus the student is afforded a twofold privilege of choice. He may decide upon one of the parallel courses when he begins his preparatory studies, then, after he has been two years in the university, he may choose with almost absolute freedom from the hundred courses that are offered.

It will be seen from what has been stated that all the changes that have come about have been made in the direction of greater freedom. The tendency has been unmistakably in the direction of that *Lernfreiheit* to which the Germans attach so much importance. It should not be supposed, however, that these changes have come about without opposition. On the contrary, those conservative elements that are found in such abundance in all educational affairs have offered a stern resistance. The opposition has taken on two forms. The first has asserted and stoutly maintained that there is no form of study at all comparable for the development of intelligence with the study of the ancient languages. By

some of the advocates of the reform this assertion is denied, by others it is admitted. Those who admit the position still maintain that the assertion proves very little, inasmuch as the question is, not whether Greek and Latin are the studies best adapted to the improvement of those who pursue them, but whether if Greek and Latin are not taken there shall not be certain other studies offered in their place. In other words, if the student *will* not take Greek and Latin, shall he be compelled to take nothing, or shall he be permitted to take some other study even though it be of secondary importance? The other objection to the reform is founded on what may be called a mistrust of the ability or disposition of the student to use the liberty of choice without abusing it. It is an odd anomaly that in a country that prides itself so much on the liberties of the people there should be so little faith in the beneficial effects of liberty among the students of our universities. At the middle of their course the students in the American universities are now about twenty-one years of age. In many of the universities the average age at the time of taking the degree varies not more than a month or two from twenty-three years. And yet in many quarters it continues to be thought that the student of twenty-one and more should still be held to as rigid a course of study as that which was marked out for him at sixteen or seventeen. Within a few months at least as many as two formidable articles in as many of our leading Reviews have made pondrous efforts to prove that students cannot be trusted, and that if they are given their liberty they will elect the easy things, neglect the hard things, and so spoil their education. In many quarters this distrust of the student's judgment or purpose has been strong enough to stand up in face of all experience. It seems to forget that even if an opportunity is sometimes lost, the fact is only the concomitant of every form of human liberty. Everybody knows that liberty is always subject to abuse. Under the privileges it grants, it is the more possible to do the wrong thing, for the simple reason that there can be no opportunity of doing the right thing without a corresponding possibility of doing the wrong one. The possibility of taking the easy and unimportant things must be granted, for along with such a possibility goes also that opportunity of thoroughness which is the only condition of the highest success. And thus it happens that the very best attainments are found only in those schools where negligence is possible, and even not uncommon. It is only under the stimulus of liberty that the highest results are possible, it is only under the opportunities afforded by the same liberty that neglect of opportunity is most easy, if not most prevalent.

That the new system has not resulted in any general abuse has been abundantly shown. Five years ago the impression became somewhat prevalent that the large freedom now given to the Harvard students resulted in somewhat general neglect and abuse. The Overseers of the university were said to share this opinion. But whether the current report on this subject was correct or not, it was certainly true that they imposed a decisive check on the further movements in the same direction proposed by the President and Corporation of the University. This action led to a very important investigation of the whole subject. The next report of the President contained a very elaborate system of tables, showing precisely what each student had elected during the series of years since the elective system was introduced. The result could hardly

have been more conclusive. The figures so far carried conviction that the Overseers not only reversed their action, but approved unanimously of the policy which, under the light of more imperfect information, they had strenuously opposed.

As was to be anticipated, this reform has met with a hearty appreciation from the public. The sense of freedom, the conscious privilege of selecting those studies that one desires, the larger range of possibilities in the way of attainments in one's favourite pursuits, all these added to the attractiveness of the universities that had adopted the new methods. A large influx of students is the result. While the classes in the colleges and universities that still adhere to the former methods remain very nearly what they were twenty years ago, the classes in all of those institutions that have adopted the new methods have nearly or quite doubled in numbers within the same length of time. In 1870 the number of students in the academic or non professional department of Harvard was 605. In 1895 '96 the number had increased to 1006. Twenty years ago, Cornell University did not exist. The first class graduated in 1869. At present the corps of instruction consists of about eighty persons, and the roll of students has more than eight hundred names. A similar prosperity has marked the universities of Michigan. These three institutions, though differing somewhat in their characteristics, are the most typical and marked examples of the new methods. Within the last ten years all of them have received abundant evidences of public favour.

From another and a higher point of view the beneficial results have been even more striking. Perhaps the most potent reason for the reform was the inducement held out by the new method for long-continued study in the direction of the student's individual choice. While it was foreseen that a few students would struggle through the four years of their course in an unwise kind of way, it was still hoped that a large majority—even a very large majority—would choose their studies wisely, and pursue them steadily to the accomplishment of some very tangible results. It may fairly be said that this hope has not been disappointed. The tables published by President Eliot show conclusively that a vast majority of the young men know what they want, and go about accomplishing their ends in an intelligent and praiseworthy way. But there is a kind of evidence that figures cannot give. It is in the spirit, in the prevailing tone, of the institutions that have adopted the new methods. It is the subject of universal remark that there is less of boyishness and more of manliness. The prevailing spirit is one of far greater earnestness. This general temper of the students, united with the greater opportunities offered, has brought about most excellent results. It is not too much to say that within the past ten years a far higher plane of scholarship has been reached than was possible under the old system. A student's ideas soon after he enters on his university course begin to crystallize in the direction of his aptitudes and preferences. As early as the second year he enters on the fulfilment of his purposes. In the third and fourth years he is able to carry on his studies even into the most advanced stages offered. The consequence is, that at the time of receiving the baccalaureate degree he has learned far more than under the old system was in any way possible. And so it has happened that studies in Greek, in Latin, in the Oriental languages, in history, in the

mathematics, in political economy, and in all the sciences, are carried very much farther than it was possible to carry them twenty or even ten years ago. An inspection of the courses of instruction now given at either of the typical universities named above will show, that university work of a high character has at last become possible and practicable. Advanced studies carried on in the methods of the German "Seminar" were first introduced into the University of Michigan, but they have since become common at Cornell, and have finally been somewhat generally adopted at Harvard. The beneficial results cannot fail to show themselves in every field of learning.

No account of the tendencies of higher learning in the United States could be complete without some adequate reference to the work of Johns Hopkins University. No other institution within the past few years has attracted so much attention. This has been owing partly to the great excellence of the instruction given, partly to the peculiarities of its organization and methods, and partly to the fact that it has laid great stress on the publication of accomplished results. Through the various journals and serials that were established at the university early in its history, the public has been kept advised in a very efficient manner of the work that has been done in the several departments of knowledge. But it can hardly be said that the Johns Hopkins University has a very intimate historic connection with the educational system of the country. It did not grow out of the root, but was rather grafted into the old stock. It was founded in the belief that the time had come for the establishment of a university that should do for American scholars what the German universities are doing for them. During the last twenty-five years some hundreds of American students, after completing their collegiate course, have annually gone to Germany for more advanced instruction than could be obtained on this side of the Atlantic. Why should there not be established in America some one institution that should obviate the necessity of a Transatlantic voyage? The fundamental idea should be the giving of instruction in the most improved methods that would supplement the instruction given in the other colleges and universities of the country. It should be a university established primarily for those who had already taken the Bachelor's degree. Here was the field which Johns Hopkins University undertook to occupy. It was not absolutely new ground, for all of the older universities had provided courses of instruction for graduates and fellows. But its peculiarity was in the fact that all its strength was primarily devoted to instruction to those students who had already taken the first degree. It was as though one of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge should say, We will not teach undergraduates, we will only have to do with those who have already received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Our effort will be simply to do the most advanced grade of work as a means of preparing specialists for the profession of teachers. This was the position of Johns Hopkins University. It did not aim to secure the attendance of large numbers, it desired rather to attract those who, desirous of completing their outfit for the work of teachers and professors, would otherwise have been attracted to the universities of Germany.

The success of the experiment has been abundant and gratifying. The nature of the work has afforded every encouragement to advanced

and original investigation, and the results of such investigations as have been made have been given very generously to the world. Whether in founding the university the necessity of establishing ultimately an undergraduate course was contemplated, is not perhaps very certain. But such a necessity has made itself felt. This end was probably favoured, on the one hand, by local demand, on the other, by the assistance that a preparatory department would give to the advanced work for which the university was more especially established. It still remains true, however, that the prominent characteristic of the Johns Hopkins University is its work with graduate students, while it receives such undergraduates as offer themselves. The stress of its efforts is devoted to its advanced classes. It is perhaps needless to add that it is from this characteristic that the university is so widely and so favourably known.

In the various realms of university work there is nothing more interesting, or indeed more important, than the change that has been going on in the minds of scholars during the past few years on the subject of political economy. Twenty years ago the scholars and the politicians were separated in their beliefs by a sort of impassable gulf. The political economy of Adam Smith and his followers was accepted by the academic teachers almost without exception. The books that made an impression were those of the great founders of the science—of Ricardo and of Mill. The doctrine of *laissez faire*, as ordinarily accepted, was universally taught in the colleges and universities. It was a common remark that in the schools everybody was taught “free trade,” while in business everybody came to believe in “protection.” This sharply defined difference was not the result of accident. Both classes followed their own teachers. The system of protection advocated with such power by Henry Clay and Mr. Carey was given to the multitude with consummate skill by Mr. Greeley and the other editorial writers of the day. The consequence of these diverging tendencies was, that while the policy of the nation was firmly held to the doctrines of a protective tariff, what might be called the more scholarly part of the community was coming more and more into an acceptance of the doctrines of Mill and Cairnes. Fifteen years ago, among all the teachers of political economy in the country, not more than one or two of any prominence could be named who did not advocate the policy of free trade. The political economy of the Manchester school came to be regarded as the only orthodox form of economic faith and doctrine.

It is patent, however, that a great change has now taken place. While on the one hand a very considerable number of prominent manufacturers have declared themselves advocates of free trade, on the other a still more conspicuous number of teachers of political economy either are avowed advocates of protection, or, what is perhaps more common, are in favour of occupying a middle ground between the opposing theories. There has grown up what may be called a new school of economists. These, for the most part, are young men who, under the influence of German instruction, have adopted the German historical method. Nearly all of the younger economists have studied in Germany, and have fallen under the powerful influence of Roscher, Wagner, or Conrad, and have brought the ideas so acquired to their new fields of instruction. While in several of the universities upholders of the *a priori* methods are



still in positions of predominant influence, it is undoubtedly true that at the present moment a majority of the teachers in our colleges and universities are to be ranked as belonging to the historical school. It goes without saying, therefore, that the doctrines of free trade are not so generally or so dogmatically taught as they were ten or fifteen years ago. The tendency is probably very nearly akin to that which appears to be prevailing in England. The views and methods of Rogers, Jevons, and Sidgwick are now much more generally accepted than the views and methods of the economists that led public opinion a generation ago.

The movement as a whole, however, is to be regarded as a favourable sign of the times. It is certain that at no time in the past has the study of political economy been carried on so earnestly and so thoroughly as at the present moment. In all of the universities the classes in this subject are large, and in many of them the most difficult questions are considered with a care and thoroughness that was formerly unknown. More than all this, within the last few months two important journals have come into existence for the discussion of questions of political economy and political science. The *Political Science Quarterly*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science in Columbia College, is devoted to the whole range of questions indicated by its title, while the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, edited by the Professors of Political Economy at Harvard, is to be confined more narrowly to a special field. Both of these journals have the flavour of a careful scholarship, and their first appearance, almost simultaneously, must be regarded as among the more auspicious signs of the times.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS

# CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

## I—ORIENTAL HISTORY

ONE of the most interesting contributions to our knowledge of ancient Oriental History since I wrote is contained in a small pamphlet of thirty five pages, published by Professors Stenud and Socin. It is entitled "Die Inschrift des Königs Mesia von Moab," and embodies a new and minute examination of the squeeze, now preserved in the Louvre, of the famous Moabite Stone. The squeeze was taken in 1869 by Schim el Qari, a Syrian agent of M. Clémont-Ganneau, before the stone was broken, and, under ordinary circumstances, would have been a faithful reproduction of the inscription. Unfortunately, however, Selim had to take it in a hurry, and almost at the risk of his life, it was torn from the surface of the stone before the paper was dry, and, in rescuing it from the Arabs of Dhibân, the precious document was rent in two. With all its deficiencies, it is nevertheless invaluable, as the fragments of the stone itself, which have been recovered, include only a portion of the text, and many of them could not be assigned to their right places without the assistance of the squeeze. The two German scholars, therefore, in no way wasted their time by spending a fortnight last spring in closely studying the squeeze.

The result of their examination has been to correct and supplement the readings published by M. Clémont-Ganneau eleven years ago in several important respects. The following is their revised translation of the text —

- 1 "I am Meshi, the son of Chemosh melech, the king of Moab, of
- 2 Dibon. My father was king of Moab 30 years, and I became king
- 3 after my father, and I have erected this high place to Chemosh in Kirkhah
- for the salvation of Meshi,
- 4 since he saved me from all the kings, and let me see my desire upon all
- my enemies. Omri,
- 5 the king of Israel, he oppressed Moab many days, since Chemosh was
- angry against his
- 6 land. And then his son followed him, and he also said: I will oppress
- Moab, in my day he said thus,
- 7 but I saw my pleasure upon him and his house, and Israel perished for
- ever. And Omri occupied the whole land
- 8 of Medeba and dwelt therein (all) his days and half the days of his son,
- 40 years, but
- 9 Chemosh restored it in my days, and I built Baal meon, and made therein
- the reservoir, and I built
- 10 Kirjathaim. And the men of Gad dwelt in the land of Ataroth from
- of old, and the king of Israel
- 11 built Ataroth, and I fought against the city and took it, and I slew all the
- people of
- 12 the city as a spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab, and I brought back
- from thence the upper altar (*ael*) of Dodo (David) and dragged

- 13 it before Chemosh in Kirjath, and I settled therein the men of Siran and the men of  
 14 Mohhrath And Chemosh said to me Go, take Nebo of Israel, and I  
 15 went in the night and fought against it from the break of day until noon, and took  
 16 it and slew them all, 7,000 men and boys and women and maidens  
 17 and female slaves (?), since I had devoted them to Ashtar-Chemosh, and I took from thence the altars (*arel*)  
 18 of Yahveh (Jehovah) and dugged them before Chemosh Now the king of Israel had built  
 19 Jahaz and dwelt therein while he made war against me, and Chemosh drove him out before me, and  
 20 I took of Moab 200 men, all its princes, and I led them against Jahaz and took it  
 21 in order to add it to Dibon I have built Kirkhah, the wall of the forest and the wall  
 22 of the hill (*ophel*), and I have built its gates and I have built its towers, and  
 23 I have built the house of the king, and I have made the sluices of the reservoir for the water (?) within  
 24 the city Now there was no cistern within the city in Kirkhah, and I spake to all the people make  
 25 you each one a cistern in his house, and I cut the cutting for Kirkhah by means of the prisoners  
 26 of Israel I have built Aroer and I have made the roads by the Arnon, and  
 27 I have built Beth Bamoth, since it was destroyed, I have built Bezer, since it lay in ruins,  
 28 of Dibon fifty, since all Dibon is subject (to me), and I rule (?)  
 29 a hundred in the cities which I have added to the land And I built  
 30 (Medeba) and Beth-Diblathaim And Beth Baalmeon, thither I brought the-sheep  
 31 the flocks of the land And as for Horonaim, therein dwelt the sons of Dedan, and Dedan said (?)  
 32 and Chemosh said to me go down, fight against Horonaim and I went down (and fought)  
 33 Chemosh restored it in (my) days and from thence  
 34 And I "

Dr Neubauer has criticised one or two points in this translation, and has drawn attention to the remarkable reference to the *arels* or "altars" of Dodo and Yahveh\*. He would identify *arel* with *arwel*, which appears in the book of Isaiah as an old name of Jerusalem. It is noticeable that, while in Genesis xxxii 14, the only correct rendering of the proverb current on the Temple Hill is "In the Mount of the Lord is Jireh," or Yeru, a town called Har-el, or "the Mount of God," seems to occupy the site of the Jebusite city, which afterwards became Jerusalem in the Karnak lists of Thothmes III. However this may be, Dodo or David is represented in the inscription in parallelism to Yahveh as worshipped by the northern Israelites. The name means "the beloved one," and must have been a title given to the Deity by the Phœnicians,

\* *Athenæum*, September 25, 1886, and my own Letter, October 9, 1886

since Dido, the patron-goddess of Carthage, is merely its corresponding feminine form in a Latin dress

The revised version of the inscription further serves to clear up the history of the Moabite revolt from Israel. It shows that the recovery of Medeba and other portions of Moabite territory took place in the middle of Ahab's reign, and that consequently Moab regained its independence before the death of Ahab, and not after it, as has been hitherto supposed. It will be observed that, in accordance with the statement of the Old Testament, Mesha represents himself as a great "sheep-master."

Next perhaps in interest to the revised text of the Moabite Stone is Professor Maspero's report of "the excavations carried on in Egypt from 1881 to 1885," which is published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien* (II 6). It is, in fact, a good deal more than a report. Professor Maspero explains in it the bearing of his recent discoveries upon the history and religion of ancient Egypt, and states, with his usual felicity, conclusions which will be new not only to the general public, but to Egyptian students as well. The discovery of a necropolis of the twelfth dynasty at Sakkârah, and the tombs of the eleventh dynasty he has uncovered at Thebes, have refuted Mariette's theory of a break between the Egypt of the Old Empire and the Egypt of the Theban dynasties. On the contrary, the art and religion of Thebes is now shown to be but a continuation and development of the art and religion of Memphis. The early Theban tomb is but a modification of the later Memphite pyramids, the funereal texts painted on the walls of the mastaba or the pyramid of a Pepi find themselves on the walls of the tombs of Thebes.

"Far from altering the ideas and images of the Memphite epoch, the first Theban epoch has copied them servilely, the sole innovation it has permitted itself has consisted in adding the scenes of the private sepulchral chambers to the texts of the royal chambers of the sixth dynasty. The artistic style is the same in both cases, and the figures of the objects appear to have been copied from the same model. The only real difference lies in the writing, sculptured or painted, the mastabas contain texts in carefully executed hieroglyphics only, while the painted tombs of the Theban period contain only cursive hieroglyphs."

The pyramids of the fifth and sixth dynasties which Professor Maspero has opened have furnished him with a large abundance of funerary texts. They prove that the Egyptian pantheon of that remote age was as thickly peopled with divine beings as the pantheon of the age of the Ramessides. "The myths," says Professor Maspero, "which correspond to each of the divine names are already fully developed and fully complete. To cite one example only, the Osirian religion is precisely what it was when revealed to us in the monuments of the Theban age. The struggle between Osiris and Set, the action of Nephthys and Isis, the intervention of Anubis, of Thoth, of Horus and of his ministers are already settled even in their most minute details." To find the origins of the official cult, or to trace Egyptian religion through the earlier stages of its growth, we must go back to that prehistoric period of which dim traditions alone survived. But the phrases fossilized as it were in the religious texts have enabled Professor Maspero to discover more than one feature of the early faith. Thus he points out that "the two religions which chiefly contributed to the mortuary ritual in use, if not through-

out Egypt, at all events at Memphis under the Old Empire, were those of the two cities of Heliopolis and Abydos," and he further believes that the religion of Abydos was modified and remodelled at Heliopolis. More startling are the conclusions which he draws from the expressions that describe "the absorption and digestion of the gods by the dead." Thus the double or spirit of Unas is declared to "eat men and to nourish himself upon them." "Shosmu has dismembered (the gods) for Unas, and has cooked their limbs in his burning childrens." It is Unas who devours their magic virtues and who eats their souls, and the great among them are the food of Unas in the morning, the inferior among them are his dinner, the small among them are the supper of Unas in the evening, the old men and old women are for his ovens." Only one inference can be drawn from such words. Not only must human sacrifice have once been practised in Egypt—indeed, which seems never to have become altogether extinct in the country, but, as among the Polynesian islanders, it must have been accompanied by cannibalism. The courage and strength of the enemy were supposed to be transferred to those who devoured him, and it is plain that when the sacred texts of the Old Egyptian Empire were composed the same belief must still have lingered at all events in the language. The symbolic cannibalism of the soul points to a real cannibalism practised at the religious feasts of the prehistoric days.

The excavations carried on by Mr.inders Petrie, the winter before last, on the site of Naukratis, form the subject of a goodly-sized volume issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund,\* those conducted last winter by Mr. Gardner being reserved for a future volume. Chapters have been added to the work by Messrs. C. Smith, E. Gardner, and B. V. Head, on the early pottery, inscriptions, and coins found on the spot, and the latter portion of the book is occupied by a long series of valuable plates. I have already anticipated the account given in it by Mr. Petrie of his recovery of the long-lost city, as well as of the most important results derived from its disinterment. Its foundation seems to go back to the time of Psammetikhos I, when a manufacture of scarabæi was started in the town, and the first temple of Apollo, of which traces only have been discovered, was probably founded a little later, about B.C. 610. It is from a trench within the precincts of this temple, into which the broken or discarded pottery of the sanctuary was thrown, that inscriptions of the highest importance for the history of the Greek alphabet have been taken. The majority of them are written in the Ionic form of the alphabet, and are in many instances older than the famous inscriptions engraved by the Greek mercenaries of Psammetikhos II on the colossi of Abu Simbel. They prove that the latter do not belong to the reign of Psammetikhos I—as indeed has long been maintained by Egyptologists, despite the assertion of Herodotus that it was Psammetikhos I who pursued the Egyptian deserters into Ethiopia.

The great Temenos, or sacred enclosure, which was the joint work of nine of the chief cities of Asia Minor and the rallying-point of the Greeks in Egypt, lies at the southern end of the ruined town. It was called the Hellenion, according to Herodotus, and within it stood the altar on which the representatives of the nine cities offered sacrifice.

\* "*Naukratis*," part 1, 1884-5. London: Trübner & Co.

The walls of the Temenos have now for the most part disappeared, though their foundations can still be traced, and it was underneath the corners of a gateway erected on their line by Ptolemy Philadelphos that Mr Petrie found four ceremonial deposits of models, including miniature workmen's tools. Towards the southern end of the enclosure was a brick structure, containing doorless and windowless chambers, in which Mr Petrie sees the remains of a fort, though his arguments on behalf of his view do not convince me. It may be added that nothing has been found which can be dated later than the third century of our era, the final ruin and desertion of Naukratis may therefore be placed shortly after the removal of Proklos and its ancient schools to Athens in 190 A D

A H SAYCE

## II —SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

THE concern so widely felt at present regarding the currency has called forth, amid a shoal of controversial pamphlets, several works of solid and enduring value. A Soetbeer's "*Materialien zur Erläuterung und Beurtheilung der wirthschaftlichen Edelmetallverhältnisse und der Währungsfrage*" has already been referred to in this REVIEW by M de Laveleye, who, though a bimetalist, accepts this German monometallist's figures as the most complete and authoritative we as yet possess on the subject. M Soetbeer has investigated a wider area than his predecessors, and by means of this knowledge, together with his native resource and discrimination, has avoided some errors into which they had fallen, still, except on points like the annual production and the annual coinage, the results he arrives at can hardly claim to be more than the best guesswork that can be had in the circumstances, and can inspire little confidence in conclusions that may be drawn from them. For example, it is very important in the present bimetallic controversy to know the proportion of the annual production of gold that is devoted to industrial uses. The common impression is, that it is small when compared with the proportion that goes to the mint, but M Soetbeer, on the other hand, comes to the conclusion that out of 144,000 kilograms produced, 90,000 go to industrial purposes, basing his inference on official inquiries made of American jewellers, of whom great numbers refused to answer at all, and, in regard to the rest, it cannot be known whether they did not exaggerate their business, and whether they did not confound metal recast with metal fresh from the mine. Mr Giffen, in his second series of "*Essays in Finance*" (London: Bell), deducts from M Soetbeer's estimate exactly one-half for metal drawn from the coinage, but without offering any data either for making this deduction, or for accepting the rest of the estimate. Neither M Soetbeer's estimate nor Mr Giffen's can therefore be taken for science, or for anything better than experienced guessing, yet with Mr Giffen they form part of the basis, not merely for inference, but for prediction. His new collection of essays, however, must not be judged by this item alone, it contains a great deal of most valuable matter, and of singularly clear and able exposition, and not the least valuable and able chapter in it is that which has just been alluded

to—the only chapter that has not been published before—that on “The Gold Supply, the Rate of Discount and Prices,” in which the influence of the gold supply over the rate of discount and the prices of commodities through its operation on the Bank reserves is admirably explained. Mr. Giffen still believes in the existence at present of a scarcity of gold which keeps prices low, and when asked why, then, the Bank reserves have shown no contraction, and the rate of discount has not risen, he replies that though the discount rate undoubtedly keeps low on the average, its movement is singularly feverish, rising at times to a considerably higher maximum than is usual when the average is so low. But is this necessarily a sign of a shortening gold supply? Mr. Giffen assumes that it is, but offers no reason or proof. A new work, in some respects of more importance for the monetary question than even M. Soetbeer’s, is Ottomar Haupt’s “L’Histoire monétaire de notre Temps” (Berlin: Wither et Apollant), a remarkably complete review of the recent history of the currency in almost every country of the world. The author is a strong bimetalist of the new or international school of bimetalism founded by Cernuschi in 1873, and in that school he belongs to the party that insists (contrary to Cernuschi himself) that the co-operation of England is absolutely indispensable to the success of the scheme. But his grasp of the situation is certainly unprejudiced and firm. He sees no sign of any scarcity of gold. There is, he says, “a struggle for gold” in the sense that the amount of the present annual production from the mines is less than the present annual demand for monetary and industrial purposes together, but there is no scarcity of gold in the sense that people cannot get as much of it as they want, and get it as easily as ever. The stock of gold in the world is really abundant. The German, Italian, and other Governments that made very large purchases some years ago got their wants supplied without difficulty, and without causing any inconvenience to their neighbours, and at this moment there is no drain on the Bank reserves, and the rate of discount is low. Some of the newest and most important parts of Haupt’s book are his accounts of Oriental currencies, like those of China and the Straits, which had been entirely neglected by his predecessors. His estimate of the actual circulation in India is high, £200,000,000, but he gets this figure by finding that £270,000,000 had been coined since 1835, and by then deducting 30 per cent for hoarding and recoinage. This deduction seems small, but it is founded on a certain basis of fact, though an insufficient one—viz., that in the districts of India affected by famine in 1876–7–8 the silver brought to the mint to be recoinage came to half the coinage of the year. Mr. J. L. Laughlin’s “History of Bimetalism in the United States” (New York: Appleton) is important as a record of American experience, because from 1792 to the present day the United States have been a bimetallic country, and have gone through almost every variety of experience possible to such a country, but it is much more than a chronicle of American monetary history—it penetrates to the causes of every successive phenomenon, and thus runs out into general investigations and discussions of almost every question of interest connected with the currency. These discussions are thorough and able, and there are few more instructive books in English on such subjects. The author is a monometallist, although for deferred payments he favours the unpromising idea of a multiple standard constituted by the average prices of a number of staple

articles for a certain number of years. Among the most important parts of his work are his treatment of the exceptionally large production of silver towards the close of last century—to which, indeed, he is the first to draw special attention, and his discussion of the depreciation of silver since 1876, in which he shows that the German sale of demonetized silver was too small to cause that depreciation, or even to have any effect whatever on the price of silver, and that the decline in the annual production at the mines is also too small to account for it, the production of silver having been three times as great as that of gold at the beginning of this century, but only 27 times as great in 1852, and only 68 times now. His own belief is—and in this he is probably right—that the true cause of the present depreciation lies in deeper and more permanent changes affecting the demand for gold and silver. With the growth of wealth, gold more and more supplants silver for ornaments, and with the growth of commerce for transporting money. Silver has suffered because it is less sought after since gold has grown cheaper and more abundant. It is this strong natural preference that has, in his opinion, depreciated the white metal, and that bimetallicists are now vainly seeking to turn back. In the new edition of Knies's important work, "*Das Geld*" (Berlin: Weidmann), the only considerable change is a new chapter discussing the theory of international bimetallicism, which had been first propounded by Cernuschi after the publication of the previous edition. His discussion is acute and valuable, and he comes to the conclusion that international bimetallicism is impracticable—(1) because an international agreement cannot possibly fix the relative price of silver and gold, unless all the mines in the world are put under international management, and production regulated so as to maintain unity of price, and (2) because nations are too divided in interests ever to adhere to any agreement they might come to on the subject. A war might at any moment drive a weak nation into a forced paper currency, and at all times the gold-producing countries would have opposite interests to the silver-producing. For the second of these points the history of the Latin monetary union is of some importance, because it is an actual experiment of a bimetallic League, and its experiences have been lately described in "*Die Schicksale des Lateinischen Münzbundes*," by the well-known German politician, L. Bamberg (Berlin: L. Simon), and "*Die Lateinische Münzconvention und der Internationale Bimetallismus*" (Basel: H. Georg), by the Swiss financier, A. Burckhardt-Bischoff. Both are instructive and clearly written books, and show forcibly the practical difficulties of maintaining a permanent international monetary union. "*The Theory of Bimetallism*," by Mr. D. Barbour, Financial Secretary of India (London: Cassell & Co.), contains a very lucid and candid statement of the theory of the subject, though it is rather weak in its facts, and not free from economic mistakes that are really surprising in a financier.

Of the other recent economic books the most important are still in the region of finance. The venerable economist Roscher has published a new volume of his "*System der Volkswirtschaft*," devoted to the department of finance (Stuttgart: Cotta). It is marked by Roscher's well-known characteristics—immense reading, and concise, sensible exposition—and it constitutes an invaluable repertory of facts and opinions on all questions relating to State domains, royalties, taxes,



expenses, and debt. It is to be followed soon by another volume on the relief of the poor, which will complete the work. Professor Lorenz von Stein is less learned than Roscher, but goes much more fully into the discussion of principles in his important and standard "*Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft*" (Leipzig: Brockhaus), of which a new and improved edition has just appeared. We have absolutely no systematic works of this sort on the subject in English. In M. Léon Say's lectures on democratic taxation, "*Les Solutions Démocratiques de la Question des Impôts*" (Paris: Guillaumin), we have an able and well-informed discussion of the modern tendencies to favour exclusively direct taxation, to raise the minimum of exempted income, and to resort to the graduation principle. He is opposed to them all, and views them from a rather rigid French economic standpoint, but his examination of them is instructive, if not always convincing. He produces striking evidence from the history of medieval Florence to prove how a graduated income tax can be made an instrument of ruining party opponents and crushing political independence, and from Zurich in our own day to show how it sometimes defeats its own object, and makes the tax-paying capital of the country to shrink so much before it, that the lower incomes live in the end to bear heavier burdens than ever. This result, however, points to the existence of a natural limit to the scope of graduated taxation, and the experience of Zurich is that the citizens can recognize that limit, and turn in time, as has been shown by Professor Gustav Cohn in a very thorough examination he makes of the system of taxation in Zurich in one of the economic studies which he has just collected into a volume under the title of "*National-ökonomische Studien*" (Stuttgart: F. Enke). These studies treat of various subjects, such as industrial freedom, co-operation, legal regulation of hours of labour in Germany, Stock Exchange tax, &c., and evince always a rare mastery at once over principles and over details. Cohn, indeed, has no superior among German economists, and his essays are well worth studying.

I have more than once mentioned with approval a new school of economists that are rising up in Austria, who build substantially, but independently, on the lines of the old English economists, and are producing works of an admirably exact and scientific character. One of their latest products is an excellent little book, by Dr. Anton Menger, Professor of Law (who must not be confounded with Dr. Carl Menger, the economist), on the claim of right which distinguishes the Socialism of our time from the Socialism of the past—the claim of the labourer to get the complete product of his labour—"Das Recht auf den Vollen Arbeitsertrag" (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta). His book consists largely of a history of opinion on this claim of right, drawn from the original sources, and he shows most conclusively that Rodbertus and Marx, in spite of their contentions with one another about their originality, had been completely anticipated in their peculiar doctrines by the early English Socialists. William Thompson taught Marx's theory of surplus value in Marx's own words twenty years before Marx, who knew Thompson's writings, but acknowledged no debt to them. Menger gives very inadequate attention to R. Owen, and he errs in describing Godwin as the first representative of the so-called scientific Socialism of our day. Godwin may have been the first to

preach Socialism as a claim of right on the part of the labouring class, but modern Socialism calls itself scientific because it builds that claim on a misunderstanding of a particular economic—*z e*, scientific—theory, which did not influence Godwin's speculations. In connection with Socialism, the new edition of Carl Marlo's "*Untersuchungen ueber die Organization der Arbeit*" (Tubingen Laupp), which was looked forward to with much interest, will prove disappointing, inasmuch as the hitherto unpublished matter it contains is small, and includes no account of the practical scheme by which the author meant to complete his system. Still, it is well to have so valuable a work, bearing on every page the stamp of original and elevated thought, made more accessible. Professor Foxwell's seasonable little work, "*Irregularity of Employment and Fluctuations of Prices*" (Edinburgh Co-operative Printing Co.) deserves the attention of all social reformers, both for its admirable analysis of the causes of industrial fluctuations and for its important practical suggestions towards remedial and preventive action. He discusses successively the influence of changes in the value of the currency, of periodical inflations and contractions in credit, and of changes in fashion and in productive methods, and concludes that these may all be greatly mitigated by publicity and organization. By publicity he means more than a system of commercial statistics which would enable people to know better what they were doing, and leave less room for rash speculation and misdirected enterprise, for he would in certain circumstances publish names, and by organization he understands various specific measures of State or trade-guild control. One of his most useful ideas is that the liability of directors of limited companies ought to be increased to four or five times their share interest, he would also impose a royalty on inventions, to provide the means of giving temporary aid to the workmen who have been deprived of their livelihood through the changes the inventions have caused. The present fall in prices he attributes, with so many other economists, to the scarcity of gold, and for this and other reasons he is inclined to bimetallicism, though he does not commit himself to the ordinary proposals of bimetallicists, but speaks with approval of a plan which would be both more effectual and more easily practicable for the same purpose—the issue of a £1 paper currency on a double or alternative basis of gold or silver, presumably at their market rates. The American Trade Unions form the subject of a very instructive book by Professor Sartorius Freiherr v Waltershausen, of Zurich—"Die Nordamerikanischen Gewerkschaften" (Berlin H. Bahm)—showing the independent rise of these Unions out of American conditions, and the peculiarities which those same conditions contributed to their development. The most important of these peculiarities are the concentration of the action of American Unions on the attainment of shorter hours rather than of higher wages, and the tendency, arising for the most part since the civil war, to merge the true trade union in a more universal organization, like that of the Knights of Labor. The author states the American experience of an eight-hours day of labour to be that production has suffered nothing from the reduction, because in trades employing little machinery the labourer was less exhausted and did as much in the eight hours as he did previously in ten, and in trades employing much machinery the employer was forced to find compensation in some new invention. If this is so, it is another argument against the Socialist

contention that a short day is the necessary cure for over-production. Much information is given about Boycotting, which is an old American institution, much used, not merely by societies like the Knights of Labor, but by unions of retail dealers who wish to prevent larger dealers from underselling them. Dr Heinrich Frommer has subjected the reports on Profit-sharing contained in Boehmert's book, in the French "Enquête" and elsewhere, to a very acute and well-instructed analysis, in a book entitled "*Die Gewinnbetheiligung*" (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot). Most of the cases mentioned in those reports are either not cases of profit-sharing at all, or are insufficiently described, but he selects twenty-seven as the basis of his investigation, and finds from these that the sphere of successful application for profit-sharing is small, because there are few branches of industry where it can be brought to bear so as to increase materially the quantity or quality of the labourer's output or to avoid the possibility of a strike. Whether we agree with his conclusions or no, his book is worth consulting. In Paris, Count d'Haussonville has gone a slumming, and now gives a most vivid description of the misery he saw, in a book called "*Misère et Remèdes*" (Paris: Calmann Lévy). The overcrowding, filth, immorality, drunkenness, seem all to be considerably worse than in London, and although the author's comparison of the pauperism of London and Paris is to some extent faulty from proceeding on two different statistical bases, his conclusion is plainly sound enough, that there is more pauperism in Paris, and, what is worse, that it is increasing there, while it is declining here. He has consequently no limit to his admiration for the administrative efficiency of the English guardians. As for remedies, he frankly confesses there is none (for he believes the causes of misery to be indestructible and eternal), but only some judicious palliatives, such as thrift, education, co-operation, and, above all, charity.

JOHN RAE

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### III—GENERAL LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHY.—Mr Edwin Hodder's "*Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.*," is a work of singular merit. The author has enjoyed one great advantage which is not usual among biographers—he did his work, if not in positive collaboration, yet in constant communication with the eminent person who is the subject of it, and was thus able to get a more complete understanding of every different transaction than he could otherwise have obtained. But apart from that advantage, he has shown excellent judgment and literary skill in his use of his abundant materials, and the result is that we have got a very full and distinct portraiture of one of the most remarkable and noble figures of the century. Lord Shaftesbury's religious views may be pronounced narrow, but without them we should probably never have had his social work, which it seems cost him ten years' estrangement from his father, besides damaging his political prospects. The Factory Acts may not strike

the imagination so much as the emancipation of the slaves, but they have probably done as much good in the world, and they were won by a much more trying battle. There is a curious letter in these volumes, in which Lord Shaftesbury himself remarks that Wilberforce had Parliament and society at his back, while he himself had to contend against many of the best men of the time.—The first impression of "The Hayward Letters" \* is one of disappointment. A prince of gossips, moving constantly among the great, if his letters were anything like his essays, they would have been, as more than one of his correspondents tells him, an inimitable mirror of the inner side of the literature, politics, and society of his time. But, as it turns out, his own letters are the flattest in the book. They contain little more than the mention of a dinner party he attended, or of a political rumour he heard, and give us no idea of the entertaining gifts or the political sagacity that secured for him his peculiar position in society. Still, there is much to interest in these volumes, especially the letters of some of his correspondents, such as Lady Dufferin, Mrs Norton, and Sydney Smith. Occasionally we get an excellent anecdote or *bon mot*, and we have all through the pleasing sense of having to do with a man of genuine character, true to his friends and his convictions, and most conscientiously laborious in his literary undertakings down to the very close of his long career.—Hugh Stowell Brown's "Autobiography" † is a manly and most interesting account of a manly and useful career. Mr Brown's youth seems to have had its share of checks and troubles, but his manhood ran on with unusual smoothness, spent indeed in many labours, but in almost unvarying success. The book is marked throughout by great candour, freedom from affectation of any sort, and strong common-sense. His remarks are often singularly shrewd, and are often very amusing. Mr Cairne adds to the autobiography some hundred odd pages of extracts from Mr Brown's commonplace book—which seems to have partaken to some extent of the character of a journal—and two hundred more pages of sermons.

TRAVEL.—In a well-written and beautifully got-up work on "Persia and the Persians," ‡ Mr S. G. W. Benjamin gives us the fruits of his three years' experience of Persia as United States Minister at Teheran. He has manifestly studied the people and country with great care and success, for that end he enjoyed considerable advantages in having had a previous familiarity with Eastern life, and in the opportunities he derived from his official position. He has much to say of every phase of Persian life—political, religious, economic, social—and as he endeavours as far as possible to explain as well as describe, his work is exceedingly instructive on the whole present condition of the nation. His words about the English loss of influence and the Russian gain, in spite of the Shah's dislike of Russia, deserve attention in this country, as the words of an independent witness. He considers the active interference of Russia to be already a great obstacle to all internal progress in Persia, and he complains not merely of Russian bribery of officials, but of her inveigling Nestorian and Armenian subjects of Persia across the frontier by fair promises, and then, after they have settled, denying them the free exercise

\* "A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C." Edited by Henry L. Carlisle. London: J. Murray.

† Edited by W. S. Cairne, M.P. London: Routledge.

‡ London: John Murray.

of their religion — Dr J L Porter's "Jerusalem, Bethany, and Bethlehem" \* is not meant for a learned treatise on the topography or history of Jerusalem, but for a popular work of description, that shall give the general reader some fairly adequate idea of the present appearance of the Holy City and its vicinity. Dr Porter does not approach the subject with unwashed hands. Besides being a theologian by profession, he has lived for a number of years in Palestine, and written Murray's Handbook for that country. His descriptions are simple, but effective and interesting, and they are very much aided by excellent engravings, taken, most of them, from photographs. Altogether, this is a pretty and attractive book — Mr Edward Moneythrough having been deceived by an emigration agent in London about the advantages of a particular tract of land in California, to which he was persuaded to resort, writes "The Truth about America" † mainly to put other intending emigrants on their guard, and for this purpose it ought certainly to be useful. He tells us that great part of the Western States is, and must always remain, mere desert. Much of the rest of his book is taken up with an account of the virtues of the Colorado springs as a health resort.

MISCELLANEOUS — The Owens College in Manchester is one of the most remarkable growths of the century. The fruit of the liberality and wise management of private but public-spirited citizens, it has already in little more than thirty years attained a position which, whether measured by the number of its students or the eminence of its professors, may vie with Bonn and other creations of educational States like Prussia. The history of this institution is therefore well worth knowing, and we can now learn it very completely from the careful and unpretending work of Mr Joseph Thompson ‡. The origin of the college is very interesting. John Owens, cotton spinner, having no heirs, wished to leave his fortune to his partner, George Faulkner, but Faulkner, though twice pressed to have it, said "No, I have enough, leave it to found a college." If it was Owens' money, it was Faulkner's self-sacrifice, that built Owens College. Faulkner was also the first chairman of the trustees, and the donor of the first building which the college occupied, and whenever Owens College is mentioned, Faulkner's name ought to be remembered. Mr Thompson gives us interesting notices of other remarkable men who were associated with the establishment of the institution such as J B Smith, Mark Phillips, and James Heywood, and of its first principal, A J Scott — Mrs Pfeiffer's "Sonnets" § have already won very wide recognition as the work of a poetess inspired by high thought and pure and delicate feeling, and readers will be glad to welcome a new edition of them, in which about one-third of the whole are entirely new, and published now for the first time. Of these perhaps the most striking and beautiful are those suggested by various scenes in nature, such as that on Cluny Water, and the two on Mid-Ocean and Niagara, which are placed side by side, and regard two similar natural objects in opposite moods. The sonnet on Gordon contains some fine lines, and "The Coming Day" is very pleasing and complete both in thought and expression.

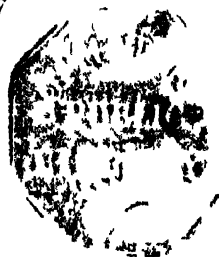
\* Edinburgh T Nelson & Sons

† London Sampson Low & Co

‡ "The Owens College its Foundation and Growth" Manchester J E Cornish

§ London Field & Tuer

## IRELAND 1782 AND 1887



DURING the recent discussions in regard to Ireland no adequate attention has been given to the question of the views of the Rockingham Ministry in 1782 as to the right and proper relations to be established between Great Britain and Ireland, what, in fact, they would have done, if they had had a free hand, or had met with a negotiator less intractable than Grattan.\* Yet this question is not one of historical interest only, but of practical importance also

In the Rockingham Administration the Duke of Portland was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he took with him General Fitzpatrick as his Chief Secretary, Mr Fox was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Shelburne was Secretary of State for the Home and Colonial Departments, and as such was responsible for the government of Ireland

The recognition of the claim of Ireland to be a distinct Kingdom, with a right to a separate Legislature of her own for all purposes, was the object of the movement of which Grattan was the leader. That this claim was founded on right, and had on grounds of expediency to be accepted, was admitted by the Whig statesmen of the time in England. But they also saw that there were subjects which the geographical position of the two countries, their past history, and their industrial interests, rendered it desirable and indeed necessary should be recognized as common property. Ireland, in their opinion, was too near to be a separate State with safety to the external relations of Great Britain, she was too distant to be altogether incor-

\* The speech made by Mr Childers on the second reading of the Government of Ireland Bill is an exception to the above remarks

porated with due regard to the efficient management of her own internal affairs

The Ministry of Lord Rockingham had come into office on the 27th of March, 1782. The moment was one of the gloomiest in English history. The nation had just been stunned by the news of the great surrender at York Town, it was an open question whether the intelligence of the surrender of Gibraltar might not be expected to follow, the power of the fleet to cope successfully with the combined navies of France, Spain, and Holland, was doubtful, an invasion was discussed in every household in the land as a serious possibility, and the resources of the country to meet it were disputed by competent judges. Ireland was in the hands of the armed Volunteers, and England's difficulty was, as usual, Ireland's opportunity. "The liberties of America were inseparable from ours," said Grattan in 1799, referring to this period, "they were the only hope of Ireland, and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind."\* The satisfaction of Ireland was therefore, in 1782, the first condition of the safety of England, and imposed itself on the Ministers as their first and most imperious duty.

The four grievances of Ireland were, in the words of Grattan, "a foreign legislature, a foreign judicature, a legislative Privy Council, and a perpetual army,"† and they were set forth in the Amendment to the Address carried by him in the Irish Parliament on the 17th of April ‡.

"My opinion [Fox wrote to Fitzpatrick, on the 28th of April] is clear for giving them all they ask, but for giving it them so as to secure us from further demands, and at the same time to have some clear understanding with respect to what we are to expect from Ireland in return for the protection and assistance which she receives from those fleets which cost us such enormous sums and her nothing. If they mean really well to their country, they must wish some final adjustment which may preclude further disputes, if they mean nothing but consequence to themselves, they will insist upon these points being given up simply, without any reciprocal engagement, and as soon as this is done, begin to attack whatever is left, in order to continue the ferment of the country. In one word, what I want to guard against is Jonath in Wild's plan of seizing one part in order to dispute afterwards about the remainder." §

Lord Rockingham, writing in an exactly similar strain, said "that the essential points of the Irish demands having first been conceded, it would be the duty of both countries to consider how finally to arrange, settle, and adjust all matters, whereby the union of power and strength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage, might be best permanently fixed," and he spoke favourably of the appointment of

\* Speech of Oct. 28, 1738. "Grattan's Speeches," i. 183.

† "Grattan to Fox, April 18, 1782." "Fox's Correspondence," i. 403.

‡ "Grattan's Speeches," i. 129.

§ "Fox's Correspondence," by Lord Russell, i. 412.

"Commissioners" on both sides, to draw up the heads of an agreement between the two countries \* \*

Of a precisely similar character was the language of Lord Shelburne

"If [he said, writing to the Duke of Portland, on the day following that on which Fox had addressed the Chief Secretary] the ties by which the two kingdoms have been hitherto so closely united are to be loosened or cut asunder, is your Grace yet prepared to advise whether any, and if so what, substitutions are thought of, for the preservation of the remaining connection between us? If by the proposed modification of Poyning's Law, so much power is taken from the two Privy Councils as they are now constituted, are we to look for any agreement in any new institution of Council, which may answer the purpose of keeping up the appendancy and connection of Ireland to the Crown of Great Britain, and of preventing that confusion which must arise in all cases of common concern from two Parliaments with distinct and equal powers, and without any operating centre' †

On the 11th of May, Fox, in another letter to Fitzpatrick, explained his views, what he intended, he said, was to grant the "concession of 'internal legislation' as a preliminary, accompanied with a modification of Poyning's Law and a temporary Mutiny Bill," and he hoped that, having made these concessions, "they might be able to treat of 'other matters' so amicably as to produce an arrangement that would preserve the connection between the two countries"‡. The other matters were the Final Judicature and the question of the contribution of Ireland to Imperial expenses. Shelburne suggested the formal negotiation of "the articles of a treaty," for as such, he said, he regarded his proposals, § and he urged a little judicious temporizing in the hope that the situation abroad might in the interval improve. But Grattan, recognizing the immense advantage which this situation gave him in negotiating with Great Britain, refused to entertain any idea of compromise. There was not only, he said, to be no "foreign legislature, but there were to be no commissioners" to negotiate a treaty,|| and there was, above all, to be no delay in granting all the demands of Ireland. With this information before him, the Duke of Portland, who from the time of his arrival in Dublin had up till this moment encouraged both the Secretaries of State to believe that Grattan would come into their views, and might even make concessions¶ in regard to the final appeal in judicial matters, now informed them that the claims of Ireland on all the four principal demands must be conceded, and conceded at once, as the whole country was in a state of the wildest excitement, and was rapidly

\* Lord Rockingham to Lord Shelburne, May 25, 1782, "Parliamentary History,"

xxiv 979

† "Life of Lord Shelburne," iii 144

‡ "Fox's Correspondence," i 417, 418

§ "Life of Lord Shelburne," iii 145

|| See "Life of Grattan"

¶ "Fox's Correspondence," i 418, "Life of Lord Shelburne," iii 143



escaping out of control \* The concession of all the Irish demands was accordingly decided upon The preliminary steps were therefore taken on the 17th of May, by a resolution in both Houses of the British Parliament, for effecting the repeal of the 6th of George I c 5, the Act by which the right of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland was declared, and the necessary Bill was then introduced and rapidly passed into law

At the same time, however, another resolution was adopted in the following terms —

“That it is the opinion of this House that it is indispensable to the interest and happiness of both kingdoms that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as His Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think most conducive to that end ’

“Ireland,” said Fox, “would have no reason to complain, the terms acceded to by England were proposed by herself, and all her wishes would now be gratified in the way which she herself liked best But as it was possible that if nothing more was to be done than what he had stated to be his intention, Ireland might perhaps think of fresh grievances and rise yearly in her demands, it was fit and proper that something should be done towards establishing on a firm and solid basis the future connection of the two kingdoms But that was not to be proposed by him here in Parliament it would be the duty of the Crown to look to that, the business might be first begun by His Majesty’s servants in Ireland, and if afterwards it should be necessary to enter into a treaty, Commissioners might be sent from the British Parliament or from the Crown, to enter upon it and bring the negotiation to a happy issue, by giving mutual satisfaction to both countries, and establishing a treaty which should be sanctified by the most solemn forms of the Constitution of both countries ” †

For the moment, however, the hope of commencing negotiations with these objects was abandoned, and when, on the 27th of May, the Royal Message conveying the intention of His Majesty to concede all the demands of the Irish Parliament was delivered in Dublin, the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant announced that no measures were then intended to be grounded on the second English resolution of May 17 For a time, however, the Duke of Portland continued to hope against hope, and to nourish the vain expectations with which from the beginning he had buoyed himself up, and had misled his colleagues During the month of June he allowed himself to be persuaded by Mr Ogilvy, the husband of the Duchess of Leinster, and stepfather to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that Grattan was not really so intractable as he seemed to be, and in a secret and confidential

\* “Life of Lord Shelburne,” iii 146

† 10x “Speeches,” ii 64, 65

despatch, written on the 6th of June, he urged that the Irish Parliament should not be at once prorogued, in order to give time for a possible arrangement in regard to common affairs. But on the 22nd of June he was reluctantly compelled to express his disappointment and mortification at finding that his hopes had proved entirely fallacious, and that Mr Ogilvy was a person not to be relied upon. The prorogation of the Irish Parliament was accordingly suffered to take place on July 27, and here the matter ended.\* "Thus," exclaimed Grattan to his applauding audience—"thus have you sealed a treaty with Great Britain, on her side the restoration of the final judicature, the extinction of her legislative claim, of her Privy Council, of her perpetual Mutiny Bill, the repeal of the Act of legislative supremacy, on your side satisfaction! And thus are the two nations compacted for ever in freedom and peace."†

At the time of the Union a controversy arose in regard to these events. Mr Pitt asserted that the adjustment of 1782 was not considered by the British Ministers by whom it was effected as final in its character, but that, on the contrary, they were fully convinced of the necessity of adopting some further measures to strengthen the connection between the two countries, and he produced the correspondence which had passed in 1782—extracts from which have been given above—as a reply to the lame attempt of General Fitzpatrick, who was still in Parliament, to deny that any such negotiation had been desired by the members of Lord Rockingham's Ministry. General Fitzpatrick had declined to admit more than that the Duke of Portland, during his residence in Ireland, might have entertained a vague idea of some farther arrangement for consolidating the connection with Ireland, but had soon given it up, and Grattan in the Irish Parliament openly accused Lord Shelburne and the Duke of having concealed their views from their colleagues, and said that, above all, Mr Fox knew nothing of the project contained in the despatch of June 6.‡ The fact is, that Rockingham's Ministry was in June a house divided against itself, owing to differences of opinion as to the negotiation with France and the United States, and was almost in the actual throes of dissolution. From a letter written by Fox in 1790 to Fitzpatrick, it certainly appears that the so-called "Ogilvy" negotiation never was communicated to him.§ But the assertion of Mr Pitt went far beyond the Ogilvy negotiation—if negotiation it can be called. What Mr Pitt asserted was, not that the correspondence proved that in June, 1782, the Ministers were actually intending to enter on any such negotiation, but that in the opinion

\* "Grattan's Speeches," vol. iii 355, 409, Jan 15, Feb 22, 1800. "Fox's Correspondence," i 426, "Life of Lord Shelburne," iii 149, "Parliamentary History," xxx 957 (Speech of General Fitzpatrick). † Speech of July 19, 1782.

‡ Speech of Grattan, Jan 15, 1800. "Speeches," vol. iii 355.

§ "Fox's Correspondence," i 431.

of the Prime Minister, of the Lord Lieutenant, and of both Secretaries of State, from the very commencement of the correspondence in April, the arrangement insisted on by Grattan was deficient, and could not prove final, and that they were only prevented by the stress of adverse circumstances and the impracticable character of the Irish leaders, from trying to negotiate an agreement, by which Ireland should acknowledge that "the superintending power and supremacy were where Nature had placed them"—viz, in the Government of Great Britain.

What, then, was the view which the Whig Ministers took of the relations which it was desirable to establish between Great Britain and Ireland—the relations which, had events been more favourable, they would have established? Evidently it was not a legislative union, though they wished to retain the final judicial appeal in London. The object of the Duke of Portland, as he explained in the secret despatch of the 6th of June, was that an Act of Parliament should be passed by the Legislatures of the respective kingdoms, by which "the superintending power and supremacy" of Great Britain in all matters of State and general commerce would be virtually and effectively acknowledged, a share of the expense in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our dominions or those of our allies, should be borne by Ireland in proportion to the state of her abilities, and that she should adopt every such regulation as might be judged necessary by Great Britain for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of Great Britain. "This plan," Lord Shelburne explained during the debates of 1799, "had nothing to do with a legislative union"† "It related," he said, "to what might be called the expense of the system which was carried on under the two Parliaments, in army, navy, commerce and finance, and in the great establishments of Church and State, and it did not imply 'bringing the two Parliaments together'"‡

From these passages it appears that what the Whig statesmen aimed at in 1782 was to obtain, in the first place, a clear acknowledgment of the Imperial supremacy, or, as they would have said in the language of the time, of the power of Great Britain in "external" as distinct from "internal" legislation, and, in the next place, a contribution from Ireland to the expenses of external administration and policy—the fleet, the army, and the diplomatic and commercial establishments. "I humbly conceive," said Burke, who he it remembered was a member of the Rockingham Government,

\* Lord Shelburne to the Duke of Portland, June 9, 1782

† 'Life of Lord Shelburne,' in 150

‡ "Parliamentary History," xxxiv 675, 678, "Memoirs of the Whig Party," by Lord Holland, 1847, "Life of Lord Shelburne," in 554, 555

and the trusted adviser of his official chief, "that the whole of the superior, and what I should call Imperial politics, ought to have its residence here [in London], and that Ireland, locally, civilly and commercially independent, ought politically to look up to Great Britain in all matters of peace or war, and, in a word, with her to live and die. At bottom, Ireland has no other choice—I mean no other national choice" \*.

Apart from their historical interest these negotiations have an important bearing on the controversy raised by the introduction of Mr Gladstone's Bill. It has been seen that Grattan claimed, and that the Rockingham Cabinet accepted, the absolute abandonment by Great Britain of the claim to legislate for Ireland. But, said Mr Bryce in the recent debate—

"We have the right to legislate for Ireland, and we shall have it when the Bill becomes an Act. We shall retain, as a matter of right, the power to legislate for Ireland for all purposes whatever for the simple reason that we cannot divest ourselves of it. There is no principle more universally assented to than the absolute omnipotence of Parliament, because there is nothing beyond us or behind us. There is one limitation and one only on our omnipotence, and that is that we cannot bind our successors. If we pass a statute annihilating our right to legislate, it may be repudiated by our successors."

If the views put forward by Mr Bryce are correct, Mr Fox was party to a direct fraud in proposing the repeal of the 6 George I c 5 For, according to these views, the repealing Act was so much waste paper, and England would have had as good a right to legislate for Ireland the day after it had passed as the day before. But Mr Fox openly stated that he was abandoning the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, frankly and irrevocably. "The lesson which the Irish have been taught," he said in the debate of the 17th May, 1782, was—

"If you want anything, seek not for it unarmed and humbly, but take up arms, speak manfully and boldly to the British Ministry, and you will obtain more than you might at first have ventured to expect. This was the happy consequence of the ill use made of the superintending power of the British Parliament, which was perverted from its true use, and instead of being the means of rendering the different parts of the Empire happy and connected, had made millions of subjects rise up against a power which they felt only as a scourge. If therefore he should be obliged to move any proposition that might appear humiliating on the part of Great Britain, or hurtful to the power of Englishmen, the fault was not his—it was the fault of those who had left in the power of the Volunteers to make the demands contained in the Address on the table, who had left it in their power not by leaving arms in their hands, but leaving them their injuries and oppressions. It was his intention not to pursue the footsteps of his predecessors, and therefore he would agree to the demands of the Irish relative to the repeal of the 6 George I" †.

\* Letter on the affairs of Ireland, 1797

† Fox's Speeches, 1.61

It would probably have astonished the followers of Grattan, who on the arrival of the news of Mr Fox's speech in Dublin went into transports of patriotic joy and at once voted the Supplies asked for by the Irish Administration, if they had been informed that while Mr Fox was using this language his real opinion was that no change whatever had been made in the law, that there was no principle more universally assented to than the absolute omnipotence of the British Parliament, and that if indeed they had just passed a statute annihilating their right to legislate for Ireland, it might none the less be repudiated by their successors next day. Why, it was the very suspicion—most unjustly entertained—a few years after, that Mr Pitt, under cover of his Irish commercial propositions, was seeking to impugn the great principle of the legislative independence of Ireland in a matter of external legislation, which drove the Dublin Parliament almost beside itself with fury, and wrecked the plan. But what nuts and honey would it have been to every Irish orator, if he had been told that, in the opinion of the best English lawyers and statesmen, the legislative right of England still existed unimpaired, and extended not to the regulation of common affairs only, but to internal legislation also.

If, however, any doubt remains as to the views which were entertained on the subject in 1782, it will be removed by a perusal of the debates which immediately followed in the Irish Parliament, and culminated in the famous struggle between Flood and Grattan on the 28th of October, 1782, when Flood, having denounced Grattan as a "mendicant patriot," and Grattan having retorted by likening his rival "to a bird of prey with an evil aspect and a sepulchral note," the two leaders left the House in order to solve their differences by a duel, and were only prevented meeting in deadly combat by the interposition of the Speaker, who wisely issued his warrant to apprehend them both.

The whole contention of Flood in these debates was that the mere repeal of the Act of George I was insufficient, and did not prevent its revival at any future period, that it really left the matter where it stood, and that it was therefore necessary to bring in a Bill for declaring the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, internal and external, for the kingdom of Ireland. The contention of Grattan, on the contrary, was that the relations between Great Britain and Ireland were to be ascertained from the record of the whole of the recent transactions, which were transactions between two independent nations having a common Sovereign, and this being so, he said it was no more possible for Great Britain to reassert her legislative supremacy over Ireland than it would be for her to do so over the American colonies, if the pending negotiations resulted, as they evidently

were about to do, in a recognition of the independence of those colonies. The relations between Great Britain and Ireland were, in fact, in future to be sought in the law of nations and not in the municipal legislation of either country, which he said was no longer applicable.

Now let us apply the analogy of the situation of 1782 to that of 1887, on the assumption that Mr Gladstone's Bill had become law. The Act of George I declared the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate in all cases whatsoever for Ireland. The Act of George III repealed this Act. The result of the repeal, in the opinion of all the leading statesmen of the time, was to estop the British Parliament for ever from legislating for Ireland. Afterwards the Act of Union gave the United Parliament the right of legislating for Ireland. On this state of things came the Bill of 1886 which sought to declare that, except in reserved cases, Great Britain would not legislate for Ireland. Would not this have been held to have estopped the British Parliament, on the principles stated in 1782, from legislating for Ireland in all cases coming within the competence of the Irish Legislature—i.e., on all subjects except the reserved subjects. Can it well be doubted that it would have been at once contended that Ireland had, in the first place, a constitutional claim in regard to all matters of internal legislation to be entirely free from the legislation of the British Parliament, because those matters were matters with which the Irish Crown, and not the British Crown, was concerned, and that in these matters, therefore, the Irish Legislature alone was competent to advise the Irish Crown, and, in the second place, that the Bill countenanced and confirmed this view, by the words declaring "that all matters in which it is not competent for the Irish Legislative Body to make or repeal laws, shall remain and be within the exclusive authority of the Imperial Parliament, save as aforesaid, whose power and authority in relation thereto shall in nowise be diminished or restrained by anything herein contained" (Cl. 39 of the Bill). Where would have been the answer to those who said "Mentio unius exclusio alterius? if the power and authority of the Imperial Parliament is stated to be undiminished in regard to everything not conceded to the Irish Legislature under the earlier clauses of the Bill, evidently by implication it is diminished in regard to the subjects which are handed over to the Irish Legislature" \*.

\* The proposition laid down by Mr Bryce, that the right of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland for all purposes whatever would be quite unquestionable and would be universally admitted, is open to some comment from the historical point of view. The abstract doctrine of the legislative supremacy of Parliament, and not only the practical application of that doctrine, was strenuously disputed by many of the leaders of Colonial opinion in America at the commencement of the last century as a reference to the literature of the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act of 1766 will show. The doctrine itself was one of the consequences of the Revolution of 1688, which, true to the general

The following propositions can then be based on the events of 1782

(1) That the Irish leaders insisted on the freedom of Ireland from interference by the British Parliament both in internal and external affairs, or, as would now be said, both on Home and Imperial questions

(2) That the British Ministers were ready to concede the former, but were not ready to yield the latter, but conceded both, owing to the circumstances of the time, and considered the concession final

(3) That the British Ministers wished to obtain a contribution from Ireland for Imperial purposes, and the maintenance of a final judicial appeal to an Imperial Court

(4) That the British Ministers do not appear to have proposed the representation of Ireland in the British Legislature

Now, in substance the plan proposed by Mr Gladstone is the abortive plan of 1782 which Grattan rejected. The objection to any such plan is the probability that if Ireland were to be asked, and were even to consent for the moment to make an appreciable contribution to the common expenses of the Empire, without being given through her representatives any share in the Parliamentary control of the funds so voted, and in the discussion of Imperial affairs—if, in other words, she was made a tribute-paying colony, instead of being treated as a member of a Federal system having an undiminished area of taxation for National purposes—a fresh and formidable grievance would arise in a few years, on the ground that taxation without representation was an intolerable thing, and contrary to the first principles of the Constitution. With these considerations present to his mind, Mr Butt, in order to get over the

principle of exalting the importance of the British Parliament, abolished on the one hand the right of the Crown to tax the colonies by virtue of its prerogative, and on the other asserted a right in the British Parliament to legislate and tax in the "settled" colonies of the Crown concurrently with the local representative assemblies, and, if necessary, over their heads. The same class of arguments were used both by Colonial and by Irish statesmen against the claims of the British Parliament to interfere as between them and the Crown, but the Irish case was always the stronger of the two, because her advocates were able to start from the admitted right and position of Ireland as a kingdom, with a Crown of her own. In the claims of the British Parliament, the Whig statesmen, recognizing their danger in practice, tried to set constitutional limitations, and hence grew up the distinction, on which the elder Pitt relied between the right of Great Britain to impose by law internal taxation within the colonies for the purposes of revenue, and her right to levy external taxation for the regulation of colonial trade. This distinction, however, from a legal point of view, Lord Mansfield showed, would not bear examination, and he laid down the law to be, that the Parliament of Great Britain had an absolute legislative supremacy over her colonies—and by implication over Ireland—in all cases whatever, whether for internal or external objects, whether to impose a tax, or to regulate trade, whether to levy money, or to make general enactments, and this doctrine it was which was recorded in the Declaratory Act of George III of 1766, relating to the colonies, the counterpart of the Declaratory Act of George I, relating to Ireland (See Bancroft, vol. II. ch. xix, *The Absolute Power of Parliament*, also vol. III. ch. I, "*Life of Lord Shelburne*," vol. I. ch. IV. p. 253.)

difficulty, proposed that a Federal arrangement should be instituted between Great Britain and Ireland—*i.e.*, an arrangement under which Great Britain and Ireland should agree to vest certain powers in a purely Irish Legislature and certain others in the Imperial Parliament. The late Mr Sharman Crawford, who like Mr Butt was an Ulsterman and a Protestant, held similar views at an earlier epoch, and put them prominently forward during the period which elapsed between the imprisonment of O'Connell and the collapse of the first Tenant-right movement. With their opinion before us, it may be asked—why was no such plan proposed in 1782 by the English statesmen of the day? The answer, I think, is not far to seek.

The eighteenth century knew little or nothing about Federal Government. The nineteenth century, on the other hand, may be called the century of experiments in Federalism, but for that very reason the knowledge possessed by the world of its practical working can as yet, in point of time, be but limited. As a rule, Federations have hitherto grown up, as we have been of late frequently reminded, by the union of a number of lesser States into a larger whole. Such were the small Federal States which arose in the ancient world in the declining days of Greek liberty. Such certainly was the origin of the United States of Holland and of the Swiss Confederation, though to all of these, as well as to the United Colonies of America, under the short-lived Constitution which existed previous to 1787, writers of the school of Austin would have denied the right to call themselves a Federation, so weak in their case was the tie subsisting between the different States—so cumbrous the action of whatever represented the national power. In reality, the present Constitution of the United States, which was adopted in 1787, with the explanations of its intended working, by Hamilton and Madison in the *Federalist*, and by De Tocqueville in his well-known work, and the Federal arrangement between Hungary and Croatia, are all we have which can be considered of much practical value. The case of Switzerland, even under its present reformed Constitution, is too peculiar, that of the Dominion of Canada, even without the warning of the complaints of Nova Scotia, is, though valuable, perhaps too recent to be quoted. The South African Federation has never existed except in an Act of Parliament and a pigeon-hole at the Colonial Office. The experience of Germany is not in point, because Germany began by extruding from itself all those dissentient elements whose dissent could alone have been dangerous to a Federal system, while the others—*e.g.*, the Danes in Schleswig and the Poles in Posen—she ruthlessly crushes down. Now this experience, limited as it is, has all grown up since the close of the last century, and it was owing no doubt to the idea of Federal Government being practically unknown to the men of 1782,



and to the unwillingness of the English mind to strike out on a new and as yet untrodden path in the art of Government, that in all the discussions of that time there is little or no suggestion of instituting a Federal link between Great Britain and Ireland. Some such suggestion was, it is true, made during the negotiations on the Scotch Union, but it was decisively rejected by England, and only weakly urged by Scotland. The period was, in fact, one when, as Lord Rosebery pointed out in a recent speech Europe was still under the influence of a set of ideas which worked in an exactly opposite direction to the ideas of nationality and Federalism now so prevalent. The period was indeed drawing to a close, but the whole tendency of history had for two centuries previously been in the direction of large agglomerations of territory and centralization of government, irrespective of questions of nationality and race, and that tendency was still potent in 1782. The idea that the advantages of a national Government, extending over a large territory, might be combined with those of a decentralization of authority by a division of jurisdictions, was not one which the statesmen of the day in Europe had begun seriously to consider. Separation they understood, or in incorporate union the possibility of an intermediate arrangement they ignored. But on the statesmen of England in the present day the consideration of some such arrangement has been borne in as an imperious necessity, by the rise of the doctrine of nationality, which since 1830 has recast the map of Europe, and by the ever growing demands made on the time of Parliament by the increase of business, which threatens entirely to clog the wheels of the existing machine of Government.

And yet an experiment in Federal Government is not one to be approached with a light heart. Our experience, as already shown, is but limited, and perhaps one thing only can be said about it with any certainty, that whatever success has attended it, wherever in fact it has worked smoothly, it has been when the powers reserved to the Federal or National Government have been those only which were strictly necessary, and in regard to which differences of opinion would presumably not arise amongst the States forming the union. It was when the South really understood that the institution of slavery was likely to cease to be regarded as a domestic institution, with which each State of the Union might deal as it chose, and was becoming a Federal or national question, that the long-averted Civil War broke out in America. It is because the economic interests of Nova Scotia are or are supposed to be sacrificed to those of Upper and Lower Canada, that the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia asks that his province may be released from the Federal bond of the Dominion Government. The war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland, the quarrels of Holland with the other Dutch provinces, all tell the same story, and point a similar moral.

It is the more important to bear these considerations in mind, because of the existence of a widely spread but erroneous idea in regard to the United States Constitution, to the effect that the Federal Government has very numerous and extensive powers in internal affairs which are assured by the jurisdiction of the Federal Court. This Court, it is said, can intervene, whenever it chooses, under the terms of the Constitution, to arrest the action of the State Governments, and therefore, once given a Federal Court, or something equivalent to it, and the success of the Federal experiment is assured. But it is necessary to realize that it is only because the powers of the Federal Government are strictly limited, and that the Federal Court is not overweighted with the assertion of rights, the exercise of which the public opinion of the States might not support, that its jurisdiction, where it is asserted, is as a rule respected, while over the State Legislatures as such it has no power at all, by way of injunction or prohibition. Nor have cases been wanting from which the precarious character of its powers and its occasional lack of any sufficient sanction to enforce its decrees, may be gathered, when it has happened that those decrees have not been in accord with the prevailing opinion of the State within which execution has had to be carried out. In 1812, when a state of war existed with Great Britain, the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused obedience to the orders of the Federal Government for the concentration of the militias of all the Northern States on the frontier, giving as their reason that the Constitution only empowered the Federal Government to call out the militia in the case of "insurrection or actual invasion," and that neither of these two eventualities had arisen. These doctrines met with general approval in the two States in question, and were endorsed by their Governors, their Legislatures, and their tribunals, nor were the Federal Courts able to enforce obedience to the commands of the Government at Washington. By a strict limitation of the powers of the National Government to what is absolutely necessary in order to secure the existence of the United States as a nation, the framers of the Constitution of 1787 did as much as, humanly speaking, it was possible to do, in order to render their work permanent, but they were not able, as De Tocqueville pointed out, even before the war of Secession had come to confirm the foresight of his views, altogether to avoid the dangers which are the natural inheritance of all Federal forms of Government.

The possibility, then, of establishing a Federal connection of any kind between Great Britain and Ireland—that is to say, an arrangement under which certain powers would be vested in an Irish Legislature and Executive, and certain others in a Parliament and Executive common to both countries—depends entirely on whether

it is to be believed not only that such a division of power can be successfully made upon paper—a feat which any constitution-monger can accomplish—but also that public opinion in Ireland would not interpose hopeless obstacles to the assertion of the reserved rights and powers of the Imperial Legislature and Executive

To render such a pact efficient in practice, according to Mr Mill,\* whose arguments on Federalism have been reproduced by Mr Dicey in his recent work, with special reference to Ireland, several conditions are requisite, amongst others, that there should be a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy between the federating States, and that none of them should be so powerful as to be able to rely for protection against foreign encroachment on its own individual strength. Now, it is no doubt honestly believed in many quarters that the average Irishman is filled with so deep, so permanent, and so inextinguishable a hatred of England and Englishmen, that the only thing to do is to keep him down, and that the moment you cease to do so he will fly at the throat of the Government, and demand separation. There are those also who hold an exactly opposite belief, and have persuaded themselves that Ireland under a separate Legislature would at once become a portion of the Elysian fields. Both views are exaggerated. To Englishmen, as such, there would probably be no danger at all, neither does the risk to Protestants of religious persecution seem serious, but the opening years of an Irish Legislature would especially to those who, like the present writer, are connected with the landed interest in Ireland, be without doubt a period of very great anxiety. Judging from recent speeches, it is clear that leaders would not be wanting who would hold out inducements to the peasantry to set it naught every consideration of right and justice. It would be folly, in the face of such evidence, to assume an attitude of unlimited trust and confidence, or to distinguish such an attitude from one of absolute silliness. The day of Irish liberty, if it comes, will dawn with heavy thunder-clouds on the horizon, unless some settlement of the land question can first be made. Pessimism is a foolish creed, but optimism has been the origin of half the crimes which the world has ever seen, and in regard to the land question it is difficult not to have the apprehension that, although wiser counsels may prevail, the future may be as evil and as poisoned with injustice as the past. But in a movement for complete separation, in order to escape from the Federal tie, I do not believe

\* In regard to matters of general policy, the differences on the subject of slavery in the United States used to be quoted by Mr Mill as an illustration in support of his proposition of the difficulty of the Federal forms of Government. The divergent sympathies in religious matters of Great Britain and Ireland are similarly quoted as proving

\* See the chapters on Federalism in his work 'On Representative Government'

the impossibility of any Federal connection between the two countries. Great Britain, for example, it is said, sympathized with Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, Ireland, on the contrary, sent the Irish Brigade to support the Pope. Suppose, so it is argued, that the British Government, having the preponderating voice in the Imperial Parliament, had gone to war in support of Victor Emmanuel. The reply is, that the supposition is a very large one. Great Britain is not in the habit of going to war for whatever cause she may be interested in. A Federal arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland would probably make for peace. In the particular case to which allusion has been made, the result would presumably have been that the Imperial Government would have arrested both Colonel Peadar and Major Miles O'Reilly, acting on the same principles which caused Henry VIII to execute both Protestants and Romanists with perfect impartiality, when they ventured to deny his supremacy. Again, the Romeward sympathies of Ireland are diminishing, and Home Rule would probably hasten rather than retard the hour of the inevitable struggle with the ecclesiastical power, which sooner or later arises in every country. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, who was a prominent supporter of Garibaldi, is also an active member of Mr. Parnell's party, which apparently seeks its inspiration from the other side of the Atlantic rather than from the banks of the Tiber.

From this point of view the maintenance of good relations by Great Britain with the United States is a matter of cardinal importance in foreign policy, and the wisdom of the Liberal Government in not allowing itself to be deterred by clamour and abuse from signing the Treaty of Washington, and thereby putting an end to the dangerous controversy relating to the *Alabama*, is of importance in its bearing on the Irish question. Ireland is in consequence no longer in overt sympathy with any foreign country definitely hostile to England, as she was in the days when there was actual danger of invasion from Spain and from France, a period also when she was relatively to England a far more populous and wealthy country than is now the case, and far more capable for that reason of injuring her neighbour if she desired to do so.

In a war with Russia—not that I believe in its necessity—there would be no danger of divergence of views, because of the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the sympathy with the sufferers which it excited in Ireland, also because the contest would only be part of a struggle between Occidental civilization and Oriental despotism. The Pope, be it remembered, was himself a consenting party to the expedition of William III, on the ground recently defended with great ability by a distinguished English Catholic writer, that the huge despotism with which Louis XIV threatened Europe—just as the Czar of Russia does now—was a

greater danger to the Holy See than the establishment on the throne of Great Britain and Ireland of a liberal-minded Protestant monarch, who was compelled by his advisers, and not prompted by his own wishes, to break the Treaty of Limerick \*

The second of Mr Mill's conditions, that no member of a Federal State should be self-sufficient as regards external defence, tells, so far as Ireland is concerned, in favour rather than against the establishment of a Federal relation. Ireland has never been a shipbuilding country to any large extent. It is only quite recently that shipbuilding has become an industry, even in Belfast, and the day is far distant when even the most exalted Irish patriot can expect to see an independent Irish navy, capable of defying the fleets of all the European Powers, and protecting her shores from invasion.

There was, however, a third condition on which Mr Mill laid even greater stress than on the two preceding, as necessary to the success of a Federal Government—viz, that there should not be any marked inequality among the several contracting States. This, it is frequently said, can never be the case as between Great Britain and Ireland, the former will always insist on being master of the joint deliberations, and Ireland will not endure it. That under any such arrangement Ireland would have to confess that the ultimate supremacy in the reserved questions was "where Nature had placed it," is certain, but if only those questions were reserved to the Federal Government on which friction was least likely to arise, and if the support of the Imperial Government, on the other hand, were given to the smaller and poorer country in many matters where such support would be desired and eagerly welcomed—such, for example, as a loan for the State purchase of the railways—there is no reason why the preponderance of Great Britain should be a fatal difficulty in the way of a Federal system. That some difficulties may, must, and would arise is no doubt certain. But is there any scheme of Government of which this may not be said, most of all any scheme, whether actual or potential, for the government of Ireland? Have no difficulties arisen under the present system? Would none have arisen if the Bill of last year had become law?

That under any Federal arrangement, there would be any real ability to interfere frequently from London in Irish internal affairs, is not probable, nor would it be desirable. The attempt could only end in a disastrous failure. Much has been said about the supremacy of the British or Imperial Parliament, and some of those who have used this expression apparently mean that every Act of the Irish Legislature and Executive is in some way or another to be reviewed by the British Parliament and Executive, or that, in defiance of the plain teaching of history there is to be no

\* Mr W S Lilly "Chapters on European History," vol II ch vi

responsible Irish Executive at all. The certain result of this would be to destroy the sense of responsibility in the Irish Legislature, to create endless differences of opinion between the two countries, and to make Great Britain the "whipping-boy" of Ireland, whenever Ireland had done anything foolish, and the British Parliament had not stepped in to prevent it. Whatever is granted to Ireland in the way of legislative or executive right must be given fully and frankly. We must allow ourselves in this matter to listen to the voice of the statesmen of 1782. On the other hand, whatever is reserved must be clearly reserved, with ample guarantees for the arm of the Imperial Executive being long enough and strong enough to put down resistance. But that the power of the Imperial Parliament and Executive could, under any circumstances, be exerted frequently and in many matters, is a dangerous and impotent delusion. That power can only be maintained by carefully selecting and limiting the objects to which it is to relate, and by admitting Irish representatives to their full share—neither more nor less—of the control of Imperial questions in the Imperial Parliament, and securing adequate machinery for the execution of the decrees of the Imperial Government in Ireland when necessary. The arguments against any petty interference with the affairs of Ireland would be just as strong now as those which Lord Chatham led in 1774 against the proposed interference of the British House of Commons with the Absentee tax which the Irish Parliament was in that year supposed to be about to pass.

"The justice or policy of the tax (he said) is not the question, and on these two, endless arguments may be maintained *pro* and *con*. The simple question is, have the Commons of Ireland exceeded the powers lodged with them by the essential constitution of Parliament? I answer, they have not, and the interference of the British Parliament would in this case be unjust, and the measure destructive of all fair correspondence between England and Ireland for ever."\*

In what way would the British Parliament be more able in 1887 to interfere in such a case than it was in 1774?

That Great Britain, if she chooses, is strong enough to govern Ireland for a prolonged period against the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland, is indeed true, and under a strong and consistent Administration, strict and even justice might no doubt produce quiet and a considerable degree of material prosperity, without the constitutional question being touched. But it should never be forgotten that the existence of outward calm and material prosperity has ever been the favourite plea of the opponents of political reform. And it is the most subtle and dangerous of all possible pleas, so soothing in character, and making apparently so winning an appeal to plain common sense and to self-evident facts

\* \* "Life of Lord Shelburne," ii 285

"Now, after all this," says Lord Clarendon, when describing the period in which England was administered, judged, and legislated for by the Privy Council, "I must be so just as to say that during the whole time that these measures were exercised, and these new and extraordinary ways were run, this kingdom enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long a time together (for the above-mentioned eleven or twelve years) have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom." But a few years after the Civil War broke out

If the necessity for a political change exists, sooner or later it forces its way to the front, notwithstanding outward calm. It has been so before, and there is no reason to doubt that it will be so again, because the claim for Home Rule made by Ireland depends on permanent facts which statesmen cannot alter. It is indicated by the geography and by the history of the island, and these are the two conditions of every political problem which it is difficult to surmount or evade. Time may indeed slowly soften the asperities produced by past errors and the crimes of bygone generations, but the geographical conditions of a problem remain fixed and unalterable, and in the long run will be found to be the great permanent factor and to govern the whole situation. Of all existing problems, the Irish question is that in which it is most necessary to bear this in mind. Not by empty formulas, such as 'governing Ireland according to Irish ideas,' or, "extending all the liberties enjoyed by the subjects of Great Britain to those of the sister island," shall we advance one yard on our way, or indeed do aught but make it clear to friend and foe alike, that we are cultivating contradictory ideas without even being aware that we are doing so. What we have to do is to resolve to take our stand on the few firm bits of fact which emerge like stepping stones traversing a quaking bog, and then we may get over, and some day perhaps climb the distant hills which are on the other side. Otherwise we shall go on "filling our belly with the east wind" to the end of time, we shall fish all night and take nothing. These few firm bits of fact are those provided by history and geography. Open the map and look at the situation of Great Britain and of Ireland relatively to each other, observe how they lie near, yet apart, how they are separated by intervening seas, but seas so narrow as to be a bond quite as much as a bar, how they are inhabited by races speaking the same language but professing different religions, observe also, that the one is rich and the other poor. These are the main and obvious features of the picture which cannot be altered.

Now, let me suppose that some stranger ignorant of all the trivial details of the Irish question, on his arrival amongst us, were asked to state what, in his opinion, with the above conditions placed before him, the institutions of two such islands relatively to one another, were likely to be, judging from his experience of other countries

Would he not probably reply that their separation for some purposes, and their union for others, was stamped on the map as the certain and inevitable condition of any satisfactory settlement of their mutual relations, and that, alike to their complete separation and their complete union, there was one answer *Opposuit natura*?

But, further, let us suppose him in his turn to inquire what the experience of the past had been in this particular case, and whether these two countries at the present time were entirely united or entirely separate, or were linked by some intermediate arrangement adapted to their relative needs and springing out of them, and suppose that the answer was, as it would have to be, that after several centuries of aggravated strife, they had first tried entire legislative separation, and had then abandoned it for an absolute incorporate union. Would he in that case be astonished if he was informed that history had vindicated geography, and that under neither of these two relations had peace, goodwill, and amity, been the distinguishing characteristics of the relations of Great Britain and Ireland?

To such a traveller it might perhaps be explained as an unexampled portent that although constitutional liberty, limited only by the right of every Government to suppress crime and repress disorder, had been extended by the larger to the smaller country, that although an equal representation, a wide suffrage and vote by ballot had also been given, and no alien Church any longer vexed the conscientious scruples of the majority, yet so unreasonable were the minds of the Irish people, that they refused to be contented, and were now asking through sheer wickedness for a modification of the fundamental articles of the existing incorporate union, and that a constant agitation in consequence prevailed.

Might he not reply that he had heard it said by them of old time, that it was a mistake to be too much alarmed by the existence of political agitation, that absolute quiet is not a necessary sign of political health even in a constitutional State, that what is called union within a political system may be a very equivocal expression, that the true union is a harmony, the result of which is that all parties, however opposed in appearance, co-operate towards the common good, that a union may even exist in a State where the eye at first seems only to recognize a busy confusion, and that the content of the population, with the institutions under which they live, is the only solid guarantee of their permanence? Englishmen, he might add, in conclusion, had themselves been occupied for two centuries in proclaiming these and similar liberal sentiments from one end of Europe to the other, and the time had now perhaps arrived for applying them nearer home. EDMOND FRIZMAURICE

\* Montesquieu, "Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains"



## ABOUT FICTION.

THE love of romance is probably coeval with the existence of humanity. So far as we can follow the history of the world we find traces of it and its effects among every people, and those who are acquainted with the habits and ways of thought of savage races will know that it flourishes as strongly in the barbarian as in the cultured breast. In short, it is like the passions, an innate quality of mankind. In modern England this love is not by any means dying out, as must be clear, even to that class of our fellow-countrymen who, we are told, are interested in nothing but politics and religion. A writer in the *Saturday Review* computed not long ago that the yearly output of novels in this country is about eight hundred, and probably he was within the mark. It is to be presumed that all this enormous mass of fiction finds a market of some sort, or it would not be produced. Of course a large quantity of it is brought into the world at the expense of the writer, who guarantees or deposits his thirty or sixty pounds, which in the former case he is certainly called upon to pay, and in the latter he never sees again. But this deducted a large residue remains, out of which a profit must be made by the publisher, or he would not publish it. Now, most of this crude mass of fiction is worthless. If three-fourths of it were never put into print the world would scarcely lose a single valuable idea, aspiration, or amusement. Many people are of opinion in their secret hearts that they could, if they thought it worth while to try, write a novel that would be very good indeed, and a large number of people carry this opinion into practice without scruple or remorse. But as a matter of fact, with the exception of perfect sculpture, really good romance writing is perhaps the most difficult art practised by the sons of men. It might even be maintained that none but a

great man or woman can produce a *really* great work of fiction. But great men are rare, and great works are rarer still, because all great men do not write. If, however, a person is intellectually a head and shoulders above his or her fellows, that person is *prima facie* fit and able to write a good work. Even then he or she may not succeed, because in addition to intellectual pre-eminence, a certain literary quality is necessary to the perfect flowering of the brain in books. Perhaps, therefore, the argument would stand better conversely. The writer who can produce a noble and lasting work of art is of necessity a great man, and one who, had fortune opened to him any of the doors that lead to material grandeur and to the busy pomp of power, would have shown that the imagination, the quick sympathy, the insight, the depth of mind, and the sense of order and proportion which went to constitute the writer would have equally constituted the statesman or the general. It is not, of course, argued that only great writers should produce books, because if this was so publishing as a trade would come to an end, and Mudie would be obliged to put up his shutters. Also there exists a large class of people who like to read, and to whom great books would scarcely appeal. Let us imagine the consternation of the ladies of England if they were suddenly forced to an exclusive fare of George Eliot and Thackeray! But it is argued that a large proportion of the fictional matter poured from the press into the market is superfluous, and serves no good purpose. On the contrary, it serves several distinctly bad ones. It lowers and vitiates the public taste, and it obscures the true ends of fiction. Also it brings the high and honourable profession of authorship into contempt and disrepute, for the general public, owing perhaps to the comparative poverty of literary men, has never yet quite made up its mind as to the status of their profession. Lastly, this over-production stops the sale of better work without profiting those who are responsible for it.

The publication of inferior fiction can, in short, be of no advantage to any one, except perhaps the proprietors of circulating libraries. To the author himself it must indeed be a source of nothing but misery, bitterness, and disappointment, for only those who have written one can know the amount of labour involved in the production of even a bad book. Still, the very fact that people can be found to write and publishers to publish to such an unlimited extent, shows clearly enough the enormous appetite of readers, who are prepared, like a diseased ostrich, to swallow stones, and even carrion, rather than not get their fill of novelties. More and more, as what we call culture spreads, do men and women crave to be taken out of themselves. More and more do they long to be brought face to face with Beauty, and stretch out their arms towards that vision of the Perfect, which we only see in books and dreams.

The fact that we, in these latter days, have as it were macadamized all the roads of life does not make the world softer to the feet of those who travel through it. There are now royal roads to everything, lined with staring placards, whereon he who runs may learn the sweet uses of advertisement, but it is dusty work to follow them, and some may think that our ancestors on the whole found their voyaging a shadier and fresher business. However this may be, a weary public calls continually for books, new books to make them forget, to refresh them, to occupy minds jaded with the toil and emptiness and vexation of our competitive existence.

In some ways this demand is no doubt a healthy sign. The intellect of the world must be awakening when it thus cries aloud to be satisfied. Perhaps it is not a good thing to read nothing but three-volumed novels of an inferior order, but it, at any rate, shows the possession of a certain degree of intelligence. For there still exists among us a class of educated people, or rather of people who have had a certain sum of money spent upon their education, who are absolutely incapable of reading *anything*, and who never do read anything, except, perhaps, the reports of famous divorce cases and the spiciest paragraphs in Society papers. It is not their fault, they are very often good people enough in their way, and as they go to church on Sundays, and pay their rates and taxes, the world has no right to complain of them. They are born without intellects, and with undeveloped souls, that is all, and on the whole they find themselves very comfortable in that condition. But this class is getting smaller, and all writers have cause to congratulate themselves on the fact, for the dead wall of its crass stupidity is a dreadful thing to face. Those, too, who begin by reading novels may end by reading Milton and Shakespeare. Day by day the mental area open to the operations of the English speaking writer grows larger. At home the Board schools pour out their thousands every year, many of whom have acquired a taste for reading, which, when once it has been born, will we may be sure, grow apace. Abroad the colonies are filling up with English speaking people, who, as they grow refined and find leisure to read, will make a considerable call upon the literature of their day. But by far the largest demand for books in the English tongue comes from America, with its reading population of some forty millions. Most of the books patronized by this enormous population are stolen from English authors, who, according to American law, are outcasts, unentitled to that protection to the work of their brains and the labour of their hands which is one of the foundations of common morality. Putting aside this copyright question, however (and, indeed, it is best left undiscussed), there may be noted in passing two curious results which are being brought about in America by this wholesale perusal of English books. The

first of these is that the Americans are destroying their own literature, that cannot live in the face of the unfair competition to which it is subjected. It will be noticed that since piracy, to use the politer word, set in with its present severity, America has scarcely produced a writer of the first class—no one, for instance, who can be compared to Poe, or Hawthorne, or Longfellow. It is not, perhaps, too rash a prophecy to say that, if piracy continues, American literature proper will shortly be chiefly represented by the columns of a very enterprising daily press. The second result of the present state of affairs is that the whole of the American population, especially the younger portion of it, must be in course of thorough impregnation with English ideas and modes of thought as set forth by English writers. We all know the extraordinary effect books read in youth have upon the fresh and imaginative mind. It is not too much to say that many a man's whole life is influenced by some book read in his teens, the very title of which he may have forgotten. Consequently, it would be difficult to overrate the effect that must be from year to year produced upon the national character of America by the constant perusal of books born in England. For it must be remembered that for every reader that a writer of merit finds in England, he will find three in America.

In the face of this constant and ever-growing demand at home and abroad writers of romance must often find themselves questioning their inner consciousness as to what style of art it is best for them to adopt, not only with the view of pleasing their readers, but in the interests of art itself. There are several schools from which they may choose. For instance, there is that followed by the American novelists. These gentlemen, as we know, declare that there are no stories left to be told, and certainly, if it may be said without disrespect to a clever and laborious body of writers, their works go far towards supporting the statement. They have developed a new style of romance. Their heroines are things of silk and cambric, who soliloquize and dissect their petty feelings, and elaborately review the feeble promptings which serve them for passions. Their men—well, they are emasculated specimens of an overwrought age, and, with culture on their lips, and emptiness in their hearts, they dangle round the heroines till their three-volumed fate is accomplished. About their work is an atmosphere like that of the boudoir of a luxurious woman, faint and delicate, and suggesting the essence of white rose. How different is all this to the swiftness, and strength, and directness of the great English writers of the past. Why,

"The surge and thunder of the *Odyssey*"

is not more widely separated from the tinkling of modern society verses, than the laboured nothingness of this new American school of fiction from the giant life and vigour of Swift and Fielding, and

Thackeray and Hawthorne Perhaps, however, it is the art of the future, in which case we may hazard a shrewd guess that the literature of past ages will be more largely studied in days to come than it is at present

Then, to go from Pole to Pole, there is the Naturalistic school, of which Zola is the high priest Here things are all the other way Here the chosen function of the writer is to

"Paint the mortal shame of nature with the living hues of art

Here are no silks and satins to impede our vision of the flesh and blood beneath, and here the scent is patchouli Lewd, and bold, and bare, living for lust and lusting for this life and its good things and naught beyond, the heroines of realism dance, with Bacchanalian revellings, across the astonished stage of literature Whatever there is brutal in humanity—and God knows that there is plenty—whatever there is that is cruel and filthy, is here brought into prominence, and thrust before the reader's eyes But what becomes of the things that are pure and high—of the great aspirations and the lofty hopes and longings, which *do*, after all, play their part in our human economy, and which it is surely the duty of a writer to call attention to and nourish according to his gifts?

Certainly it is to be hoped that this naturalistic school of writing will never take firm root in England, for it is an accursed thing It is impossible to help wondering if its followers ever reflect upon the mischief that they must do, and, reflecting, do not shrink from the responsibility To look at the matter from one point of view only, Society has made a rule that for the benefit of the whole community individuals must keep their passions within certain fixed limits, and our social system is so arranged that any transgression of this rule produces mischief of one sort or another, if not actual ruin, to the transgressor Especially is this so if she be a woman Now, as it is, human nature is continually fretting against these artificial bounds, and especially among young people it requires considerable fortitude and self-restraint to keep the feet from wandering We all know, too, how much this sort of indulgence depends upon the imagination, and we all know how easy it is for a powerful writer to excite it in that direction Indeed, there could be nothing *more* easy to a writer of any strength and vision, especially if he spoke with an air of evil knowledge and intimate authority There are probably several men in England at this moment who, if they turned their talents to this bad end, could equal, if not outdo, Zola himself, with results that would show & show themselves in various ways among the population Sexual passion is the most powerful lever with which to stir the mind of man, for it lies at the root of all things human, and it is impossible to over-estimate the damage that could be worked by a single English or American writer of

genius, if he grasped it with a will "But," say these writers, 'our aim is most moral, from Nana and her kith and kin may be gathered many a virtuous lesson and example' Possibly this is so, though as I write the words there rises in my mind a recollection of one or two French books where—but most people have seen such books Besides, it is not so much a question of the object of the school as of the fact that it continually, and in full and luscious detail, calls attention to erotic matters Once start the average mind upon this subject, and it will go down the slope of itself It is useless afterwards to turn round and say that, although you cut loose the cords of decent reticence which bound the fancy, you intended that it should run *uphill* to the white heights of virtue If the seed of eroticism is sown broadcast its fruit will be according to the nature of the soil it falls on, but fruit it must and will And however virtuous may be the aims with which they are produced, the publications of the French Naturalistic school are such seed as was sown by that enemy who came in the night season

In England, to come to the third great school of fiction, we have as yet little or nothing of all this Here, on the other hand, we are at the mercy of the Young Person, and a dreadful nuisance most of us find her The present writer is bound to admit that, speaking personally and with humility, he thinks it a little hard that all fiction should be judged by the test as to whether or no it is suitable reading for a girl of sixteen There are plenty of people who write books for little girls in the schoolroom, let the little girls read them, and leave the works written for men and women to their elders It may strike the reader as inconsistent, after the remarks made above, that a plea should now be advanced for greater freedom in English literary art But French naturalism is one thing, and the unreal, namby-pamby nonsense with which the market is flooded here is quite another Surely there is a middle path! Why do *men* hardly ever read a novel? Because, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it is utterly false as a picture of life, and, failing in that, it certainly does not take ground as a work of high imagination The ordinary popular English novel represents life as it is considered desirable that schoolgirls should suppose it to be Consequently it is for the most part rubbish, without a spark of vitality about it, for no novel written on those false lines will live Also, the system is futile as a means of protection, for the young lady, wearied with the account of how the good girl who jilted the man who loved her when she was told to, married the noble lord, and lived in idleness and luxury for ever after, has only to turn to the evening paper to see another picture of existence Of course, no humble producer of fiction, meant to interest through the exercise of the intelligence rather than through the senses, can hope to compete with the enthralling details of such cases as that of Lord Colin Campbell and Sir

Charles Dilke That is the naturalism of this country, and, like all filth, its popularity is enormous, as will be shown by the fact that the circulation of one evening paper alone was, I believe, increased during the hearing of a recent case by 60,000 copies nightly Nor would any respectable author wish to compete with this But he ought, subject to proper reservations and restraints, to be allowed to picture life as life is, and men and women as they are At present, if he attempts to do this, he is denounced as immoral, and perchance the circulating library, which is curiously enough a great power in English literature, suppresses the book in its fear of losing subscriptions The press, too—the same press that is so active in printing “full and special” reports—is very vigilant in this matter, having the Young Person continually before its eyes Some time ago one of the London dailies reviewed a batch of eight or nine books Of these reviews nearly every one was in the main an inquiry into the moral character of the work, judged from the standpoint of the unknown reviewer Of their literary merits little or nothing was said Now, the question that naturally arose in the mind of the reader of these notices was—Is the novelist bound to inculcate any particular set of doctrines that may at the moment be favoured by authority? If that is the aim and end of his art, then why is he not paid by the State like any other official? And why should not the principle be carried further? Each religion and every sect of each religion might retain their novelist So might the Blue Ribbonites, and the Positivists, and the Purity people, and the Social Democrats, and others without end The results would be most enlivening to the general public Then, at any rate, the writer would be sure of the approbation of his own masters, as it is, he is at the mercy of every unknown reviewer, some of whom seem to have peculiar views—though, not to make too much of the matter, it must be remembered that the ultimate verdict is with the public

Surely, what is wanted in English fiction is a higher ideal and more freedom to work it out It is impossible, or, if not impossible, it requires the very highest genius, such as, perhaps, no writers possess to day, to build up a really first-class work without the necessary materials in their due proportion As it is, in this country, while crime may be used to any extent, passion in its fiercer and deeper forms is scarcely available, unless it is made to receive some conventional sanction For instance, the right of dealing with bigamy is by custom conceded to the writer of romance, because in cases of bigamy vice has received the conventional sanction of marriage True, the marriage is a mock one, but such as it is, it provides the necessary cloak But let him beware how he deals with the same subject when the sinner of the piece has not added a sham or a bigamous marriage to his evil doings, for the book will in this case be certainly called immoral English life is surrounded

by conventionalism, and English fiction has come to reflect the conventionalism, not the life, and has in consequence, with some notable exceptions, got into a very poor way, both as regards art and interest.

If this moderate and proper freedom is denied to imaginative literature alone among the arts (for, though Mr Horsley does not approve of it, sculptors may still model from the naked), it seems probable that the usual results will follow. There will be a great reaction, the Young Person will vanish into space and be no more seen, and Naturalism in all its horror will take its root among us. At present it is only in the French tongue that people read about the inner mysteries of life in brothels, or follow the interesting study of the passions of senile and worn-out debauchees. By-and-by, if liberty is denied, they will read them in the English. Art in the purity of its idealized truth should resemble some perfect Grecian statue. It should be cold but naked, and looking thereon men should be led to think of naught but beauty. Here, however, we attire Art in every sort of dress, some of them suggestive enough in their own way, but for the most part in a pinafore. The difference between literary Art, as the present writer submits it ought to be, and the Naturalistic Art of France is the difference between the Venus of Milo and an obscene photograph taken from the life. It seems probable that the English-speaking people will in course of time have to choose between the two.

But however this is—and the writer only submits an opinion—one thing remains clear, fiction à l'Anglaise becomes, from the author's point of view, day by day more difficult to deal with satisfactorily under its present conditions. This age is not a romantic age. Doubtless under the surface human nature is the same to-day as it was in the time of Rameses. Probably, too, the respective volumes of vice and virtue are, taking the altered circumstances into consideration, much as they were then or at any other time. But neither our good nor our evil doing is of an heroic nature, and it is things heroic and their kin and not petty things that best lend themselves to the purposes of the novelist, for by then and he produces his strongest effects. Besides, if by chance there is a good thing on the market it is snapped up by a hundred eager newspapers, who tell the story, whatever it may be, and turn it inside out, and draw morals from it till the public loathes its sight and sound. Genius, of course, can always find materials wherewith to weave its glowing web. But these remarks, it is scarcely necessary to explain, are not made from that point of view, for only genius can talk of genius with authority, but rather from the humbler standing-ground of the ordinary conscientious labourer in the field of letters, who, loving his art for her own sake, yet earns a living by following her, and is anxious to continue to do so with credit to himself. Let genius, if genius there be, come forward and speak on its own behalf! But if the reader is inclined to doubt the proposition that novel writing is becoming every day more difficult



and less interesting, let him consult his own mind, and see how many novels proper among the hundreds that have been published within the last five years, and which deal in any way with every day contemporary life, have excited his profound interest. The present writer can at the moment recall but two—one was called "My Trivial Life and Misfortunes," by an unknown author, and the other, "The Story of a South African Farm," by Ralph Iron. But then neither of these books if examined into would be found to be a novel such as the ordinary writer produces once or twice a year. Both of them are written from within, and not from without, both convey the impression of being the outward and visible result of inward personal suffering on the part of the writer, for in each the key-note is a note of pain. Differing widely from the ordinary run of manufactured books, they owe their chief interest to a certain atmosphere of spiritual intensity, which could not in all probability be even approximately reproduced. Another recent work of the same powerful class, though of more painful detail, is called "Mrs Keith's Crime." It is, however, almost impossible to conceive their respective authors producing a second "Trivial Life and Misfortunes" or a further edition of the crimes of Mrs Keith. These books were written from the heart. Next time their authors write it will probably be from the head and not from the heart, and they must then come down to the use of the dusty materials which are common to us all.

There is indeed a refuge for the less ambitious among us, and it lies in the paths and calm retreats of pure imagination. Here we may weave our humble tale, and point our harmless moral without being mercilessly bound down to the prose of a somewhat dreary age. Here we may even—if we feel that our wings are strong enough to bear us in that thin air—cross the bounds of the known, and, hanging between earth and heaven, gaze with curious eyes into the great profound beyond. There are still subjects that may be handled *there* if the man can be found bold enough to handle them. And, although some there be who consider this a lower walk in the realms of fiction, and who would probably scorn to become a "mere writer of romances," it may be urged in defence of the school that many of the most lasting triumphs of literary art belong to the producers of purely romantic fiction, witness the "Arabian Nights," "Gulliver's Travels," "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe," and other immortal works. If the present writer may be allowed to hazard an opinion, it is that, when Naturalism has had its day, when Mr Howells ceases to charm, and the Society novel is utterly played out, the kindly race of men in their latter as in their earlier developments will still take pleasure in those works of fancy which appeal, not to a class, or a nation, or even to an age, but to all time and humanity at large.

H RIDLER HAGGARD

# INDIA

A REPLY TO MR SAMUEL SMITH, M P

## II

I PROPOSE in this article to deal with Mr Smith's second paper on "India Revisited," and, as his matter is not set forth more methodically in it than in its predecessor, my remarks must continue to take the shape of running comments

If India is, as he tells us in the first paragraph of his second paper, almost exclusively "a country of rural population and agricultural industry," why, in the name of impolicy, try to fight against Nature by laying a tax upon all those imports which her harmless cultivators want to buy from the foreigner, who has infinite facilities for making them cheaply and bringing them to the cultivators' very doors? Let an enlightened Government do everything that it can to introduce new industries in India by extending knowledge and by showing the road to wealth, but let it not enter upon the wry path of taxing the vast majority of the population in order to create or keep alive unnatural etiolated industries

Mr Smith tells us that the great object of our rule should be to encourage the peasantry "to improve the soil by better culture, and to secure to them the fruits of their labour" Well, is not that just what we have been doing? Does not the *Pax Britannica* secure to the peasant the fruits of his labour better than that has ever been done in India since the world turned on its axis? Again, what does Mr Smith know about the proceedings of our Agricultural Departments?

If he thinks that we are making mistakes in connection with these, why does he not specify those mistakes? That might do some good We should all be willing to learn any new secrets of husbandry The effect of such a statement as the one which I have quoted is to make ignorant persons suppose that no attention is given

to these vitally important matters by administrators, many of whom are, as a matter of fact, occupied with them morn, noon, and night

I pass by a variety of remarks about the peasants of Bombay, with whose circumstances I am not acquainted, but how is the reader helped by such an assertion as that the general opinion of "the natives" is that their assessment is raised if they improve their land? Any such opinion with regard to the southern province would be wholly false, and I have no reason to believe that it would be true of any part of India, though nothing is more natural than that Mr Smith's interviewers should try and convey it to him. I dare say many real peasants would have done so too. What peasantry indeed, in what part of the earth, would be as foolish as the Needy Knife-grinder, if a sympathizing individual came to them and asked them if they were not oppressed?

Mr Smith proceeds to tell us that in the Institutes of Manu it is written that the Government might take a share, varying from one-sixth to one-twelfth, of the produce of the land, and, in times of emergency, even one-fourth. He does not tell us what proportion the land revenue of that golden age bore to the other legitimate demands upon the subject. I will quote, accordingly, a passage from one of Mr Wilson's speeches, in which he sets forth the fiscal system which prevailed in that blissful period —

'The revenue consists of a share of grain and of all other agricultural produce, taxes on commerce, a very small annual imposition on petty traders and shopkeepers, and a forced service of a day in each month by handicraftsmen

"The merchants are to be taxed on a consideration of the prime cost of their commodities, the expense of travelling, and their net profits

"On cattle, gems, gold, and silver, added each year to the capital, one fiftieth, which in time of war or invasion may be increased to one-twentieth

"On grain, one-twelfth, one-eighth, one-sixth, according to the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it. This also may be raised, in cases of emergency, even as far as one-fourth, and must always have been the most important item in public revenue

"On the clear annual increase of trees, flesh meat, honey, perfumes, and several other natural productions and manufactures, one sixth

"The King is also entitled to 20 per cent on the profit of all sales. Escheats, for want of heirs, have been mentioned as being his, and so also is all property to which no owner appears within three years' proclamation. Besides possessing mines of his own, he is entitled to half of the precious metals in the earth

"I should imagine the revenue laws of the ancient Hindoos must have been contributed to the sacred compiler by some very needy finance Minister of the day"

I am no special partisan of any of the Indian land systems. I can quite see the advantages that accrue from our own or other Western systems, but any one of half a dozen different systems will do well enough, if only the people are accustomed to it. The people of India are accustomed to our present systems with their periodical

revisions at long intervals. They would dislike any alternative system a great deal more, and common sense calls loudly to us to let well alone.

Mr Smith admits that Aurungzebe's land revenue was thirty-six millions, while ours is, as he says, twenty-two, but he adds that it is probable that the former was never fully collected. Exactly so! Those who were thought able to pay, were, if they were slow about it, tortured to death, and the rest got off. What an amount of trouble it would save us in raising taxation in Liverpool, similar methods could be applied to those who "seem to be pillars!"

The land revenue of Aurungzebe, by-the-by, was, if judged by the present value of money, very much greater than thirty-six millions, and ours is a good deal less than twenty-two millions, but why go back to the period of Aurungzebe? A more useful comparison would be between the amount exacted by the British Government and the innumerable petty tyrants who covered the country after the Mogul grew weak and before we grew strong in it. The difference between them and the Moguls was this: the Mogul just left the cultivator alive, these people didn't mean him to live.

Next comes a marvellous paragraph from which it would appear that Mr Smith imagines, that by putting a duty of 10 per cent upon 100 out of 110 millions of India's foreign trade, ten millions of revenue could be raised, infinitely to the advantage of India, and that amongst other things the land assessment could be reduced and made permanent, but who would pay these ten millions? Why, on Mr Smith's own showing, mainly the peasantry of India! And who would pay the thousands and thousands of additional customs and excise officers whom he would call into existence? Mainly, on Mr Smith's own showing, the peasantry of India!

Mr Smith next arrives at irrigation, and tells us that if only we had for India the admirable system which the Nile provides for Egypt, famines would be unknown, and wealth would rapidly increase. Does wealth so increase in Egypt? What analogy, however, is there between India and Egypt? One single nobleman's estate in the Madras Presidency is bigger than the whole cultivated land of that country. Does Mr Smith mean to say that the Indian water engineers have anything to learn from Egypt? If so, what is it?

He proceeds to put us in possession of various particulars about tanks and wells, assuring us that "one of the first duties of Government, where the rule is a kind of paternal despotism as in India, is to construct canals and build tanks, and, above all, to give every encouragement to the construction of wells by the peasantry."

\* It should not be forgotten that the Mogul land tax was only one of some forty imposts. Mr W W Hunter has pointed out that the lowest rate of the Mogul poll tax levied on non Mussulmen, would bring in more than all our taxes put together!

He might just as well tell the Anglo-Indian official that it is a wise thing to eat his breakfast, and that dinner also has advantages of its own. Did he take the trouble to inquire whether in any, and if so in what, respects Anglo-Indian Administrations were backward in the encouragement of the making of canals, tanks and wells? If so, let him come to particulars. It is, however, so much easier for a travelling gentleman to keep to generalities and to say that it would be right to do what is being most carefully done than to learn what is going on, and to say to his interviewers "But is not this and that and the other thing in progress? What criticisms have you got to make as to *details*?" Supposing Mr Smith had taken this course, and then asked the head of the Administration in which he happened to be, to put him into communication with his Agricultural specialists, his Settlement specialists, his Water specialists, and so on and so on, he would have returned to the shores of England having discovered that probably every feasible suggestion that had entered his mind, had entered the minds of other beings like himself, years and years ago, and was being carefully acted on.

Next, famine comes up, and we are told, *inter alia*, that the "railway is of no use, unless the Government feeds the people gratuitously. It did so in one or two cases of recent famines, but generally it has encumbered the relief with labour tests and other conditions which deprived it of much of its value."

On this I would ask, How is a railway of no use? No one supposes a railway can perform miracles, or affect places beyond a certain distance from its stations, but it stands to reason that every railway, reasonably planned and running through a famine district, is of very considerable use.

Then, again, as to labour tests. Are we to understand that Mr Smith would have no labour tests, and no conditions? Whole Godavaris of ink have been poured out over the more or less of such things, but an absolutely conditionless feeding of all comers is surely startling.

Then we arrive at a strange paragraph, in which Mr Smith returns to the fiscal system —

"This export of food is not looked upon by the natives with the same unmixed satisfaction that it is by our merchants. It is curious to contrast the opposite points of view from which commercial problems are approached by Europeans and natives. To the English mind, exports of food, or any surplus products, appear an unmixed source of wealth. To the Hindoo, they too often mean a dangerous depletion of the necessities of life."

There is nothing more likely than that some of Mr Smith's interviewers believed this. It is in accordance with the *crassa ignorantia* which prevails about such subjects amongst the talkers of the Presidency towns. Of course it has no foundation in fact, and

Mr Smith himself does not seem quite sure about it, for he says "Neither view is altogether correct, but there is enough of truth in the Indian conception to make us careful of dogmatizing about the economy of a country so totally different from our own"

The following is taken from the "Statistical Atlas of India" published this year —

"In the four prominent wheat producing tracts, recent inquiry has proved that while the food supply has not diminished with the increase of exports, the food-purchasing power of the cultivating population has considerably increased, and, lastly that if the demand for wheat were to decline, its place would be taken by cotton, oil-seeds, and other exportable products. Thus it has been shown that in Oudh the ordinary amount of cheaper grains required by the people has still been kept in the province, but that the value of the grain exports has been nearly doubled by the development of the wheat trade. In the North Western Provinces, it is reported that nearly 2 million acres have been brought under cultivation within the last five years, but that the area under other food crops has not only not diminished, but has actually increased. The reports from the Central Provinces show a similar state of things. The Punjab, in which province alone wheat is the staple food of the agricultural population, owes its chief prosperity to the export of its surplus wheat. On the other hand, an enormous quantity of cheap food grains has been made available to the cultivators of the wheat producing provinces by connecting them by rail with those out-of-the-way tracts to which they had formerly no access, and in which surplus food grains were so useless to the population that they could actually find no purchasers, and were quoted accordingly at nominal prices.

"The general conclusion from the evidence before the Government of India is, that the recent increase of population has been accompanied by an increase in produce, which has not only supplied the extra food required for the sustenance of the new population, but has also added to the material wealth of the whole body of the inhabitants of the Indian Empire, by providing a large surplus for sale to other countries. The real cause of the distress and poverty of the cultivators in many parts of India is to be found, not in the export of their food, not in the oppression of taxes and rents, not in the administration of the country, but in the uncertainty of the one great source of agricultural wealth—the rainfall of the year."

Next we are told much about the indebtedness of the peasantry, and what we are told is true enough, but how grotesque it is to find Mr Smith explaining at great length that the Indian peasantry—*i.e.*, the overwhelming majority of the people of the country—are incapable of managing for themselves the very simplest concerns of human life, that "our Western ideas of obligation of all contracts" are wholly unsuited to them, while in the same breath he assures us that "education is coming in with a flood," and that the old "paternal despotism" is quite out of place.

Perhaps he would reply that although the peasant is in this state, the "educated native," whom, when it is convenient, he takes as the type of the general population, is quite in a higher stage of political development. If he is, then he is not a fitting representative of people who have nothing in common with him. Is he, however, in

this elementary matter, so much above his peasant brother? The following anecdote, cited by Mr Smith himself, does not look very like it —

‘One case was brought before me of a rising young man, an earnest student at college, whose income was seven rupees per month. His father died, and his caste insisted on his spending 1100 rupees in funeral rites. To do this he had to load himself with debt, the interest on which absorbed nearly all his income, and, broken hearted, he had to give up his studies and his prospects for life.’

A little later, with similar inconsistency, Mr Smith observes “Speaking broadly, I believe that ancient Hindoo customs were much more suited to this primitive people than our advanced ideas of commercial law. I can hardly express my sense of the danger of applying to India the latest forms of European thought.”

Yet this is the writing of the very man who has been advocating the last new political fads imported into Europe by an infinitesimal fraction of natives.

To proceed. On the same page we are assured that Mr Smith believes that more mischief will be wrought in India in ten years by applying the theories of our advanced political and commercial *doctrinaires* than was caused by the invasion of Tamerlane or Nadir Shah or the ruthless Moguls! Pretty tall talk that, and perhaps a little mixed historically! But what is this tremendous revolution to be brought about by our advanced political and commercial *doctrinaires*, whoever they may be? Is any one, except Mr Smith and his little knot of interviewers, wishing to make any revolution at all, commercial or other, in India? It would seem that they were quite wrong who taught us in our infancy that the last Welsh wolf was destroyed in the days of the Edwards, for here is a creature which, without rhyme or reason, because it wants to make a revolution itself, accuses the Indian official lamb of desiring so to do!

And now that his readers have been sufficiently instructed by Mr Smith as to the more than childlike innocence of the natives of India—an innocence which, in my opinion, he overstates, for I think that, although quite unfit for the sort of Government he would give them, they are by no means so infantine as he believes—we are told that “the natives urgently demand that the control of the trade in intoxicating drinks should be vested in local bodies.” Once more I ask, what natives? The natives who find intoxicating drinks agreeable, or the natives who would as soon drink a glass of sulphuric acid as a glass of arrack? Does a practical, sensible man actually think that in a country where religion is bound up with the question of meats and drinks, their kind, and the way of taking them, to an extent which is utterly unknown in Europe, it would be reasonable to introduce the very last Western ideas about the control of the liquor traffic?

The changes introduced in my time in Madras have not been working long enough to enable an observer to speak very confidently about their result, although all the symptoms thus far observed are favourable, but very similar arrangements in Bombay, so far from increasing drunkenness, have had the very opposite effect. Here is an extract from a Resolution of the Bombay Government —

“The results of the *abkari* policy followed by Government of late years have been a large increase of *abkari* revenue, a diminution of crimes punishable under the Penal Code, a material enhancement of the price of spirits, the cessation of illicit distillation in the palm spirit *tulukas*, an improvement in the quality of the spirits sold, a better system of *abkari* administration, the abolition of the abuses which existed under the old system, when each *taluka* contained several separate petty farms, and each farmer fostered the consumption of liquor and tried to outbid his rivals by selling bad liquor at the cheapest price, and a diminution in the amount of drinking generally.”

\* And here is another important passage, taken from the Report of the Bombay *Abkari* Department, published in 1885 —

“I know of no reason for believing that the statements made in the newspapers regarding the increase of drunkenness among the people are well-founded, except so far as they may relate to intemperance among classes that formerly did not drink. If the vice of drunkenness had spread as alleged, it would have been accompanied by an increase in crime of the classes ordinarily associated with drunkenness, such as petty assault, intimidation, indecent behaviour in the public streets, &c., and the magistrates and superintendents of police would have noticed the circumstance in their annual reports as accounting for the increase of crime of that class that they found themselves called on to explain. But so far as I am aware, no increase in the number of such crimes has been reported in recent years. Government have not called my attention to any such report, nor have I received information from other sources to lead me to believe that the people of any district have lived more intemperately of late than in former years. On the other hand, there is good evidence to show that the revised *abkari* arrangements adopted in two of the most notoriously drunken districts in the Presidency — Thana and Kolaba — have had a most salutary effect in checking drunkenness among classes that formerly were most addicted to that vice. The following are extracts from official reports written by Mr. Mulock, C.S., when holding the office of Collector of Thana —

“The new *abkari* system, along with largely increasing the revenue of the State, has tended to raise the price of liquor and to prevent illicit distillation and tapping, thus largely discouraging the excessive drinking for which this collectorate was so noted. We cannot, of course, expect those who acquire the taste for strong drinks and our demoralizing former, or cheap liquor, system to at once leave off the bad habit of over-drinking and indulge only moderately. Still, I believe that many who drank before to excess can no longer afford to do so, and those who would have acquired the taste, if liquor had remained at its former low price, will now eschew it as an expensive luxury, and thus never acquire the habit of over-indulgence.

“I have, the last few months, been a good deal in the sea-coast district that I have known for over ten years, and I would not ask you to credit the difference I notice in the people, and more especially in those of the jungle parts, since liquor has been raised in price and the toddy-trees remained untapped. Those who formerly spent their last farthing in liquor have now, they tell me, all a



little balance to spend in some little comfort or another, and although they grumble at the difficulty about buying liquor, they themselves are the first to admit how beneficial their more or less compulsory abstinence has been to them and their families. Ask any large landholder or employer of labour in the collectorate, and he will tell you that he now gets a fair day's labour for the day's wages, where formerly he never could succeed in doing so. He will tell you that he can now count on the daily attendance of his labourers, where formerly the second day they were absent on the proceeds of the first day. All I ask is, let this continue, and Thina will be no more noted for its hard drinking and crime than any other part of the Presidency.

"In another letter Mr Mulock writes —

"I must mention the benefits resulting to the people under the new system, and from the enhancement of the price of liquor. My assistants, M'amlatdurs, Patils, Talits, &c., are unanimous in their praises of it, and having been some time in the sea-coast taluk as I can corroborate their opinions in every respect. No one longer sees the general drunkenness of former days. Even the rayots themselves, while grumbling at its being hard on them, that they cannot get the cheap liquor they formerly got, will admit that they are happier without it, and that the 'zor,' as they call the influence of the liquor vendor, is now gone, and no more land is mortgaged to him in liquidation of his bills."

"The following extract is from a letter recently addressed by an experienced revenue officer serving in the Kolihra district, to the editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, in reply to an article that appeared in that paper a few weeks ago, alleging that the present abkari policy has encouraged liquor drinking —

"There is one thing certain to me about the present management of the Ablari Department, and that is, that it has diminished drunkenness in the North Koukran. I have had the honour to serve in that province off and on for nearly twelve years, and my service and personal taste have been such as have brought me very much into friendly contact with the poorer classes, and especially with hill and coast tribes—the Thakurs, Karkaris and Kolis—men of the forest and the wive. Within my memory these people were literally slaves to drink. The coast Kolis were rarely sober when ashore, and in the hill and forest villages, where the people take their liquor like gentlemen, in the evening, it was a common thing for every male soul above twelve years old to be stupid drunk by eight or nine o'clock in the evening. I had at one time to do a great deal of night patrolling, and have often come into a village where not a soul could answer the simplest question."

"Now, all this is to a great extent a thing of the past."

About the middle of his second article Mr Smith ceases to set forth what he considers the defects of our system of Government and justly observes —

"Some extremists are trying to make out that British Government has been an unmixed evil to India, and pamphlets are being circulated among the natives, some of them written by discontented Europeans, attributing every ill to our oppressive and alien Government. These writings suppress everything that makes for the other side, and omit altogether to state that the chief causes, after all, of the poverty of the people are their own social and religious systems, and especially the tyrannical authority of caste. After all, the habits and beliefs of a people have more to do with their welfare than the action of Governments. Some of these habits and beliefs are fatal to all prospects of improvement, so long as they hold the people in their iron grasp."

He then proceeds to dilate on the inveterate custom of premature marriages. Such remarks are all too true, but who are the people who want to put aside these questions of social reform, and to try to direct the efforts of their countrymen towards political agitation? Just the very people to whose ideas Mr Smith has lent such support as he could give them. Of course it is not for English officials to say much about these social questions. They are bound to be very reticent with regard to everything that closely touches the religious feelings of the people, but what better can the winter-months' traveller who cares for social matters do, than to keep these questions before his interviewers?

The premature marriages having been deplored, we are told of the great expenses at marriages and funerals. Too true! all too true! and the key to the indebtedness of a large portion of the population, but why did not Mr Smith say to his interviewers, 'You talk about land assessment being high and the peasantry poor, do you suppose they will ever be rich, whatever the Government may do, while these bad and mad customs continue?' If he had ever done so, he would have been soundly abused for his pains by the little clique of native agitators.

Then comes the remark, "In legislating for India, one has to remember that the bulk of the people are but children, and the Government has to act as a kind but firm father." "The good," says the Spaniard, "if it be short is twice good." Putting adolescents for children, I agree to the maxim, and when Mr Smith's collected works are published, should propose the substitution of this sentence for a large part of his two papers.

Next follow several pages devoted to education, which are well enough, but, when Mr Smith tells us that there are "painful instances of Government Colleges, whose whole influence is thrown against Christianity," I wonder if he has realized that the persons most in favour of the political movement amongst certain native cliques which he patronizes are also just the most anti-Christian Europeans between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin? The pamphlet most hostile to our existing political system in India, which I have seen, was written, if I am not much misinformed, by the most notorious catspaw of the well-known theosophist, Madame Blavatsky.

Mr Smith then goes on to assure us that "the natives desire technical schools, and that the Government will do well to respond to this demand." Would he be startled to learn that some at least of the Indian Governments had moved heaven and earth to stimulate that demand? that they considered it almost a matter of life and death, and that the *coryphæi* of Mr Smith's political views cordially hate them for their pains?

It is in connection with this subject that Mr Smith makes the strange remark, "No jealousy of her competition with ourselves must hinder us from doing full justice to her aspirations" Does Mr Smith imagine that the Europeans who govern India ever give two thoughts to the result of her competition upon home interests? They are vehemently opposed to anything that unfairly weights, in ever so small a degree, the home manufacturer They hated the Indian cotton duties, but they hate even more the infamous English silver-plate duty, the continuance of which seems to me a distinct blot on the scutcheon of all recent Liberal Chancellors of the Exchequer

A little further on Mr Smith says that "it should be distinctly impressed by the Government of India on all its officers, that courtesy to the natives is a cardinal virtue, and that rudeness will bring sharp censure" Of course it should, and of course it is, but what is the use of making such a statement? Is there any country in which there are not rough and disagreeable people, especially amongst subordinate officials? If Mr Smith had thought it worth while to go into this subject at all, it would have been more interesting to have explained to his home-keeping countrymen that, although Anglo-Indians have no pretension to be more courteous than ordinary English gentlemen, they at least treat their native subordinates more courteously than any other superiors have ever treated inferiors in Hindostan

To use such a phrase as that "etiquette is a fine art amongst the natives" is misleading The manner of well-bred natives is like the manner of well-bred people in all countries—most agreeable, and sometimes quite charming, but there are a vast number of natives who are as far as possible from being well-bred, and if Mr Smith were to go into the details of some of the complaints against the discourtesy of Europeans which he may have read in the native papers, I am afraid he would find this truth rather disagreeably impressed upon him

As civilization increases, the standard of politeness will rise in most parts of the world It has already risen a great deal in India since a Mahratta statesman said seventy years ago to a British administrator, who told me the story "If you want to rule my countrymen, you must twist your left hand in their hair, and hold a club in your right!"

It is we English who, with all our faults, have introduced into India sound views as to the way in which superiors should treat inferiors, whether of their own blood or of any other The idea of its being the duty of a ruling race to treat the ruled with sympathy and kindness is one of the many excellent exotics which we have brought to that country

The very fact that it has become a common form of abuse on the part of the malcontent section of the natives to say that the Englishman is not sympathetic, shows how well we have taught the lesson that in our opinion he ought to be so

Near the end of his second article, Mr Smith tells us that the Army which keeps India in order is singularly small, and cannot safely be decreased by sensible men That is indisputable, but why then in his first article did he tell us that "the natives," always the little coteries of intriguers to whom he gives that respectable name, considered it too large?

He then passes on to the following remarks —

"I will add, in conclusion, that the future guidance of our Indian Empire will task to the uttermost British statesmanship New problems will constantly present themselves, demanding rare wisdom and tact to solve discreetly We have to conduct India successfully through the various stages that separate a subject province from a self-governing colony It is only at present capable of feeble progression education and intelligence touch as yet but the fringe of its 250 millions, thick darkness still broods over the deep, and no one would propose dangerous experiments on a people who have never known since the world began any Government which was not despotic What we have to do is to absorb into our system the best native thought of India, and generously to welcome the aid it can give us in administering the country The time is past for considering India as a close preserve for a profession

With regard to this I have to inquire, who considers India "as a close preserve for a profession?" For what profession is it a close preserve? Is it for the profession of the Civil Service proper, of the Army, of the Police, of the Salt officers, of the Excise officers, of the Forest officers, of the Ecclesiastical officers—or, in short, for what profession?

Further, while entirely agreeing that "the future guidance of our Indian Empire will tax to the uttermost British statesmanship," I want to know by what strange alchemy we are to make into a self-governing colony that which is not a colony at all? If India were a colony it would be all easy enough, but that is just what it is not, and if we try for seventeen million years, the generous lease which some one, if I mistake not, gives this planet, we cannot make it a colony, unless perhaps in the last million when the sun, we are told, is to get a great deal cooler The problem is vastly more difficult than that The problem is how best to manage for its interest, our own interest, and the interest of the world, an Empire inhabited even now by twice as many people as acknowledged the sway of the Antonines, within whose limits we cannot perpetuate our own race for more than three generations

It is a magnificent problem, and I for one should have been most grateful to Mr Smith if he had helped us ever so little towards its solution

He might have done so. If there is one thing about which reasonable Anglo-Indian administrators are more anxious than another it is about increasing the material prosperity of the country. Mr Smith has, by his own statement, been trading with India for a quarter of a century or thereby. Surely in that long period he must have picked up something which Anglo-Indian officials do not know. Why in these two long articles does an able man, with excellent intentions give us—must I say it?—nothing but commonplaces, save when he repeats the silly or dishonest talk of Indian grumblers? Does he suppose that there is a single fact or idea in his two papers which is not familiar as household words? And yet one is sure that he must know so much about commercial facts which Indian administrators would fain learn!

My thoughts pass from Mr Smith's two articles to the book to which Mr Edwin Arnold has given the same name, "India Revisited." Now, there is a performance which appears to me a worthy result of a winter spent in India. It is not didactic, like Mr Smith's articles. It was not its author's object to be didactic. It will not tell the Anglo-Indian administrator, even incidentally, much that he did not know before, but putting aside little inaccuracies, which are of no sort of importance, it is beyond all comparison the very best description of India, as it looks to the intelligent European traveller, that ever was written. Numbers of us have seen India as Mr Edwin Arnold saw it last winter, but only a man of genius could have thrown his impressions upon paper in the way that he has done. No one, whether he knows the country or does not know it, will rise from the perusal of that volume without a quickened sense of the vast responsibilities which we have undertaken in India, and a quickened affection for the Indian people.

Every winter will now, in all probability, take to India an increasing number of English tourists. Most of these will go for sport or for the pleasures of travelling, a good many will, it may be hoped, go with a view to lay a foundation for future study, and a few will go for the purpose of enlightening their countrymen when they come home.

Is it too much to ask that these last should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before they give their conclusions to the world?

Mr Smith might, without any trouble, have found numbers of Anglo-Indians who could have done, before he published his articles, precisely what I am doing after they have been published. These useful critics, while allowing him to form exactly what *opinions* he pleased, might have set him right as to mere *matters of fact*, about which there is really no dispute possible.

If Mr Smith had taken the pains to get up his facts before he

began to interview the people whom he quite gratuitously assumed to represent native opinion, he might have given them many a useful hint. These politicizing sophists threaten to be a perfect curse to India, turning the thoughts of their countrymen away from her real wants to chase this or that *ignis fatuus* over moss and moor. If he had more thoroughly understood the circumstances of the country in which he was travelling, the same good sense which has made him succeed in his own business, and in more than one important election, would have led him to see that what India chiefly wants is the devotion, for decades and decades to come, of most of her educated ability to developing her natural resources.

There is department after department of Government which we would fain fill with natives if we could. Take the Forest Service, for example. Every consideration makes in favour of that being chiefly a native service, but ask our conservators what their experience is. The paradise of the educated native is to sit at a desk and write. He is far more fearful of the sun and the rain than his European brother.

Take again the Medical Service. We want quite an enormous increase in the medical ability which is devoted to helping the native sick, but how slowly it comes, and what difficulties are in the way! A Brahmin lately came to a Professor of Biology at an Indian College and desired to join his class. In the course of conversation it transpired that it would be necessary for him to dissect some of the lower forms of life. "Oh," he said, "that is out of the question. It is contrary to my religion!" "Very sorry," said the Professor, "but if you do not dissect, you cannot study biology." "Oh, but cannot you give me some book?" was the rejoinder. And so it is, always the book rather than Nature and fact!

Then, again, we want more and more native engineers, especially water engineers.

It is just the same with agriculture. Nothing is more futile than to transplant the methods of the Lothians straight away into Tanjore or Tinnevely, but we want to marry the science of Rothamstead to the practice of the Indian peasant. All political questions connected with India are mere fiddle-faddles compared with the importance of increasing the number of bushels produced per acre. For all questions connected with that country dwindle into insignificance before this tremendous consideration. "We have stopped war, we are stopping famine, how are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed?"

The travelling Englishman of the species which is nothing if not earnest, might do *such* a good turn to the educated natives if he would only press upon them these elementary but colossally important matters, rather than encourage them to talk political platitudes!

Before India can come up to the political development which

Europe has reached through ages and ages of struggle, she, too, must go through mighty social and political changes. Mr Smith's interviewers think that the mango trick is quite as applicable to national development as to popular amusement, but the mangoes of Salem and Parell were not planted by jugglers.

I confess, however, that the traveller who goes to India to learn, interests me more than he who goes thither to obtain materials wherewithal to teach. There is so much to be learnt and enjoyed in that splendid country!

An old Scotch nobleman when he heard that his nephew was living with the Prince Regent, shrewdly observed "Eh, but Jemmy must be a very clever man to do all that on five hundred a year!" And so I say, "Eh, but Mr Smith, or any one like him, though he spake with the tongues of men and of angels, must be a very clever man if, after a gallop through India, he can tell the British public anything worth knowing about Indian politics, which they cannot learn from the scores and scores of not less able men who have given their whole lives to that country." As I began by saying, if he had only gone to some out-of-the-way place, say Coirca or Celebes, nay, even to Poland or C'ndia, or political as distinguished from picturesque Switzerland, we should have been most grateful for his articles.

It is difficult to over-estimate the amount of mischief which is done by a writer who, like Mr Smith, encourages the belief that the official view of Indian affairs is separated by a broad line of demarcation from the non-official view. There are in truth a hundred official views and a hundred non-official views of Indian affairs, intersecting each other at a thousand points. The more discussions we can have about matters which can be reasonably controverted, the better in India as elsewhere, but the real opposition between many of the ideas which Mr Smith has been pleased to label as those of the "natives" and what he would call the "official view," is simply the opposition which must ever exist between people who will, and people who will not, take pains to spend a reasonable time *in statu pupillari* before they aspire to be Masters of Arts.

I suppose that a good many worthy persons who read this article will say, not for the first time, that mine are the views of "an official optimist." I ought then perhaps to observe, before I come to an end, that, so far from returning from India in the temper of an optimist, I look with the gravest uneasiness to the future of that country. I think that if Clive and Hastings are not to be remembered in the year 2000, as having got Great Britain into the most magnificent scrape recorded in history, the very greatest care and the devotion of an ever-increasing amount of British ability to our Eastern affairs, is absolutely necessary. But amidst the innumerable dangers ahead, perhaps the greatest is that of *superficially* generous counsels being adopted in London.

Let our Indian reformers there confine their efforts as much as possible to obtaining for the Indian Services the very maximum of ability and character, and let them refrain, as much as they can bring themselves to do, from interfering with details

*Mitte sapientem et nihil dicas* was a favourite maxim of Mr Elphinstone's in making appointments, and there never was one which better deserved to be taken to heart by the British public in dealing with India

So far from imagining that our present system is the perfection of wisdom, I believe there are quite endless improvements to be made in all directions, but these improvements cannot be dictated from a centre by even the ablest of mankind. Fill your Services with the most intelligent persons whom money can buy. Wherever you can quite safely substitute cheap native for costly British agency, by all means do it, but let us have no leaps or bounds, and remember that important as economy is, it is madness, I do not say to lower, but not steadily to raise, the quality of your European officers at any necessary cost. More light and more leading, not less, are what is wanted, if the acquisition of your great vassal Empire in Asia is to turn out anything better than that very unsatisfactory subject for reflection—a splendid mistake

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at all. It was a very pretty fight between laymen (the word is not used in its clerical sense), but, like laymen's battles everywhere, it was fought on issues both false and irrelevant, and with results significant of nothing but the skill of the combatants. The Professor, having put on his fighting gear, was not going to put it hastily off, and so he resolved to advance to something positive, a theory as to the Evolution of Theology, which was to be worked out and verified in the comparative method. The problem was simple to him, for he was a simple man to the problem, not seeing its complexity, or the delicacy of the process needed to ascertain the factors necessary to its solution. He had got up enough of Reuss, Kucnen, and Wellhausen to serve his purpose, but he had mastered neither the linguistic, nor the literary, nor the historical, nor the religious material required for the scientific handling of the theory, to say nothing of its proof. The theory came to be through the absence of science, a little thorougher knowledge would have made the very statement of it impossible. It is something more than a pleasure—it is an inspiration—to see a masterly spirit exercised over our deepest problems, but what is needed for their solution is masterliness penetrated and guided by full and accurate knowledge.

Now, what we need here is a scientific conscience, as sensitive to the interference of the tyro or the untrained in the field of religious as in the field of mathematical or physical inquiry. We often hear of the feebleness, perhaps senility, of Newton, the student of prophecy, as compared with the strength and clear intellect of Newton, the interpreter of Nature and discoverer of natural law. But the contrast may be repeated, though the student's handling of the Bible be as free as Newton's was reverent. There is a want of seriousness, because a want of the thoroughness and veracity of science, in our religious thought and criticism. There is nothing so fundamentally divisive as superficial misunderstanding, because of it the attitude to religion is meanly polemical on the one side, and narrowly apologetic on the other. Science and culture have a contempt for Theology, if not for theologians, Theology has a suspicion of the methods of science and the spirit of culture, even though many of the men that most adorn science best illustrate piety. Now, we must correct this evil, that the greater evils it helps to occasion may be corrected, and the correction is to come, not by keeping Theology and the sciences apart, but by bringing them together, that they may, as related and co-ordinated departments of knowledge, learn to know, respect, supplement, and explain each other. In other words, Theology ought to be an academic discipline and a living science, and to be either, it must be both. Only of the progressive student of a progressing Science can we say with Augustine "*Melior meliorque fit quærens tam magnum bonum, quod et inveniendum*

quæritur et quærendum invenitur Nam et quæritur, ut inveniatur dulcius, et invenitur, ut quæeratur avidius"\*

1 Academic is here used to denote the studies and discipline proper to the University, as distinguished from those peculiar to the sectional seminary or clerical school These differ both as regards the discipline they give and the knowledge which is its instrument, or more simply in the quality of the education and the character of the sciences which educate But these things are so related that what is good for either is good for both to educate is to quicken and develop mind, and the only sciences that can really educate are those that live and grow in the hands of the student and teacher Dead sciences generate no life, and so cultivate no man, and sciences are dead when they have ceased to grow, or to be handled as living things Now, there is nothing more dead than School Divinity—the divinity made for the schools out of texts and formulæ framed by fathers, councils, and schoolmen, whose authority has become explicitly or implicitly the bulwark against heterodoxy and unbelief It is a manufactured article, carefully articulated and elaborated to the last degree, with the truth stated in well-balanced and rigorous propositions, and proved by a series of cumulative arguments, which are in turn followed, in order to greater thoroughness, by an exhaustive and detailed enumeration of all actual and possible objections, though only that they may be rounded off by a sufficiency, or rather superabundance, of victorious answers The divinity, as bad science, is not good Theology, but it is made worse by being taught in an exclusive seminary Were the men who are doomed to learn it forced to live in a free academic air, it might be made comparatively innocuous, but in the close atmosphere of a separate school it is allowed to do its work unneutralized The men are instructed, but not disciplined, they may be drilled, as the seminary priest almost always is, in theological dialectics without being educated into and by a knowledge of Theology The system that has never withstood the criticism of an age does not live to the age's intellect, but this criticism is exactly the thing that cannot be allowed to penetrate and profane the precincts sacred to scholasticism The objections so exhaustively stated and victoriously answered in the textbooks of school divinity never lived, they died in passing through the mind of the schoolman A hostile mind conceives an objection only to kill it, however conscientiously stated, it is stated only to be answered, and so it is made to seem to live simply that it may the more demonstrably be seen to die For difficulties to be understood and really felt, they

must be met as they live and move, speak and persuade, in the world of articulated thought, where they have all the potencies of real things. But they can be so met only if Theology lives face to face with the sciences and arts, at once sharing in their life and shaping it. The worst way to keep a faith vital and pure is to isolate the men who are to teach it from the men they are to teach, while both are still in process of formation. The master in Theology will teach all the better that he has to form and inform minds, not simply docile, but deeply moved and exercised about the principles and truths and problems of his science, and his pupils will be all the stronger and wiser men that they were forced to encounter and overcome, in classroom and study, their great intellectual difficulties, not waiting to be found by them at a later and more defenceless day.

2 Theology, then, needs the University to keep it living, in touch with all the sciences, face to face with all the problems that to day exercise thought, and it once perplex and inspire the spirit. But the necessity is mutual, for the University no less needs Theology to make its circle of the sciences complete, to fill its studies with ideal contents and ends, to humanize education by baptizing it in the transcendental and divine. Of course the study of Theology in the University does not here mean the dominance of a Church; it means very much the opposite. If the history of religious and academic thought in England proves anything, it is this, that the supremacy of the Church led to the decay of Theology. The Act of Uniformity was one of those blunders which are fatal most of all to the men who blundered, and the dismal age of the Universities is coincident with the golden age of ecclesiastical sovereignty. Theology, to be an academic discipline, must not fear the open ways and high argument of the academy, but must seek to rule, if it rule at all, by its dignity as a science and its supremacy as truth. Cardinal Newman thus sums up the view he takes of "a University in its essence, and independently of its relation to the Church"

"It is a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral, and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students, if religious training, I do not see how it can be the seat of literature and science."

Now, this view is, in about equal proportions, correct and incorrect. It is correct in saying that a University is "a place of teaching universal knowledge," but incorrect in saying that its object is "the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement." Its object is both, it cannot fulfil the one unless it aims at the other. To teach knowledge really, we must endeavour to advance it. Where

\* "The Idea of a University," Pref p ix, ed 1885

"scientific and philosophical discovery" is most active, there students will be best educated, and there they ought to be in greatest numbers. The weakness of the English Universities has been their fidelity to the Cardinal's ideal. Had they been more places of discovery, they would have been better places of education, had they done more for the advancement of knowledge, they would, great and noble as their influence is, have exercised a greater and a nobler influence over the thought and life of England. Science, of course, does not here mean the physical sciences, it means knowledge as a whole. Literature and science ought not to be conceived as antitheses, literature is science, and science is literary. Philology is as essentially a science as Palæontology, and there is more knowledge of man, his nature, home, ways and motives of action, to be gained from the living study of classical literature and philosophy than from the most extensive researches into the ancient forms and conditions of life on our planet. These sciences are different, and so dissimilar, but they are not opposed. Each has its own specific province, but in the degree that it finds there real and enriching knowledge, it is a real and educative science. If, then, "universal knowledge" is to be taught, all the sciences must be cultivated, and a University, to fulfil the one duty, must aim no less at the other. Her teachers ought to be, not the bond-slaves or doleful drudges of examiners, but the men fitted at once to advance and communicate knowledge, and her students, men who seek the higher humanity that comes by culture, and the culture that comes from fellowship with the foremost living minds, whether these minds be interpreters of Nature, or ancient Literature, or living Men.

3 On this ground, then, the University needs Theology as much as Theology needs the University. Without Theology, the University were incomplete, destitute—not of one science simply, but of a vast circle of sciences, more than any other necessary to the full and true interpretation of man and his universe. Without the University Theology were without a fit place to be studied, and fit men to study it. If it is to be a science, it must not fear to stand among the sciences, and if it is to be an educative study, it must be studied by the educated. Men may understand religion by living it, and that is an understanding possible to all men, and incumbent upon all, but to know Theology as the science of religion, its reason, rights, history, truths, symbols—to follow its methods, grasp its problems, master its range, relations, and limitations, requires a qualified intellect, and disciplined faculties. Here, if anywhere, exercise in the Humanities ought to precede the special discipline of the school, where it does not, we may have a dogmatist, but not a divine. Indeed, to no other science is a liberal culture so absolute a necessity, for no other science is so nearly universal—so touches and is so touched by

all the rest Theology cannot dwell apart and be a separate field of knowledge If it were to disclaim all connection with and concern in the other sciences, it would simply invite them to blot its name out of the book of life All speculation, physical or metaphysical, as to matter or being touches the existence and idea of God, every theory as to the genesis and age of the heavens and the earth raises questions as to creation and providence, all inquiries as to the history, progress, civilizations, and religions of man affect, at one point or another, doctrines, beliefs, or institutions of Christianity, every branch of social, political, and moral thought and research leads straight into the heart of religion—nay, every phase of criticism in literature and art stands somehow related to principles and truths which belong to Theology And this universality, though it may seem its weakness, proves its strength and greatness What so penetrates all sections and subjects of human thought, has a deep root in human nature and an immense hold upon it What so possesses man's mind that he cannot think at all without thinking of it, is so bound up with the very being of intelligence that ere it can perish, intellect must cease to be Science and religion have no conflict, though theories of science and views of religion have had many—always, indeed, in the long run, to their mutual benefit, and they will have many more Men who, in the interests of faith, dread and deprecate these conflicts, may be sure of one thing—were there no such collisions, they would have greater cause for fear, for it would signify that Theology had lost all its roots in reason, and so all its rights to reign Sovereignty has its burdens as well as its honours, and the Queen of the sciences can hope to keep her throne, especially in times of advancing knowledge, only by rigorous criticism of her own claims, excision of the fictitious or the decayed, and the development of the new energies and adaptations needed for vigorous survival

## II

But to make the discussion significant it must become specific, the statement, the University needs Theology, means nothing till we understand what Theology signifies and comprehends It is here used to denote a science whose field is co-extensive with the problems and history of religion, and we may say of the science, as of religion, that, since it has to do with every region of thought and relation of life, whatever concerns man concerns it It is not one science, but an immense circle of sciences, and while they are all so related internally as to constitute an organic whole, they are so related externally as to assume and require the existence of an equally large circle of auxiliary sciences To make this statement clear or intelligible, we must attempt to explain the idea and scope of Theology

1 Theology may be described as the explication and articulation of the idea of God, or the interpretation of Nature, Man, and History through that idea. So conceived, the primary problem is to find, prove, and construe the idea, or to discuss how and whence it comes, why it is to be believed, what it means and contains, and how it ought to be formulated. This is the region of Pure or Speculative Theology—*i.e.*, the region where it deals with its ultimate principles as pure rather than abstract ideas, at once involved in thought and evolved from it. Here is the point where it both merges in philosophy and transcends it. Every philosophical system must face the theistic question, the very refusal to do so carrying with it an indirect yet real determination, but no system, as purely philosophical, can fully unfold or explicate the idea. The attitude to this as the ultimate depends on the answer to the primary question in philosophy. What are the conditions and what the nature of knowledge? If the answer be the Empirical, then the conclusion as to God must be either sceptical or nescient—*i.e.*, the system must end either in reasoned doubt or reasoned ignorance, the term God being to the one but the symbol of the indeterminable, to the other, of the unknown and unknowable. If the answer be the Transcendental, then the ultimate problem will be the determination of the idea, how God is to be conceived, how his relation to the universe construed and represented. Thus Hume's doctrine of "impressions and ideas" is the very premiss of his sceptical conclusion. Grant it, and no other inference is possible, and Mr Spencer's theory as to "states of consciousness," which are symbols of an outside unknown reality, or "vivid" and "faint" manifestations of the unknown, is the basis of his agnosticism, real knowledge of the ultimate reality being impossible to the man who builds on ignorance of the primary. Thus pure Theology must be philosophical, and discuss whether the empirical or the transcendental be the truer solution of the problem of knowledge, in order that it may discover whether its idea be given in reason, the necessary at once condition and object of thought.

But it cannot leave the question where philosophy may be content to leave it, it must formulate and explicate its idea—whether is God to be conceived as immanent or transcendent, or as both? If as immanent, the result will be one of the multitudinous forms of what is called Pantheism, either losing the All in God (akosmism), or resolving God into the All (theopantism). If as transcendent, the outcome will be either Abstract Theism, which makes God and the world separate and inter independent, or some theory of artificial and mechanical relation—a doctrine of pre-established harmony, or an unreasoned miraculous supernaturalism. If as both, then the conclusion will be a Natural Theism, which so interlaces God and the

world that it cannot be without Him, or He be interpreted and conceived without it. But to determine the relation of the world and God is but to raise a multitude of questions touching His providence or government. Is Optimism or Pessimism the truer theory of life? or is there not room for a third which recognizes equally the sad realities that create the one and the Supreme Good that justifies the other? Then, how ought man to stand related to his God? What is the ideal of religion, and how far does it furnish a law of life? Thus pure Theology, which begins with the deepest problems as to knowledge, ends with the most radical and vital questions in ethics—out of it is built not simply a theory of the universe, but a rule of conduct, an ideal of the perfect life. It remains throughout speculative or philosophical by being reasoned, a creation of thought deduced from the very nature of the thought that creates it, but it at once transcends and is distinguished from philosophy by interpreting the universe and its history through the idea of God. The idea philosophy enabled it to win it uses to transcend philosophy, construing man and time from the standpoint, as it were, of God and eternity. And so the idea becomes the regulative or organizing principle which the body of the theological sciences but articulates. They are its completed explication, it is their latent or immanent form. The speculation which does not explain man is illusory, the theory that best interprets history is the theory that best expresses the truth.

2 Pure or Speculative Theology is thus but preparatory to Applied or Historical, and if pure reposes on and rises out of philosophy, applied seeks the help of many sciences, and lives only as it secures it. The theologian, when he turns to history, is met by a whole wonderland of knowledge, the religions of man lie before him. Religion is the thing most characteristic of man, it is as old and as extensive as the race—universal in its being, but infinite in its varieties. To look at it, as it were, in the mass, is to raise many questions—What is it? Whence is it? Why is it? What is the law or laws of its development? How have these endless varieties of religious faith and practice arisen? The answer to these questions is the work of a special discipline—the Philosophy of Religion, and here the differences of the fundamental philosophies are curiously but faithfully reflected. The empiricist must derive religion from a source in harmony with his sensuous theory of knowledge, either, like the older school, from fear, prompting to propitiation and flattery, or, like the later, from belief in ghosts, a belief due to the misinterpretation of subjective phenomena and the consequent worship of ancestors. And the transcendentalist must no less trace it to a source agreeable to his cardinal doctrine, that man is reason, and must articulate the reason he is in language and religion,

society and history. As is the theory of the origin, so must be the conception of the nature, a religion derived from ghostly fears must be a system of more or less rationalized illusions, while a religion that expresses a more or less latent or developed reason must have reason at its heart, however much distorted or concealed. But whatever the philosophy, it must be tested by fact, and surely no inquirer ever had so immense or so complex a problem to resolve as this of the religions of man. Two methods may be followed the ethnographic, or the historical. The ethnographic consists of the comparative study of savage or natural peoples with a view to the discovery of the primary or rudimentary forms of religious custom and belief, the historical consists of the retrogressive and analytic study of the religions of history, in order that their most archaic forms and elements may be discovered, the principle and ratio of growth ascertained, as well as the causes and conditions of decay. The ethnographic has no historical, and so no scientific value—it has been used only to illustrate an imaginary theory concerning an imaginary state, but the historical is the scientific method, for it is the study of religions as they actually lived and grew, acted on man and were acted on by him. These, then, the theologian has to investigate, and, if possible, understand, and to understand a religion is to understand at once its people and their history. People and religion must be studied together, in their home and history, as affecting and affected by each other, as modified by geographical and climatic conditions, ethnical relations, intellectual movements, political and social changes and causes. To investigate religions in the historical method is thus to inquire into their action in history, and in the progress and civilization of man, with the result that we obtain data for a twofold philosophy—one of religions and another of history. The latter ought to show the place and function of each religion, and the people it has created and governed, in the order of the world, while the province of the former is to determine the relation of each real to the ideal religion, and to discover its essential constituents or character, the secret or cause of its peculiar influence and distinctive work. This theological discipline, or series of disciplines, ends, then, in a new Analogy, with a broader basis and vaster induction than Butler's. It builds on the nature of man, \* transcendent yet conditioned and developed by experience, so essentially religious that it cannot but realize a religion, the very attempt of men and peoples to break away from an ancestral or historical faith but resulting in an endeavour to find one happier and better fitted to the new and larger spirit. It is not in any man or people's choice to determine whether they will or will not have a religion, they must have one, He who made nature made that sure but they may, though a people's choice is a thing of centuries,



determine what or what sort of religion it shall be. And this is where the deductive evokes the inductive process, religion being proved a necessity of nature, history must show which of all the mighty multitude of religions is the fittest for man. It will be but reasonable if we find that where there is most ideal truth, there also is most real worth, and so by a natural transition the student passes over to the study of the religion of Christ, or that of God in humanity and humanity in God, where the ideas of immanence and transcendence are at once expressed and reconciled.

## III

The two previous disciplines thus become introductory to a third, at once more definite and extensive—Special or Christian Theology. The relation between the three divisions or disciplines may be exhibited thus. The first vindicates and explicates the idea of God, the second vindicates and explicates the idea of religion, and then studies religion and the religions in history, while the third interprets the supreme or absolute religion, alike in its historical appearance and in its ideal truth. Without the idea of God given in the first, and the ideas of religion and history, or of man's relation to God and God's government of man, given in the second, we could not scientifically understand and construe the third. The deeper our studies of philosophy and religion before coming to Christianity, the more transcendent will it appear. In order to an exhaustive knowledge we must follow a series of studies that may be grouped into three great divisions—Biblical, Ecclesiastical, and Constructive.

I **Biblical.** The primary fact that here meets us is this. Christianity is the religion, not, as is often incorrectly said, of a Book, but of a Revelation. It has its sacred books, and it lives by faith in the God they reveal.

1 It is necessary to determine the nature and relations of these two things, Religion and Revelation, in order that we may be able to construe the reason and place of the Sacred Books, and the authority of the message they bring. As the previous discipline has compelled us to study many religious systems and literatures, we cannot approach the Christian without asking, Why do we call its Books Sacred? Why do we hold them authoritative? The world is full of sacred books, they are not common to one, but peculiar to all religions. The tombs and mummy-cases of Egypt are covered with hieroglyphic and hieratic writings, books of the living God, books of the Dead, with their moral laws, hall of final judgment, and universal judge. The palaces of Assyria are, as it were, alive with inscriptions which tell of creation and the division of time, the fall, punishment and deliverance of man. Ancient Persia had its sacred books, which described man's lost happiness, the birth of

evil, its conflict with the good, and, not content with earth and time, make immensity and eternity the open arena of the conflict India is by pre-eminence the land of holy scriptures, there the Word is indeed divine, no God made it, uncreated it ever has been, and is awful in its sanctity and indestructible in its power China has its sacred books, as numerous as its religions,—Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist Mexico and Peru embodied their faith in pictured histories Ancient Greece and Rome believed in their (to us) gross and grotesque mythologies Buddhism has its *Tripitakas*, which its various branches recognize, and on which its several schools build, and Islam, Sunnite and Shi'ite alike, professes to walk by the light of its Koran Now, why and on what grounds do we claim that our Bible stands, not simply pre-eminent among sacred books, but apart from them, in an order by itself, unique, authoritative, the one true revelation of the true God? The question is not to be answered by an appeal to the authority of an infallible and authenticating Church, for the Church assumes and builds on the truth of the very Word it is called in to authenticate To base the antecedent on the consequent authority is more convenient than reasonable, but, happily for truth's sake, there is no basis so secure as the reasonable, so insecure as the convenient Men have been too long asked to believe in the Bible because of its supernatural character and evidences may it not be time to ask men to believe in it for natural reasons? Would a world without a revelation be more natural and more reasonable than a world with one? If the world be created, then whether is it more agreeable to reason to conceive its Creator as a Deity who will not, or as a Deity who must, speak to His creation? Agnosticism, as now stated and taught, assumes not simply the impotence of the human, but of the divine reason, for a God man cannot know is at the same time a God that cannot make Himself known Our inability to reach Him is possible only because of His inability to become intelligible to us But a living God cannot be silent, He must speak, and to speak is to reveal Himself A nature that exists through such a God is a nature that must have a revelation To be without it would be to argue that He and nature were divided by an impassable gulf, that its well- or ill-being was no care or concern of His The universal being of sacred books but proves, on the one hand, the relations of God to be universal—they are, for He meant them to be, and, on the other, the pre-eminence of our Scriptures, for in them the truth and life of God are seen coming with absolute authority into the mind and history of man Their place and nature are made evident in a thousand ways by the character they bear, by the persons or organs they use, by the history they create and control, by the kind and quality of the truth they bring, by the

work they have done and still do for men, for peoples, and for collective humanity. The ultimate evidence for the being of God is the correspondence between the mind in man and the mind in Nature, Nature develops mind, and mind interprets Nature, each being so the correlative of the other that mind has no thought without Nature, and Nature no being save through mind. And in like manner the ultimate evidence of the truth of God in the book is its correspondence with the truth of God in the man, the implicit Deity in the one is evoked by the explicit Deity in the other, or, as used to be said, the witness of the Spirit in the heart attests the truth of the Spirit in the Word. The man renewed by the Word is a man re-made in the image of God, his lost sonship is restored by the gospel of the Son.

2 But it is not enough to have Sacred Scriptures, they must be interpreted, and the interpretation must be at once literary and historical in other words, have regard both to the form and matter of the revelation.

1 The formal, introductory or isagogic, studies have a wide range, requiring, perhaps more than any other, educated faculty and the scientific mind. (A) There are sacred languages to master. Theology so depends on philology that it is as little possible to be a theologian as a philologist without a knowledge of the classical tongues. It is only through them that the Scriptures which are the sources of his science, the Fathers who made its beginnings, the Masters who built it into system, and the terminology they created, can be understood. Translation is for the multitude—it does not serve the purpose of the scientific inquirer or thinker, the intelligence he seeks can be found in the originals alone. The sources, the history, the terms, the doctrines, the whole interpretation of theology are so bound up with the Greek and Latin languages that ignorance of them is ignorance of it. But the theologian must add to the classical an important branch of Oriental philology, the Semitic, for he has not simply Greek, but Hebrew scriptures to interpret, and they stand so related to the languages, traditions, and histories of Arabia, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, that, studied out of connection with these, they can hardly be said to be studied at all. (B) Language leads to literature, and the sacred literature theology has to study is not simply immensely rich and varied, interesting above all others in the possession of man, but presents problems of the most delicate character, soluble only by critical and often most subtle processes. (a) The texts of both Testaments have a history—nay, every one of the multitude of varied readings has a history of its own, and the scholar must determine how the variation or corruption arose, how it is to be detected and the original reading recovered, how a pure text is to be obtained, and, how, with a view to this, the various families of

manuscripts must be classified, handled, and appraised (β) But there is a literary as well as a textual history, calling for critical faculty and methods, of another order Every book, sometimes every section of a book, has its own series of problems—its date, author, purpose, place in the canon, and right to stand there (γ) And the canon has its own series of questions, external, but strictly correlative and complementary to those raised by the literature itself—how it came to be? when it came to be? under what influences and by what authority? These, though only formal questions—concerned, as it were, with the mere shape and fashion, and not at all with the contents or matter of the books we bring together under the name of Bible—are yet questions of surpassing moment In one aspect they represent the distinctive and supreme problem set to the biblical scholars of our day Our fathers knew it not, for them the canon was fixed, what tradition or ostensible literary claim had affirmed, ecclesiastical authority endorsed; Churches decreed that so many books constituted the canon, and that such and such men were their authors But the decrees framed in ignorance or on rumour are seldom wise decrees, and these synodical or conciliar decrees but burden and perplex questions otherwise hard enough to discuss and determine What is the date of the Pentateuch? How many hands and how many generations were concerned in its making? Where and by whom and for what purpose was it edited? What relation does the Levitical bear to the Deuteronomic legislation on the one hand, and the historical books on the other? At what time did our Psalter arise? To whom do we owe our Psalms? Under what conditions, with what purpose and aim were they written? And the prophets, how were they related to each other and to the popular religion? to the priesthood and temple? With what reason are the books that bear their names ascribed to them? Did they themselves write their books? or did they speak their oracles and leave the writing and the editing to scholars and to scribes? Is, for example, Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or Zechariah the work of one or of several hands? If of one, how are the most dissimilar literary phenomena to be explained? If of several, how has the unity arisen? and how does the composite authorship affect the worth and veracity of the book? Then, as to the New Testament When were our Gospels written? Who wrote them? In what relation do they stand to each other, to the various parties in the Primitive Church, to the common oral or original tradition, and to the development of thought and life? Are all the Epistles that bear Paul's name really Pauline? Do the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel come from one and the same hand? or do the Third Gospel and the Acts? These, and such as these, are the questions the theological student to-day has to face and the scholar to solve Escape from

them is impossible, they are being worked at in the study with all the helps comparative science in the regions of language, literature, history, and religion can command, they are being discussed by eager minds in university and college, they are reaching the people, finding voice in the club-room, or lecture-hall, or debating society, and even affecting the mind of the ready journalist, who thinks little that he may write much. They cannot remain closet questions, and once they become a common possession, they must be settled and set at rest. And this is a work in which the living men who teach and learn theology must engage. Student may not throw the burden on professor, or professor on student, but both must bear it together, that it may be borne to a peaceful end, and the end to be peaceful must satisfy both faith and knowledge. True knowledge can never be unjust to faith, and the faith that is unjust to knowledge is but convicted faithlessness.

11 The material studies connected with the Scriptures are of three kinds—historical, exegetical, and theological. (a) The historical are concerned with the people of the book and their great religious personalities, with the progress or evolution of their law or religion, and the mode in which it is affected by both inner and outer conditions and events. (b) The exegetical studies endeavour, by the help of philology, archaeology, and the other ancillary sciences, to translate and interpret the texts, while (c) the theological seek to co-ordinate and articulate the unsystematized thought of the texts so interpreted. Exegesis deals with a book or text as continuous, but Biblical Theology with the beliefs or ideas of each writer, the former is satisfied with the explanation of what he has written in the order he himself has followed, but the latter aims at a connected exposition and exhibition of the truths he held. There may be biblical exegesis without biblical theology, but there can be no theology without exegesis. Exegesis is literary, but theology scientific, it treats the writers individually, but only that it may get a complete view of the mind of each, alike as regards the organization of its beliefs and its place and action in the collective history. These studies are all inter-related and inter-dependent, the history, the literature, and the theology must all be studied together and in living connection, in order to be intelligible. The man must not be removed from his place, or the book from its time, or the thought from its period, if the truth concerning either or all is to be found. A revelation embedded in a history must be studied as a history, the student who would know it must study it in the order or mode of its coming. The notions of the later must not be carried into the earlier books—these must be allowed to speak for themselves, and their ideas must be interpreted in the light of the cognate religions. Thus we see God at first conceived as the Mighty, the Maker and Sovereign of Nature, then as

the God of a people He has chosen, and, by the giving of a law, constituted a nation. The laws are moral: man obedient is rewarded, disobedient, is punished. As the God who abides by His word, whether it promises or threatens, He is faithful, while man, as he obeys or disobeys, is good or wicked. To feel guilty in the presence of a God who punishes is to believe at once in the need of sacrifice and in the holiness of the God who cannot look on sin without displeasure. But there is something higher than the being able to punish, the being willing to save, and so the idea of the placable Deity rises into the idea of the God who must and will save, even though it be by the suffering and sacrifice of Himself. And so the process which began with faith in a God who was but personalized might, ends with faith in a God who is the Saviour of man. Yet the historical movement does not end, as it were, in a mere abstract faith or conception, for the theology penetrates the history, the history realizes the theology. If God saves men, it must be through man. His transcendence must become immanence if Nature is to live in and move through Him. And His relation to man must be no less real or intimate if by Him man is to live, and so He who bears the form of God takes the form of man, that humanity may be saved. The basis of redemption is in the nature of God, the agent of redemption is the historical yet eternal Son. And so the highest Person of sacred history becomes the highest Problem of biblical theology. While the one represents Him under the forms of time, the other conceives Him under the form of eternity—not simply as an historical, but as a universal and divine Person, come to fulfil a purpose implicit in the character of God, involved in the constitution of nature and evolved in the course of history.

II Ecclesiastical. Christ creates the Church, and the Church interprets Christ. Neither is intelligible without the other, radically to understand either, both must be understood. With Him the old world ends and the new begins. The centuries that divide us from Him have been ruled by His name, and the civilized States of to-day have risen under His influence. His society has never ceased to be, and it has been at every moment a factor of change, it has disintegrated empires and constructed kingdoms, at once worked and suffered revolution, and its revolutions have shaken down and built up States, determined the course of history, the beliefs, hopes, and ideals of man, and of all that constitutes him reason and spirit. To interpret the Church, therefore, is not simply to interpret Christ, but modern history, to understand how our civilization has come to be, and how it stands not only distinguished from the ancient and classical, but related to Christ as its efficient and determinative cause. Here, then, we have a series of questions vast enough for the exercise of the highest critical and philosophical faculty.

1 (a) There are questions as to the institution of the Church. What and why is it? How is it related to the Kingdom of Heaven? Are they distinct or identical? Did Christ found it? What was the authority He gave to it, and whether was it given to the Church as a whole, or to its several component societies, or to a special order or sacred class? In what relation does His Headship stand to the political and social organizations that call themselves Churches, and the officialisms they have created? In other words, is it a Headship of polity, working through and realized by legislative machinery, or is it a Headship of the Spirit, active and actual wherever there is love of Him and His truth? Did He institute sacraments? What do they mean, and what were they intended to effect? (b) But the institutional become constitutional questions. How have the Churches of to-day become what they are? In what way are they related to, in what degree do they agree with or differ from the primitive? Did the primitive embody a sacerdotal idea? Had they a priesthood, a graded clergy, a system of ceremonial and sacrifice? If they had not, how has the rise of these things affected the ideal of religion? How have changes in the constitution of the Church affected the notion of the sacraments and the idea and claims of the clergy? Constitutional history is a complicated study, possible only if the methods of analytical criticism are followed. Constitutions grow, the growth is conditioned, and the function of criticism is to discover the reason and direction of change—whether due to evolution from within or adoption from without, or both, and whether its tendency is to perfect or destroy, realize or abolish, the original ideal. Scientific method has accomplished great things for our civil history, it will accomplish still greater things for our ecclesiastical. It is well for man to cease to live in a world of illusions, however venerated and venerable they may be, and the criticism that restores him to reality saves him from a bondage that may be all the worse for being revered and loved.

2 The intellectual history of the Church raises another series of questions—those connected with religious thought and doctrine. First, it has to deal with Symbolics, or the attempts of the Churches to formulate and reduce to system the truths they believe. Each symbol—whether so called oecumenical, like the Nicene, or sectional, like the Lutheran, Anglican, Westminster, Tridentine, and Vatican—has a history which must be written, a meaning which must be explained, and, as standing in antagonism to or agreement with other creeds or confessions, a significance at once common and sectional, which must be made manifest by comparison. Secondly, each doctrine has a history, and cannot be understood apart from

Fathers stated it, Doctors developed it, Churches formulated it, peoples believed it, and in each phase it appears in a new aspect—

changed, modified, enriched, or impoverished. Thirdly, systems have a history, ages when they begin, are built up, and are dissolved. There is a mediæval scholasticism, a scholasticism of the seventeenth century, one of the Catholic, another of the Lutheran, and another of the Reformed Churches. Each has its own basis, method, and material conception or doctrine, by which the whole system is organized and determined. Fourthly, religious thought, philosophic and apologetic, has a history. Churches do not simply think their own thoughts, the *Zeitgeist* touches them, quickens or paralyzes their intellect, dissolves their systems or verifies their beliefs. A Renaissance comes with its new knowledge, a sixteenth century with its new life, an eighteenth century with its deism and prosaic rationalism, and the thinkers, whether within or without the Churches, who attempt to renew religion by re-stating old truths, have as high a significance as the Father or schoolman. The intellectual history of the Church, conceived and construed from the standpoint of the scholar, is not simply immense, but instructive, as hardly any other study, teaching the student how to appraise the claims of the Churches, how to separate the essential and accidental in doctrine, how to love the seekers for the truth, and how to pursue the search after it. Without it there can be neither criticism nor construction in the region of religious belief.

3 But the intellect of a society does not work apart from its moral or spiritual condition. Polity, theology, and religion, while distinct, are yet inseparable, they possess a common character and express a common life. There is nothing that judges polity and doctrine like the history of godliness, it shows whether they tend to enrich or impoverish life. Hence, it is not enough to study the morphology of the body ecclesiastic, its biology, in the proper sense of that term, must be studied as well. It has two aspects, the personal and the collective, or the life as realized, first, by representative men, and secondly, by the society as a whole. The spirit of a Church is expressed in the characters it forms and the persons it canonizes, its saints embody its ideal of saintliness, and so are its most characteristic creations, types of the manhood, individual and social, it seeks to realize. It is a significant thing to find out whether a society most loves the ascetic, monastic, mystic, or puritan ideal, whether it praises more the devoted ecclesiastic or the beneficent citizen, whether its high rewards are for the sectional or the humaner virtues. Then, its collective life must be studied, how it binds together belief and conduct, its manner of serving man and the State, its modes of expansion and amelioration, its missions, beneficences, philanthropies, policies, in a word, its endeavours to further, not its own being, but God's kingdom upon earth. The Greek Church claims to be orthodox, the Latin to be catholic, but without the note of goodness or godliness no Church can be true, and with it no Church can be false.



4 But the Church must be studied on its secular and real, as well as on its political, intellectual, and religious side. It stands on the plane of universal history, translating its thought and life into action, helping to determine the course and destinies of States and civilizations. Churches and States stand in mutual relations, reciprocally influenced and influencing, indeed, divorce between these is so impossible that the most radical Free Church theory may be described as a method for augmenting rather than lessening the action of the Church on the State. Science cannot allow the unity and continuity of history to be broken, the division into "sacred and profane" being to it as unreal as the division into "ancient and modern." While the Church may, under one aspect, be conceived and handled as a living organism, it must, under another, be construed and described as a member of a vaster body, intelligible only when viewed in relation to the larger whole to which it belongs. The ancient world organized the Church, the Church organized the modern world, and so the inevitable question emerges. How, why, under what conditions, by what forces, with what results, have these things been done? To answer this question, it is necessary first to discuss the attitude of the primitive Christian societies to the empire, their action on it, its action on them, the changes incident to the conversion of Constantine and the establishment of Christianity, the way it furthered the organization of the Church on the old imperial lines, the continuance under changed forms of the ancient pontifical attributes and religious prerogatives of the emperor, the gradual transference of these, as his power decayed, to the Bishop of Rome, and the consequent emergence of a new imperialism. The Roman Church is the child of the Roman Empire, it could as little have been without Cæsar as without Christ, its ideals, policy, methods, being such as became a transformed eternal city rather than a realized kingdom of heaven. But the imperialized Church has its own peculiar activities: creates infant, nurses feeble, commands mature States, promotes order, limits tyranny, comes to tyrannize, is honoured, obeyed, resisted, broken, with the result that new Churches with new ideals and influences arise. And so, secondly, there must be inquiry into the civil and political action of all the Churches, how they affect progress, order, freedom, the happiness and well-being of peoples. This is a study in comparative politics and histories, forcing us to look into the varied vital relations of the ecclesiastical ideal to the realities of the social and civil State, as illustrated by the action of Rome in the States she created and still controls, and the action of Protestantism, and the various types of Protestantism, in the States she expanded, founded, educated, and still guides. Thirdly, the Churches have affected literature and art. The religion that does not quicken and fill the imagination does not satisfy the spirit or enrich the life, and the Church that is inimical to literature or injurious to the highest art

is false to religion, while an alienated literature and a debased or sensuous art mean that the Church has ceased to be a force that makes for culture, and become unable either to understand, interpret, or realize those sublime truths that ought to be the inspiration and joy of man. Thus, viewed on its real or secular side, the history of the Church ought to show the progressive realization, in all the forms of personal and collective being, of the grander Christian ideals. To see what ideals the Churches consider the grander, and how they achieve, or seek to achieve, their realization, is to be made to understand the degree in which they are Churches of Christ.

III Constructive Theology is not simply a cycle of historical sciences, but the science which has, above all others, to do with the exercise of the reason, the direction of the conscience, the education of the heart, and the conduct of life. It is not a mere branch of historical archaeology, concerned with the discovery and resuscitation of a dead and buried world, but it is a living science—a science of life, and for the living. It lives, for it looks eagerly into all the provinces of knowledge for material that may add to its already rich stores. The investigations that, by widening the universe, fill and inspire the imagination, peopling space with worlds and eternity with creative forces and activities, the discoveries that have restored the languages and literatures of long decayed empires, the speculations that have given us the ideas of law and order, evolution and progress, have all enlarged the domain, clarified the vision, refined the spirit, sifted, tested, exalted the ideas of Theology. And, as it lives, it gives life, lifts man above the tyranny of the sensuous and the temporal, softens for him the mysteries and the miseries of being, cheers him with immortal hopes, brings his dim and narrow existence under the inspiration and governance of the transcendental and divine. To accomplish this it has a threefold constructive discipline,—Doctrinal, Ethical, and Political.

1 Constructive or systematic Theology is the interpretation and articulation of the truths or material supplied by the philosophical and historical sciences in terms and forms intelligible to living mind and relevant to living thought. It is not the study of texts, or the exposition of Symbols, Fathers, and Schoolmen. There is nothing so fatal to constructive thought as the dominion of an ancient council or a dead divine. The spirit of truth did not cease to live when the Fathers died, to be faithful to it, we must hold Theology to be as living now as it was then, and the living teacher to be as much bound to find for it fit and masterful speech. But he cannot create it out of a vacant consciousness, he must come to it with the sympathies, knowledge, and capabilities the historical sciences have created. To know the history of doctrine is to be saved from many an error, it is to be made to understand the limits

of the possible, to be made critical of *cl*rudities, doubtful of brilliant generalizations or plausible theories, suspicious of a too visionary or too adventurous speculation. The man who has with open soul studied dogma in its history, is on his way to the caution that is true boldness, he will dare to build when he has material, and to refuse when he has none, he will test every stone he uses, and will use only those that have stood not merely his test, but that of time. Still, his aim is to know the past that he may serve the present, following it where it has followed the truth, but no further. The supreme problem of to-day is to construct a Theology real and relevant to living mind, a system so articulated out of reason and history, so interpretative of Nature and man, so incorporating the highest truths of all the sciences and the surest intuitions of the spirit, that it shall force man to say "Here is a system not suited to the necessities and audacious infallibilities of a Church, always most errant when most authoritative, but so large, reasonable, comprehensive, that one must confess it a veritable intellectual system of the universe." Constructive Theology is the interpretation of Nature, man, and history, through the conception of the God who is at once their first and final cause. The more veracious this conception, the more veracious the theology. The system that builds on and expounds the dogmas of a Church, is but that Church's system, but the Theology which is throughout determined by the notion of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is a Christian Theology.

2 Constructive Ethics. Theology cannot remain a mere intellectual system, it must be applied to the regulation of life. It touches ethics both on the speculative and practical sides. On the one side it deals with the basis and idea of duty, on the other, with this as realized in and interpreted through an historical ideal. Theological are essentially transcendental ethics, their ultimate idea is an absolute yet personalized law—a concrete yet unconditional categorical imperative. But Christian ethics are the realization of the theological, as it were, the beneficent energies of God expressed, embodied, made real and efficient in an historical person. Christ's law of love is but the application to human conduct of the principle that determines the divine will. From the double bases thus supplied, Constructive Ethics have to build up an ideal of character, define, develop, and enforce the duties that bring the perfect life. The idea of man in the ethics but translates the idea of God in the theology, their aim is so to secure the godliness that is godlikeness, that the will reigning in heaven may be realized on earth.

3 Constructive Politics. As the highest constructive achievement of philosophy is an ideal republic, and the fondest dream of the philosopher the mode of its realization, so the final function of theology is to unfold its ethical contents into an ideal of society.

and the State, though as one that can be satisfied only by the comprehension and perfection of all mankind. Christ came to found a kingdom, and were his purpose fulfilled, the Church would disappear in the State, or the State in the Church—*i.e.*, His truth would so penetrate and change all peoples and societies that they should be through and through and in all things Christian. The law that governs the good man ought to govern the good State, the international laws of Christian peoples should be but the transcript of the law that binds a man to love his neighbour as himself. And Theology, undismayed by the failures of the past, should inspire the present and create the future by boldly bidding the imagination depict the ideal city of God that her sons may realize it.

IV

1 We are now in a position to discuss, though it must be most briefly, the right of Theology to be considered an academic discipline. It is indeed so vast a cycle of sciences, that unless it be academically, it can never be really or exhaustively studied. It requires so many teachers, specialists all—philosophers, philologists, historians, critics, archæologists, exegetes, constructive scholars and thinkers—that only a University could make a home spacious enough to hold them, and rich enough to supply the material they need. And its studies are educative—so much so, that the theological are the only sciences that, taken alone, could they be so taken, would give a really liberal education. They cultivate every faculty—philosophical, linguistic, historical, critical, literary, and, above all, those architectonic faculties that find among the ruin criticism has worked only the materials for a nobler and more stable structure. To pursue them a man must have the imagination that at once sees and realizes the past, the sympathy that keeps him so in love with men that he can, however divided by time and thought, understand them, and be just to their opinions, the insight that refuses to be blinded either by prejudice or partiality, the judicial sense that feels the sectary's passion as little as the cynic's disdain, the patience that grudges no labour and knows no fear in the search for truth, the openness of mind that can bear suspense and set judgment free till the case be fully heard and justly closed. And the sciences the theologian studies correspond to the faculties they exercise and cultivate. They are the sublimest and most far-reaching of the sciences, deal with the most universal, abiding, and sovereign elements in human nature, the mightiest forces in history, the grandest monuments of literature and art, the most wonderful social phenomena, the most silent yet most irresistible factors of political evolution and change. On the lowest ground, to deny these sciences an academic position would be to leave the cycle of knowledge incomplete, on a somewhat higher ground, it would be to

divorce studies whose union is necessary to the wholeness and harmony of a people's life. Man does not live by bread alone, in its strength he can never either be or do his best. The utilities are not the great forces of discovery, Nature hides her choicest secrets from the man who seeks them for greed or gain. Man is ruled by his ideals, he sees by the light of large and living ideas, and if he lives in an atmosphere where they cannot breathe, the best of himself will die in their death. To hold everything worthy of knowledge but the faith by which he has lived, is to hold the accidents of life better than its essence. Theology may not create religion, but religion cannot abide without Theology, if it be not dealt with as truth, it will not long be believed as true, just as to spare a Church out of reverence for its past, or out of pity for the feeble-minded, is but to doom it to a sterner death. But religion is too essential to man to be dismissed from the field of his inquiries, and while it stands there the sciences concerned with it ought to fill as large a place in the academic system as religion itself fills in the history and mind of man. The University that wants them is without the studies that, more than any others, are needed for the complete education of man and the complete interpretation of his universe.

Of course, to plead for Theology as an academic discipline does not mean that it be made either the universal or the only discipline. Theology to be a real study must be loved. While the heart alone can never make a theologian, the theologian can never be made without heart, and heart in and for his work. Few things, indeed, are harder than to be a pious divine. The truths men delight to meditate on only in moments of holy rapture are by him subjected to the hardening process of analysis. But all the more does he need to hold his soul pure by keeping it open to God, and his heart tender by keeping it open to man. If Theology be not loved, the discipline will not educate. Perfunctory and compulsory drill is more likely to be harmful than beneficial. Men will not love religion the better that they must, in order to a pass degree, be coached in its rudiments, scamped work never yet awoke love or quickened faith in the man who had to do it. The best security for religious education is the religious educator, without him rules for unready learners will be enforced in vain. Academic Theology is for the training of theologians, and ought to stand as a secondary and special after the primary and general studies, with a course at least equal in length to these. Physical science, confident of its own sufficiency, may claim to be able to dispense with the *Literæ Humaniores*, but, for my part, I feel that Theology is most honoured by making no such claim. It is too universal in its relations to be able to stand alone, it will disclose its best treasures only to those who come to it cultivated by the study of the humaner letters.

2 But this paper must not end without a word of another kind. It is a plea for an academic discipline in academic and educational interests, but not in these alone. The writer loves his science, honours it, and would have it honoured of all men, and he knows no way of honouring a science but by zealous and unwearied cultivation. But he also loves religion, wishes to see it clearly conceived, strenuously defended, truly taught, fully realized, and he pleads for a larger, deeper, wiser study of Theology as the noblest service now possible to religion. Our scepticism is mainly a thing of ignorance; its conceptions of religious truth and history hardly rise above those of an ill-taught schoolboy. One is amazed to find the absurd and puerile fancies that pass with the apostles of Agnosticism and Positivism for knowledge of Christianity. And there is ignorance abroad because there is defective knowledge at home. We need a generation of trained teachers, a great school of Theology would, by the creation of the simple yet potent agencies of new thought and new knowledge, introduce a religious epoch. The great theologian is the greatest of all human forces in religion, no sect owns him, for all sects feel his spirit and his power. The priest made by a sacred caste belongs to the caste that made him, but the great theologian, though sprung out of one Church, belongs to all the Churches, supplies them with truth, learning, literature. Peter may have done more for the organization of the Church than Paul, but Paul did more for its thought, and so has been mightier than Peter. Two men, indeed, rise out of the primitive Church as sources of imperishable quickening energies—Paul and John. The system Paul has developed in his great Epistles—his doctrines of love and grace, faith and works, righteousness and life, election and sovereignty, the first and the second Adam—formed the mind of Augustine, inspired the thought of Anselm, touched and quieted the conscience of Luther, subdued the intellect of Calvin, and have lived like a ubiquitous presence in the minds of the men who have intensely feared sin because they so greatly loved God. And the lofty speculations of John as to God and His word, as to light and life, love and truth, the Father and the Son, created theologians like Athanasius, mystics like Tauler and Boehme, enthusiasts like Francis of Assisi, and the great multitude who have loved quietude and fled from self to God. Men will never lose their interest in things religious, Nature herself is the guarantee that he who speaks most wisely concerning them will never speak in vain. The school that can train men so to speak will attain a sovereignty such as is unknown to the Cabinet of the most honoured statesman or the Council of the best loved queen.

A M FAIRBAIRN

## AN OLD COUPLE

'Un paradis perdu est toujours quand on vent un  
paradis reconquis —RENA  
Se nuova legge non ti toglie  
Memoria —*Purg* II

THEY lived in a simple cottage, very much like ordinary folk. Their children had left them—married, and settled at a distance, as children will, so, once more, they were all in all to each other. They had obtained permission to return to the garden in which they had spent their happy and innocent days. They found the gate swinging on its hinges, and the fiery cherub was not there. It consoled them to return to the old spot, though their conditions were so changed. The air around the rose bushes was as sweet as ever, and they soon grew accustomed to the prickles.

During their exile they had become acquainted with those arts that provide men with shelter against the heat and cold. Accordingly, Adam built a small hut of stones, and Eve plaited wool and fibres into coverings for herself and her husband. As the ages went on, and the population of the world increased, they no longer lived in solitude. The fact that the spring came full three weeks earlier to the valley where they had built their cottage than to any even of the more sheltered nooks among the hills, led men who were beginning to look on the earth with practical, business eyes to settle near them. The old gate, swinging on its hinges, presented no obstacle to the enterprising young colonist, and the inhabitants of the moss grown tenement smiled, and held sacred the secret that the new comers had intruded on the precincts of Paradise. From the settlers they learnt many facts concerning the advance of the world, the arts of navigation, commerce, government, and war. But they remained a recluse old couple. It was only very rarely that a neighbour looked in, and chatted with them, as one does chat with the aged, of those matters that will interest and delight them. Women pitied Eve, believing that she was childless, and

noticed with compassion her maternal manner to their little ones. To lovers she was somewhat austere, it was impossible to her to imagine courtship otherwhere than in the bowers of Paradise. She listened attentively when any spake to her of death, without violence or bloodshed she thought it must be tranquil as the deep sleep from which she woke when life was given to her. Tidings of war greatly affected her, but beyond all other things she was distressed at the sight of children quarrelling. She would part the little disputants, and, taking them on her knee, would tell them a story of two brothers who quarrelled till one of them grew so angry he slew the other in a field, and then went away from his parents very sorry, and could not come to live with them again for shame. But she did not speak, even to the little children, of God. Now and then she dropt a quiet tear on them, and their mothers would draw them away, saying they were sure now she must once have held in her arms a baby of her own.

In appearance Eve was exceedingly gracious and beautiful, full of reticence and dignity, people always spoke of her as a lady, and whispered to one another that she had come of good stock. To her husband she was full of a wistful courtesy, it seemed as if he had made some sacrifice in marrying her, and her devotion was mingled with gratitude. In Adam there was less that was peculiar than in his wife. He would stand often on his threshold in the evening and look out. He had forgotten that centuries had passed by, and was still yearning for the return of his firstborn—the wanderer. It was Eve who in the spring-tide turned to the meadow where the lambs were playing, and she always went alone. When she came back she would put her arms round her husband's neck and kiss him. He did not understand that she was come from a grave, but he was grateful for the kiss, and drew her away to look at the young sprouting blades of corn. He had become a husbandman, and was skilled in the tilling of the ground. Eve never looked happier than when he came home hot and hungry from working in the fields. She loved to set his meal, lay her head on his knee, and listen to his talk of the wonderful new ways of raising crops and planting vineyards. He was busy and contented, and there was no regret in his face. But their conversation did not always turn on commonplace matters. On winter evenings they often discussed ancient history, and showed a familiar acquaintance with the stories we now read in the early chapters of Genesis. Sometimes they would quarrel and grow sullen, or violently disagree. Then Adam's voice would be heard in reproach, or Eve's in contention, and Adam would walk out, and lean against the old swing-gate that seemed to be the natural boundary of his little domain. When Eve saw him leaning against the gate, and apparently forgetful of her, she would steal up



to him softly, and they would walk home together, a new light in their eyes. All age had passed from their faces, and there was majesty in their least caressing touch, for they had no suspicion of intruders, and thought only of each other. After these hours of reconciliation, they would speak of quite another time in their lives, when evidently there had been deep accord between them, then, and then only, was Eve heard to laugh,—a silvery, ringing laugh, full of unimaginable mirth, and Adam, drunk with the witchery, would grow eloquent and tender.

As the ages passed on, though somewhat old-fashioned, they learned to read and write, for they were of strong, vigorous faculty, and, as they attracted and retained the love of all who visited them, they had intercourse with friends in various parts of the world. One traveller—he was an American—kept them regularly supplied with newspapers, these Adam read diligently to his wife, and his keen brown eyes looked up at her from their pages, without spectacles, as lustrous and fervid as when he repeated to her his conversation with the archangel Raphael. He learnt all about the slave-trade, and the excitement of Livingstone's discoveries, stories of travel and exploration were peculiarly interesting to him, for he was haunted by the superstition that some day one of these wonderful discoverers would come across his lost boy. Cain, he felt sure, was still a wanderer, and an exile. He looked for tidings of him, when he heard of the discovery of a new world, and later on, in the nineteenth century, when no murderer—but he checked himself, and resumed, in his thoughts,—when no *lost person* could remain hidden, even though he were lying at the bottom of some deep Alpine cleft, there seemed really a fair expectation that some clue to the missing one would be found. He even began once a description of his boy, as he looked when he last saw him, with the intention of forwarding it to the *Times*, but his wife bade him reflect that, if their son were still living, his costume, his skin, and the manner of wearing his hair would be changed.

A little before the time at which I am writing a serious grief befell this worthy old couple, and I fear it will be long before they will recover from the effects of it. Though, as I have hinted, they to some extent kept pace with the world, and had probably heard of the French Revolution, the works and influence of the great thinkers were unknown to them. They could scarcely, indeed, be expected to feel interest in philosophy, holding as they did the simple clue to the mysteries of the universe. The literature of the Middle Ages they had always found excessively tedious, but they were well versed in modern poets and authors, and would sometimes remark of a favourite volume that it might have been written in their own garden. One day "The Earthly Paradise" was brought to them by an English traveller. They were sitting together under an almond

tree—one that they had planted in Eden, because it was the first fair creature that had greeted them in the wilderness, when they were driven from their home by the flaming sword. The tree stretched a bough of pink blossom, clear against the blue sky, above their heads, and they sat—the young Englishman noted, as he turned back to look at them, after bidding farewell—serene and without curiosity, the book unclosed upon their knee. This was before they had received the intelligence that so troubled them as quite to overcloud their lives. I cannot enter into the details of their religion, enough that they had always believed it a happy thing to be born, and had never regretted that they had peopled the world, even though they had brought sin and death into it by their one rash act of disobedience. For, though God had forced them and their offspring to labour and to suffer, He had never withdrawn from them the comfort and solace of love. It is doubtful indeed whether they would ever have learnt to care much for each other in Paradise, where there was neither peril nor discomfort. Adam once confessed to his wife that it was not until he saw tears in her bright eyes that he felt the longing to cherish her, replace the old covetous desire of her beauty. In like manner it was when Adam returned from his first day of distress and fatigue with the spade that Eve felt a wifely tenderness spring up towards him in her bosom, and from that hour it was her chief happiness to mend his clothes, prepare his food carefully, and make his seasons of rest from labour full of refreshment and delight. “In Eden,” she said, “there was nothing we could do for each other, and now we are quite dependent.”

It must not be imagined that these two old people never thought regretfully of the days when everything happened just as they had planned, they often grew gloomy and impatient, and when they found bad desires and selfish hopes creeping into their minds, their terror and astonishment were indescribable. But, as I have said, they never doubted that life was a blessing, that Providence was kind, and happiness within the reach of every human creature. I now come to the cause of the great misery that is at present disheartening and disturbing them. It has reached their ears that over wide tracts of Europe there are people, not suffering from war, famine, poverty, or pestilence, who yet bitterly bewail their lot, are inclined to think that the most satisfactory moments of their lives are those spent in sleep or in forgetfulness, and desire only to divert themselves, at whatever cost, till they die. When Adam heard of the strange lunacy that had thus befallen his offspring, he exclaimed, “Let these young people fall in love and marry.” “That they cannot do,” replied sadly the young European they were questioning, “they love no one but themselves. If they see a beautiful object or creature, they no longer desire to foster it, but

to destroy or to consume it" "They are afraid of God, it is as when we hid ourselves in the garden," Eve whispered to Adam "On the contrary," rejoined their guest, "they do not believe in any God, and they have no fear of punishment" "Yet surely sometimes they feel grateful, that, it seems to me, is one of the things that make up for having done wrong In my youth I lived a quite blameless life, afterwards, when I had fallen into grievous sin, those whom I had injured were kind to me It is the blessings one does not deserve that are so precious," added Eve, timidly, and hid her face, that was blushing like a girl's, behind her husband's shoulder "But these people, who believe everything is getting worse, consider that life gives them much less than their desert, even their poets, one of them especially, who was once full of marvellous hope, seem to think that, unless men can retain in their grasp for ever the delights and affections that they prize, it would have been far better never to have possessed them" "And do the poets say this?" cried Adam, in astonishment "Why, we two were in Paradise scarcely a twelvemonth, and yet——" Eve softly laid her hands on her husband's lips, and, turning to the stranger, continued "There is a little bit of Paradise still in every human life, and its duration is probably as long as that enjoyed by the first two dwellers upon earth We are old people, and our children are dead, I do not think I shall ever see my little ones again, by-and-by one of us will be left alone, but we shall remember till we die, perchance the unhappy people of whom you are speaking have never made any memories?" "Either they have been happy once, and lost the secret of living over again their happy days, or they care nothing at all about the past, and hold that every moment should contain its special little portion of felicity, as a dewdrop its spark of light" "If they have lost the secret of hoarding the hours," rejoined Eve, very gravely, "they may well wish they had never been born"

After this, nothing was said over ill-news old people brood, they do not get excited, or change colour, but they wake in the night and turn over all they have heard, and repeat it to one another for many days, like a piece they would get by heart I felt that this would happen, when I left them, as I did, abruptly, for I had divined their secret, and, though I am but a careless young fellow, I had no mind to witness the affliction of the worthy old couple, whom in some sort I regarded as my grand-parents I have never visited them again, and I shall tell no man the way to their cottage They will live in my memory as I left them—simple, majestic figures, their faces full of astonishment and pain I think of them frequently after a hard business day, or an evening spent in fashionable society And my one hope with regard to them is that I may live

to be old enough to see men desire the simplicity they have never lost. Can it be that, in obscurity as great as that which hides them from the eye of a busy world, the young and ardent are planning the conditions of a life that shall be as blessed in desire and fruition as that of the two young lovers, who, after the shedding of a few "natural tears" at the loss of their early illusions, accepted their lot, endured its hardships, shared its joys, and, redeemed by patience and hope from its degradation, find the ample years of age all too few to recount the consolations of memory?

MICHAEL FIELD

## THE PEOPLE'S PALACE.

**N**OW that the foundations of the Palace are fairly laid, and the walls of the Great Hall are rapidly rising, and the future existence of this institution for good or for evil seems assured, it may be permitted to one who has watched day by day, with the keenest interest, the result of Sir Edmund Currie's appeals, to offer a few remarks on the manner in which these appeals have been received, and on the mental attitude of the public towards the class whom it is desired to befriend.

I It is, to begin with, highly significant that the recreative side of the Palace has not been so strongly insisted upon as its educational side. Is this because the working man, for whom the Palace is building, has suddenly developed an extraordinary ardour for education, and a previously unexpected desire for the acquisition of knowledge in all its branches? Not at all. It is because the recreative part of the scheme has few attractions for the general public, and because the educational part, once it began to assume a practical shape, was seen to possess possibilities which could be grasped by every one. Whatever be the future of the Palace as regards the recreation of the people, one thing is quite clear—that its educational capacities are almost boundless, and that there will be founded here a University for the People of a kind hitherto unknown and undreamed of.

The recreation of the people, in fact, has proved a stumbling-block rather than an attraction. It is a new idea suddenly presented to people who have never considered the subject of recreation at all, save in connection with skittles, so to speak. Now it seems hardly necessary to erect a splendid palace for the better convenience of the skittle alley. The objections, in fact, to supporting the scheme on the ground of its recreative aims show a mixture of prejudice and ignorance which ought to astonish us were we not daily, in every business transaction and in every talk with friend or stranger, encoun-

tering, and very likely revealing, the most wonderful prejudice and ignorance. One should never be surprised at finding great black patches in every mind.

The black patch which concerns us, in the minds of those who have been asked to support the People's Palace, is the subject of recreation.

"There are enough music-halls. What have the working classes to do with recreation? If we give anything for the people it will be for their improvement, not for their amusement." To these three objections all the rest may be reduced. Each objection points to a prejudice of very ancient standing, or else to a deep-seated ignorance of the whole subject.

To deal with the first. It is assumed that recreation means amusement, idle and purposeless, if not skittles with beer and tobacco, then the music-hall with beer and tobacco, the comic man bawling a topical song and executing the famous clog dance. If one points out that it is not amusement that is meant, but recreation, which is explained to mean a very different thing, while a truer conception of what recreation really means may be seized, then there remains a rooted disbelief as to the power of the working man to rise above his beer and skittles. It is a disbelief not at all based upon familiarity with the manners and customs of the working man, because the ordinary well-to-do citizen, however much he may have read of manners and customs in other countries, is, as a rule, perfectly ignorant and perfectly incurious as to those of his fellow-countrymen, nor is it based upon the belief that the working man is imperfect in mind or body, but on an assurance that the working man will never lift himself to the level of the higher form of recreation, simply because the ordinary man knows himself and his own practice. He desires to be amused, and according to his manner of life he finds amusement in tobacco, reading, cards, music, or the theatre.

Consider the well-to-do man in pursuit of recreation. He has a club, he goes to his club every day, perhaps he gets whist there, very likely he belongs to one of the modern sepulchral places where the members do not know each other and every man glares at his neighbour. There is a billiard-table in all clubs as well as a card-room. Apart from cards and billiards the clubs recognize no form of recreation whatever. There are not in any club that I know, except the *Savage*, musical instruments. If you were to propose to have a piano, and to sing at it, I suppose the universal astonishment would be too great for words. At the Arts, I believe, some of the members sometimes hang up pictures of their own for exhibition and criticism, but at no other club is there any recognition of Art. There are libraries at two or three clubs, but most have none. In fact, the clubs which belong to gentlemen are organized as if there was no other occupation possible.

for civilized people in polite society, except dining, smoking, reading papers, or playing whist and billiards. The working men who have recently established clubs of their own in imitation of the West-end clubs are said to be finding them so dull that, where they cannot turn them into political organizations, they have tolerated the introduction of gambling. When clubs were first established gambling was everywhere the favourite recreation, so that the working men are only beginning where their predecessors began sixty years ago.

Of all the arts the average man, be he gentleman or mechanic, knows none. He has never learned to play any instrument at all, he cannot use his voice in taking a part, he cannot paint, draw, carve in wood or ivory, use a lathe, or make anything that the wide world wants to use. He cannot write poetry, or drama, or fiction, he is no orator, he plays no games of cards except whist, and no other games at all of any kind. What can he do? He can practise the trade he has learned, by which he makes his money. He knows how to convey property, how to buy and sell stock and shares, how to carry on business in the City. This, if you please, is all he knows. And when you propose that the working man shall have an opportunity of learning and practising Art in any of its multitudinous varieties, he laughs derisively, because, which is a very natural and sensible thing to do, he puts himself in that man's place, and he knows that he would not be tempted to undergo the drudgery and the drill of learning one of the Arts, even did that Art appear to him in the form of a nymph more lovely than Helen of Troy.

The second objection belongs to the old order of prejudice. It used to be assumed that there were two distinct orders of human beings, it was the privilege of the higher order to be maintained by the labour of the lower, for the higher order was reserved all the graces, refinements, and joys of this fleeting life. The lower order were privileged to work for their betters, and to have, in the brief intervals between work and sleep, their own coarse enjoyments, which were not the same as those of the upper class, they were ordained by Providence to be different, not only in degree, but also in kind. The privileges of the former class have received of late years many grievous knocks. They have had to admit into their body, as capable of the higher social pleasures and of polite culture, an enormous accession of people who actually work for their own bread—even people in trade—and it is also beginning to be perceived that their amusements—even, which seems the last straw, their vices—can actually be enjoyed by the base mechanical sort, insomuch that, if this kind of thing goes on, there must in the end follow an effacement of all classes, and the peer will walk arm and arm with the blacksmith. But class distinctions die hard, and the working men are not yet all ready for the disciplined recreation which will help to break down the barriers, and we may not look for this millennium within the life-

time of living men It is enough to note that the old feeling still lingers even among those who, a hundred years ago, when class distinctions were in their worst and most odious form, would have been ranked among those incapable of refinement and ignorant of polite manners

The third objection, that the people should only be helped in the way of education and self-improvement, is, at first sight, worthy of respect But it involves the theory that it is the duty of the working man when he has done his day's work to devote his evenings to more work of a harder kind There is a kind of hypocrisy in this feeling Why should the working man be fired with that ardour for knowledge which is not expected of ourselves? I look round among my own acquaintances and friends, and I declare that I do not know a single household, except where the head of it is a literary man, and therefore obliged to be always studying and learning, in which the members spend their evenings after the day's work in the acquisition of new branches of learning One may go farther even of those who belong to the learned professions, few indeed there are who carry on their studies beyond the point where their knowledge has a marketable value The doctor learns his craft as thoroughly as he can, and, after he has passed, reads no more than is just necessary to keep his eyes open to new lights, the solicitor knows enough law to carry on his business, and reads no more As for the schoolmaster—who ever heard of a classical master reading any more Latin and Greek than he reads with the boys? and who ever heard of a mathematical master keeping up his knowledge of the higher branches, which put him among the wranglers of his year, but are not wanted in the school? Even the lads who have just begun to go into the City, and who know very well that their value would be enormously increased by a practical and real knowledge of French, German, or shorthand, will not take the trouble to acquire it Yet, with the knowledge of all this, we expect the working man in his hours of leisure, and after a day physically exhausting, to sit down and work at something intellectual There are, without doubt, some men so strong and so avid of knowledge that they will do this, but these are not many, and they do not long remain working men

The People's Palace offers recreation to all who wish to fit themselves for its practice and enjoyment But it is recreation of a kind which demands skill, patience, discipline, drill, and obedience to law Those who master any one of the Arts, the practice of which constitutes true recreation, have left once and for ever the ranks of disorder they belong, by virtue of their aptitude and their education—say, by virtue of their Election—to the army of Law and Order They will not, we may be sure, be recruited from those whom long years of labour and want of cultivation have rendered stiff of finger, slow of ear and of



eye, impenetrable of brain We must get them from the boys and girls We must be content if the elders learn to take delight in the hand work which they cannot execute, the decorative work which they can never hope wholly to understand, the music and singing in which they themselves will never take a part

But they will by no means be left out They will have the library, the writing and reading rooms, the conversation and smoking rooms, with those games of skill which are loved by all men There will be entertainments, concerts, and performances for them And for those who desire to learn, there will be classes, lectures, and lecturers At the same time, I do not, I confess, anticipate a rush of young working men to share in these joys and privileges This part of the Palace will grow and develop by degrees, because it is through the boys and girls that the real work and usefulness of the Palace will be effected, and not by means of the men Of course, there will be from the outset a small proportion capable of rightly using the place For all these reasons, it seems as if we may be very well contented that the recreation part of the scheme has been for the moment kept in the background

## II Let us turn to the educational side of the scheme

When a lad has passed the standards—very likely a bright, clever little chap, who has passed the sixth and even the seventh standard with credit—it becomes necessary for him immediately to earn the greater part of his own living It is not in the power of his father, who lives from week to week, or even from day to day, to apprentice his boys and put them to a trade They must earn their living at once What are they to do?

At the very age when these boys have reached the point when the intellect, already partly trained, and the hand, not yet trained at all, should begin to work together, they are faced by the terrible fact—how terrible to them they little know—that they can be taught no trade They must go out into the world with a pair of unskilled hands, and nothing more Consider A country lad learns every day something new, he learns continually by daily practice how to use his hands and his strength, by the time he is eighteen he has become a very highly skilled agriculturist, he knows and can do a great many most useful and necessary things But the town lad, if he learns no trade, learns nothing He will never have any chance in life, he can never have any chance, he is foredoomed to misery, he will all his life be a servant of the lowest kind, he will never have the least independence, he will, in all probability, be one of those who wait day by day for the chance gifts of Luck At the best, he can but get into the railway service, or into some house of business where they want porters and carriers.

There is, however, a great demand for boys, who can earn five shillings a week as shop boys, errand boys, and so forth Our clever

lad, therefore, who has done so well at school, becomes a fruiterer's lad, cleans out the shop, carries round the baskets, and is generally useful, he gets a rise in a year or two, to seven shillings and sixpence, presently he is dismissed to make room for a younger boy who will take five shillings. Shall we follow the lad farther? If he gets, as we hope he may, steady employment, we see him next, at the age of fifteen, marching about the streets in the evening with a girl of the same age to whom he makes love, and smoking "fags," or cigarettes. There are thousands of such pairs to be seen everywhere, in Victoria Park on Sundays, or Hampstead Heath on Saturday evenings, every evening in the great thoroughfares—in Oxford Street as much as in Whitechapel, in the music-halls and in the public-houses. You may see them sitting together on doorsteps as well as promenading the pavement. If there is any way of spending the evenings more destructive of every good gift and useful quality of manhood and womanhood than this, I know not what it is. The idleness and uselessness of it, the precocious abuse of tobacco, the premature and forced development of the emotions which should belong to love at a later period, the loss of such intellectual attainments as had already been acquired, the vacuous mind, the contentment to remain in the lower depths—in a word, the waste and wanton ruin of a life involved in such a youth, make the contemplation of this pair the most melancholy sight in the world. The boy's early cleverness is gone, the brightness has left his eyes, he reads no more, he has forgotten all he ever learned, he thinks only now of keeping his berth, if he has one, or of getting another if he has lost his last. But there is worse to follow, for at eighteen he will marry the little slip of a girl, and by the time she is five-and-twenty, there will be half a dozen children born in poverty and privation for a similar life of poverty and privation, and the hapless parents will have endured all that there is to be endured from the evils of hunger, cold, starving children, and want of work.

This couple were thrown together because they were left to themselves and uncared for, they marry because they have nothing else to think about, they remain in misery because the husband knows no trade, and because, of mere hands unskilled and ignorant, there are already more than enough.

The Palace is going to take that boy out of the streets. It is going to remove both from boy and girl the temptation—that of the idle hand—to go away and get married. It will fill that lad's mind with thoughts and makes those hands deft and crafty.

In other words, the Palace will open a great technical school for all the trades as well as for all the arts. It is reckoned that three years' training in the evenings will give a boy a trade. Once master of a trade his future is assured, because somewhere in the world there is always a want of tradesmen of every kind. There may be

too many shoemakers in London while they are wanted in Queensland, cabinet-makers and carpenters may be overcrowded here, but there are all the English speaking countries in the world to choose from.

There can be no doubt that the schools will be crowded. The success of the schools at the old Polytechnic (where there are 8,000 boys), of the Whittington Club, of the Finsbury Technical Schools, leave no doubt possible that the East End Palace Schools will be crammed with eager learners. The Palace is in the very heart and centre of East London, with its two millions, mostly working-men, trams, trains, and omnibuses make it accessible from every part of this vast city—from Bromley, Bow and Stratford, from Poplar, Stepney and Ratchiff, from Bethnal Green and Spitalfields. Yet but two or three years more and there will be 20,000 boys and more flocking to those gates which shut out the Earthly Hell of ignorance, dependence, and poverty, and open the doors to the Earthly Paradise of skilled hands and drilled eye, and plenty and the dignity of manhood. Why, if it were only to stop these early marriages—if only for the sake of the poor child-mother and the unborn children doomed, if they see the light, to life-long misery, one would shower upon the Palace all the money that is asked to complete it. Think—with every stone that is laid in its place, with every hour of work that each mason bestows upon its walls, there is another couple rescued, one more lad made into a man, one more girl suffered to grow into a woman before she becomes a mother, one more humble household furnished with the means of a livelihood, one more unborn family rescued from the curse of hopeless poverty.

The remaining portions of the scheme, with its provision for women as well as men, its entertainments, its University extension lectures, reading-rooms, and schools of art in all its branches, can only be fully realized when the first generation of these boys has passed through the technical schools, and they have learned to look upon the Palace as their own, to consider its halls and cloisters the most delightful place in the world. And what the Palace may then become, what a perennial fountain it may prove of all that makes for the purification and elevation of life, one would fain endeavour to depict, but may not, for fear of the charge of extravagance.

III There is one other point which those who have read the correspondence and comments upon the proposed institution in the papers have noted with amusement rather than with astonishment. It is a point which "comes out" in everything that has been written on the scheme, except by the actual founders. It is the profound distrust with which the more wealthy classes regard the working men—not the poor, so-called, but the working men. They do not seem even to have begun trusting them. They speak and think of them as if they were children in leading-strings, as if they were

certain to accept with gratitude whatever gifts may be bestowed upon them, even when they are safeguarded and carefully regulated as for mischievous boys, as if the working men were constantly looking for guidance to the class which has the money. It is true that the working men are always looking for guidance, just like the rest of us. "Lord, send a leader!" It is the cry of all mankind in all ages. But that the working men regard the people who live in villas, and are genteel, as possessing more wisdom than themselves is by no means certain.

This feeling was, of course, most deeply marked when the great Drink Question arose, as it was bound to arise. We have heard how meetings were called, and resolutions passed by worthy people against the admission of intoxicating drinks into the Palace. At one of the meetings they had the audacity to pass a resolution that "East London will never be satisfied until intoxicating drink of any kind is prohibited in the Palace." East London! with its thousands of public-houses! Dear me! Then, if East London passed such a resolution, its hypocrisy surpasses the hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees. If, however, a little knot of people choose to call themselves East London, or Babylon, or Rome, and to pass resolutions in the name of those cities, we can accept their resolutions for what they are worth. Whether the working man will adopt them and put them into practice is another matter altogether.

Let us remember, and constantly bear in mind, that the Palace is to be *governed by the people for themselves*. If it is not, better for East London that it had never been erected. Whatever we do or resolve is, in fact, subject to the will of the governing body. As for passing a resolution on drink for the Palace, we might just as well resolve that drink shall not be sold to the members of the House of Commons, and expect them instantly to close their cellars. If the governing body wish to have drink in the Palace they will have it, whether we like it or not. But it shows the profound distrust of the people that these restrictions should be attempted and these resolutions passed. For my own part, considering the needlessness of drink in such a place, the abundant facilities provided outside, and the enormous additional trouble, danger, and expense entailed by letting drink be sold in a place where there will be every evening thousands of young people, I am quite sure that the governing body—that is to say, the chosen representatives of East London—will never admit it within their walls.

We do not trust the working man. We have given over to him the whole of the power. All the power there is we have given to him, because he stands in an enormous majority. We have made him absolute master of this realm of Great Britain and Ireland. What could we do more for a man whom we blindly and implicitly trusted? Yet the working man, for whom we have done so much, we have not yet begun to trust.

WALTER BESANT

## KERRY A PLEA FOR HOME RULE

EARLY this winter I was a whole month in Kerry, not interviewing only, but living with people of all sorts. May I venture to state, as the net result of my observations, my belief that moonlighting is partly a survival of the old secret societies, that for the most part the Kerry peasants really cannot pay their rents, that in Kerry the League has always been weak and ill-organized, and that this accounts for the cruel way in which boycotting has there, more than elsewhere, been used for private ends? I found, moreover, (though I had been assured of the contrary) that in Kerry the vast majority, including nearly all the intellect that is not by fancied self interest drawn the other way, goes in strongly for Home Rule. I satisfied myself, too, that in no part of the county have the tenants been "spending all their money on meat and drink and dress," that Communist ideas are unknown among them, and that their reverence for the Catholic Church is unabated. I noticed the widespread disappointment that through legal technicalities the Land Acts have often failed to give protection to those who most needed and deserved it. I saw that where a landlord treats his tenants as human beings he seldom fails to keep in touch with them, and I marked the old grievance, that, instead of having to deal with a sympathetic chief, the peasant too often finds himself at grips with the sharpest of chicaning lawyers, and that this is a sadly demoralizing experience\*. I saw, too, what I had, years ago, seen in Donegal, men, who had improved a barren mountain-side, carrying up earth on their backs, bringing sea-sand and ore-weed a day's journey because no lime was to be had, turned out because, owing to this unexampled

\* "Sure, I'll get twelve months out of it for nothing," replied one who was remonstrated with for offering an impossible rent for the farm of a neighbour who had emigrated. One would like to know what value would be put on such a knave's "interest in his holding."

drop in prices, they had got behind in their rents I heard their not unnatural murmurs and the equally natural complaints of the landlords, who, themselves sore pressed, often cannot, if they would, abate their claims unless helped by some sort of *tabulæ novæ* \*

Now, a good deal of this is so true of Ireland in general that I sometimes asked myself "Have I found anything exceptional in Kerry, anything that may help to explain what so mortified us last summer?" For Kerry then did mortify us a good deal, and no wonder, she was working hard to discredit the Irish cause. The rest of Ireland was perfectly quiet till Lord Randolph's chivalry began to charge in Belfast. Even the American irreconcilables had at last come to feel that violence was not only a crime, but the very worst of blunders. Common sense said "Do nothing that can check England's growing sympathy." The League and its organs kept urging Irishmen, as they loved their country, to give no possible occasion of reproach, to remember how the English Press always takes a part for the whole, and attributes to the nation at large some purely local misconduct. "Be quiet" was the *mot d'ordre*, but Kerry would not obey. News came of outrage after outrage, making the friends of Ireland silent for very shame, and giving edge to such taunts as that of the *St Stephen's Review* "The Irish race is hopelessly bad. They have not, never have had, and never will have, the essential attributes of a civilized human being." It was unaccountable, too, as well as mortifying. When last there had been (all Ireland over) an aggravated outbreak of crime, all the foremost men of the Irish party were in gaol. Had they been free (we were assured) the agitation would have been kept within lawful bounds. Now the chiefs were all at their posts in and out of Parliament. Every one was full of hope, and that hope was felt to depend largely on order being maintained.

Nor did the outrages cease when the elections, on which they told so fatally, were over. They were even brought into greater prominence by an alarming flight of newspaper correspondents. Interviewing became in Kerry an actual nuisance. A priest, in other respects most courteously communicative, began at once "Delighted to see you, but one stipulation *in limine*—no politics! I don't know whether you mean to write anything, but we've had

\* I had never realized so fully how the position of the small Irish landlord resembles that of the old Roman freeholder. He is broken down with mortgages as the other was with interest, and often without fault of his own. On this point Mr S. Hussey, the most prominent agent in Kerry, himself a landlord, writes to me "Moderate counsels on both sides would doubtless prevail if Government would reduce their charges on estates, and if mortgagees would consent to take, while the crisis lasts, the same interest they would get in the funds." This is worth considering. No sane man can wish to get rid of a whole class, landlordism, not landlords, is what the League is striking at. "It is you," said a non-Nationalist priest, "who are driving out the landlords—you who gave thirty millions to West Indian slave owners, and can't spare one poor million for them."

such a succession of these gentlemen And of one of them (Mr Verschoyle of the *Fortnightly*) Father O'Leary, of Ballymacelligott, says he must have clean forgotten their conversation, so contrary to fact is the version given in his article So I'm obliged to bar politics altogether "

To us at home all this contradictory evidence about things so far off became painfully puzzling We forgot that correspondents are but human creatures, that a man's notion of the situation depends on his point of view—*i.e.*, on those to whom he is consigned, or into whose hands he falls, that these writers travelled rapidly through a country of which till then several of them knew absolutely nothing, and that some at least were sent out to support a foregone conclusion In the multitude of counsellors (for every one of them had his *nostium*) there certainly was not wisdom, and, as there must be something exceptional in Kerry—for was not Government taking the very exceptional step of sending out Sir R. Buller?—many of us longed to know what this something was

I was going northward, hoping to get personal assurance of what my Protestant Home Rule friends constantly assert, that, despite all the bluster and bloodshed, Protestant Ulster will "come in," and, taking the right hand of fellowship so frankly offered, will herself become the right hand of a Home Rule administration "Go to Kerry," said my friends, "and try to find out the truth" I did not relish the task, I knew how hard it would be Nevertheless, I flung aside the false modesty of shirking what so many had failed in, and went, not for the first time, to the old county palatine, determining to be thorough and thoroughly fair, not to find what I brought, but what was actually there

I knew there would be at least two sides to the question—good landlords and scampish tenants and agents honestly striving to make the best of a hopelessly bad system, as well as harsh landlords and oppressed tenants and wicked agents tyrannizing over both I knew that in the bad old times (which in parts of Kerry lasted on till 1870) plenty of tenants did not dare to whitewash their cottages lest such a sign of prosperity should bring a rise of rent I knew that Orange magistrates would sometimes have shots fired through their own shutters in order to get their districts "proclaimed", just as I was now told that Kerry emergency men occasionally hack in pieces their own cattle, and "find" (as one of them expressed it) "the Presentment Sessions a better market than any fair in the county" "

\* See some striking remarks at the Tralee Sessions by Mr D C Coltsman, senr, J P of Killarney "One of the oldest solicitors in the county assures me, and my own ample experience agrees with his, that many of these 'malicious injury' cases are *trumped up*, and that many men who meet with disaster think they've only to put everything on the county or barony in order to get paid for it Most searching inquiry

I knew, on the other hand, that too often a well-meaning landlord, failing only in tact, had been thwarted—a dead set made against him, in which those joined who really loved him, and hated what they were compelled to do. I had known men thus discouraged till they sank into apathy or left the country. In fact, much reading and thought and personal acquaintance with Ireland, gave me a sort of right to go and try to form a true judgment about Kerry.

A stranger on such a mission is handicapped by having so much to learn all at once. For one thing, he must guard against being too much moved by externals, such as the hopeless-looking dreariness of the bogland, so much drearier than Lord Beaconsfield's "melancholy ocean." Nor must he forget that the Irish peasant often appears poorer than he is, that (owing to the same cause which lessened the use of whitewash, and which it will take years of Home Rule—to eradicate) a man for whose whole suit a Houndsditch Jew would not give 1s 6d may be able to "fortune his daughter with a hundred, or maybe a brace of hundreds." He must bear in mind that squalor in an Irish hovel does not necessarily imply that total destitution with which in England we are accustomed to associate it. Even in Cornwall and North Devon, moorstone cottages look very "dejected" unless they are lime-washed, and in many parts of Kerry, lime (having to be fetched a score or more of Irish miles) is far too precious to be spent on decoration.

Well, talking much with priests, Protestant clergymen, landlords, agents, Government officials, doctors, tradesmen, tenant farmers, letting every man say his say, not adopting the interviewer's delusive plan of putting leading questions, I got together quite a chaos of conflicting statements, out of which I am certainly not vain enough to think I have succeeded in building a continuous foundation of solid truth. But I do claim to have cleared away a few delusions, and to have convinced myself at least of two or three facts.

One delusion is, that the National League keeps up the reign of terror, and that therefore to suppress it is the first step towards restoring order (see the Tory press, *passim*). On the contrary, I found even non-leaguers in Kerry testifying that the League has worked hard to keep its outlying branches in order. At Tralee, Archdeacon Orpen told me of the attempt to boycott the sports, because landlords as well as others took part in them. "The Harringtons," he remarked, "behaved very well" \* (Mr T Harrington, M P, is League Secretary). "They at once came forward and said 'These sports must not be meddled with, or the Tralee branch will be dissolved.'" Lately, again, some very foolish Leaguers at Glin boycotted the White Star

as needed into these claims on account of malicious injury' (*Cork Examiner*, Nov 17)  
This is very important, followed as it was by a withdrawal of claims by Mr S Hussey and others



steamers because they are built at Belfast This was made a great deal of in the English papers, but none of them, I fear, had the candour to publish the stern rebuke sent by Mr T Harrington to Father Malone, president of the Glin branch "Rescind that ridiculous and harmful resolution, or I will dissolve you at once"

"Ah! but the League works by boycotting, and that is the unpardonable sin" No doubt it does when driven to do so Rightly or wrongly, it laid down the rule "No one may take a farm the evicted tenant of which was really unable to pay" It said in fact "Pay your rent if you can, if you cannot, we will try to prevent the land, *in which the Act of 1870 recognizes your part ownership*, from passing into other hands" Thus boycotting is the defence against land-grabbing, a practice which completely destroys the hope of any effectual land settlement If the evicting landlord could always get a fresh tenant on his own terms, Land Commissioners might proclaim till doomsday that the rents fixed in the good times had now become monstrously impossible And how inveterate this practice was in Kerry, an Englishman can form no conception On the rich lands round Lixnaw, for instance, I was assured that a farmer would pay any fine (of course out of borrowed money) and offer any rent, in order to edge out another, and so save his son from going to America Landlords and agents must have been more than human to always stand against such temptation A landlord got a letter from one of his tenants, saying that a fellow-tenant was "weak," and offering £400 down to be let into his farm as soon as he should be broke The landlord replied, the man had been long on the land, and he would try to help him through, and before long, he heard of that very writer denouncing at a League meeting the tyranny of landlords and the iniquity of land-grabbing "I've often," he said, "been tempted to publish his letter, only he'd be shot if I did" This shows what land-grabbing was in Kerry, and this explains why the hatred of men on strike against "knobsticks" is nothing to what an Irish farmer feels when he is ousted by a neighbour The knobstick takes away the striker's hope of bringing his employer to terms, but the land-grabber enables the landlord to drive with his tenant a harder bargain than before, or else to put him out of land of which perhaps his father's and grandfather's labour has paid the fee-simple ten times over\* Right or wrong, the attitude of the League to the land-grabber is that which, in the old days of regrating, the English public would have assumed towards one who, while the whole community was trying to bring down the

\* How different are the conditions of farming in the two countries can only be understood after seeing for one's self In England the farmer has his "plant" (a farm in good working order) found for him, and simply has to keep that up to the mark In the vast majority of cases in Ireland he *makes his own* "plant," and therefore feels himself part owner of what is his own creation Hence the righteousness of Mr Gladstone's Acts

price of corn, went and purchased at the rate which by universal consent had been ruled to be excessive "The landlord has the monopoly of a necessary of life His price is too high, we can't give it, and, if we hold together, he'll be obliged to yield But if, whenever he has come down on one of us, there is always a traitor ready to take the sufferer's place, we can't help being beaten" That, I think, does not misrepresent the aspect of boycotting as seen with Land Leaguers' eyes, and, I take it, even the moonlighters' action, so long as they kept within the law and confined themselves to frightening would-be land-grabbers, was along the lines of, and not unacceptable to, though never in concert with, the League Tolerated as a sort of half-ally, the moonlighter quickly began to work on his own account, and the fact that sham moonlighters were soon in the field—mere burglars and highwaymen, scamps of all sorts—proves that even in Kerry, the land of survivals, a secret society was becoming an anachronism

Boycotting, then, has no necessary connection with moonlighting, it is the refusal to have anything to do with him who, in a life-and-death struggle, makes a gap for the enemy They claim New Testament warrant for it "With such an one, no not even to eat" To those who take the purely commercial view of land-renting the whole thing seems as monstrous as if one should say "You snu'n't rent a bankrupt's shop If he was not a fraudulent bankrupt, it must lie empty" But in the Irish peasant's view land renting has never been a purely commercial transaction, and since 1870 the law has supported him in his view Well, in almost every case of eviction the landlord is setting at nought the peasant's claim to part ownership Of old he did it defiantly, as when thousands of famine-stricken families were "cleared out" under circumstances which "called out the deepest abhorrence in the House of Commons" (Spencer Walpole, "History of England," vol iv p 350) Now, when General Buller will allow him, he does it by subtlety, often able, thanks to clever legal advice, to take advantage of something in the Act\* But, even without such extra sharp practice, the evicted tenant is badly off enough No doubt he has his "interest," but who is to buy it? The landlord puts it up at a sale where there are no bidders, and buys it in for a few shillings† It is a frightful deadlock You must have seen men who have been "out" three and four years, looking on as the Land Corporation cattle graze on

\* This was written last December, alas! things are changed now "Since General Buller went to Dublin," writes an eye witness, sending me an account of the Glenbeigh clearance, "the dogs are let loose upon us" Those marvellous cross examinations showed why such clearances were not sooner made

† Would it not stop evictions if, instead of having power to sell the tenant's interest, the landlord was compelled to take it at a Government valuation, recouping himself from the next tenant, and after deducting his arrears, to pay over the residue to the outgoing?

pastures which they feel partly belong to them, you must have talked with them, and heard their story and marked their privations pictured in their own and their children's faces, to realize how frightful "Could they pay?" Look at them, and you'll not ask that question. What is the remedy, seeing that at present prices even judicial rents have become impossible? A Commission of practical men, in whom both parties will have confidence (including, therefore, the best Nationalist lawyers)? But this is a work of time, and as mortgagees can't wait, the League's proposal of a 25 p c reduction would suit most landlords much better, unless Government will step in and help the landlords with a loan. As Archbishop Walsh explained it, it is one of the two partners revaluing the joint property because the other refuses to do so\*. At any rate, it is more logical than Sir M. Hicks Beach's haphazard way of "putting pressure within the limits of the law on such landlords as have not granted concessions." For you cannot equalize your pressure. Some landlords will yield, others (and those the worst) will resist, and force you against your will to help them in exacting their pound of flesh, even though (happily) henceforth the police will not be allowed to act as sheriffs' men, marking and pointing out the houses where notices are to be served, but will have to be "strictly neutral"†.

I met all kinds of landlords. The well meaning, easy-going man, who has "let things slide," and whose aim on Grand Jury and Board of Guardians has been "how not to do it," who has allowed his harbour to become useless for want of a little dredging, and who resists the drainage of his town because it will cost money, such men are at last thoroughly roused, but they don't seem to have an idea what to do. They stay at home and content themselves with grand phrases. "It's a complete social revolution, sir," said one of them to me, "nothing less. And the only difference between it and 1793 is, that I don't suppose they'll cut

\* Trades unions made trade strikes peaceable, the League tried to do the same for the strike of tenants—a strike, remember, which the Commissioners admitted was justified by the enormous fall in prices, and in which all the best of the masters have come round to the men's terms, for that is what the reductions of Lords Lansdowne and Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Devonshire mean. If the Duke feels 25 per cent allowance is needed on some of the best land in Ireland, and that on the back of many previous reductions what must be needed on a Kerry mountain estate of which the rents have always been kept screwed up to breaking point? "Why don't they pay their rents or go?" asks for the thousandth time the English reader with the financiers' organ in his hand. Yes, but they can't pay. Land Commissioner Mahony speaks as strongly as man can on that point, and as for going, why did we pass the Land Acts but because we felt that in such a case it is cruelly unfair to make them go? I saw a farm close to the Killarney Black Valley—well known to tourists—every field fenced with its own stones of which, too, each had a huge pile in its centre. An hour before my visit the man had been evicted. "We've had it," he said, "for three generations, and when my grandfather came, it was all like that," pointing to a patch of rushes and boulders. Had not this man "an interest in his holding?" Ought he to be ruined because young stock (his specialty) is down to a third its price?

† This again has been wholly changed since Chief Baron Palles insisted that every official, high or low, should carry out the strict letter of the law, thereby unconsciously doing his utmost to make the repeal of such a scandalous law inevitable.

our heads off" "Revolution or not," I replied, "why don't you, as Mr Butt long ago besought you to do, put yourselves at the head of it? Why did not the O'Connell of Derrynane do so instead of sickening people by first posing as a Home Ruler and then as a so-called Unionist, and then wanting to start as a Home Ruler again? You are all of you dreadfully sore because a lot of skalawags (as you politely call them) have got hold of the reins. But isn't it partly your own fault? A landlord who should even now throw in his lot with the people would soon be king of Kerry." There are the good working landlords. I met one who has always acted on his father's plan of never raising rents, and to whom his tenants appeal as to a father.\* A friend of his remarked sadly "It's beautiful, and I don't like to say a word against it, but it's not the system under which people grow up with plenty of backbone." Then there is the effusively polite gentleman, who nevertheless has not only the hard bite, but the ferret-like keenness of the typical attorney. Such an one assured me, in the suavest tones, that the League M P's are a set of swindlers, keeping up the agitation for the sake of their £300 a year, and answerable for all the tenants' unreasonableness. When I mentioned Mr Gladstone he forgot himself. His previous manner had certainly not prepared me for the concentrated fury with which he cried "Please, don't mention that man. I look on him as one who would betray his Maker for the sake of office." And yet he was obliged to confess "From all I can see, the Tories are going to treat us shamefully. You hear what I think of Mr Gladstone, yet I'd almost wish his set in again. Last spring the sheriff could make a seizure, but now, thanks to this General, that's come to be almost impossible. The only thing for us is to sell as fast as we can and as high as we can, and clear out of the accursed country altogether."

Then there is the man whose grievances have driven him almost frantic, and who therefore does not even try to cloak that outrageous caste-pride which is to a great extent the cause of moonlighting. Not wholly moonlighting, like most other phenomena, depends on several causes. There was the old secret society machinery. There was the raw material, too. Rents in all Kerry, save in a few rich patches, were never paid out of the land, but either with money from America, or with the wages of boys and girls out at service. Since the depression began, the richer farmers had been shortening lands, and so Kerry had got full of headstrong idle lads, easily led away by re-

\* Such appeals must sometimes be embarrassing. A man from another county was told off to shoot the most unpopular agent in Kerry, and was directed to stay with, let us call him, Mike Sugrue. By some blunder he went to Tim Sugrue instead. Tim's landlord was one of the very few who are in touch with their people, so, as soon as Tim had learnt the stranger's business, he went straight to the big house and asked advice. "Tell him he's known," said the wise J P. "The thing is safe with me, but let him be sure that if ever he shows himself in the barony he'll be laid by the heels *instantly*." The would-be murderer went off, and the agent's life has never been attempted since.

turned Americans, old "Phoenix" men, and such like. It was an immense temptation. There were no sports—the very useful "Gaelic athletic clubs" had not got down so far—nothing but the dancing. Young folks had grown ashamed of the old fireside legends, and yet did not care for reading. There was the charm of a quasi-military organization, and the greater because forbidden charm of something secret. Besides, every Irish youth at any rate thinks he can help to set the world right. The spirit of the knight-errant, "who rides about redressing human wrong," is strong in him, and land grabbing was, from a Kerry lad's point of view, a clear case of wrong. "We'll give them a hint," thought many a young enthusiast, "about standing shoulder to shoulder, instead of going behind one another's backs." "Ah, but what would we have done without our night boys?" said a Kerry cottier's daughter to a lady who was visiting her in a Dublin hospital. She meant that but for them the cottiers would have been like a flock of sheep, out of which the butcher unresisted singles what he wants. This general sympathy with the moonlighters (until the whole thing turned to mere brigandage) is due to the fact (which I assume not from the talk of tenants, but from the deliberate opinion of Land Commissioners, local and in Dublin) that almost all Kerry is immensely over-rented. Rent really could not be paid. I saw this on some of Lord Ormathwaite's land, where the hunger-sickness was plain in the children's faces, and where the hunted look of the men, evicted or not, bespoke the severe nerve strain that had so long been on them. I saw it on the Wilson Gunn property, near Ballybunion (and let those who have been told that in North Kerry, at any rate, the farmers are fat and feed well, remember that both these are in the northern division, while Castle Island, the centre of outrages, is in the eastern). I saw it at Glenbeigh, where heretofore rents were wholly paid with children's earnings.\* I saw it on the rich lands, where the landlord has been, heretofore too often, met by a bank bill. And now, as one of the chief men in Listowel piteously told me, "there's no credit at the bank and none at the shops, and if things don't soon get settled, we'll be destroyed beyond power of recovery." Here, then, was a wrong, which the moonlighter tried a disastrous way of righting † "Feudalism," too, as we call it, has lingered long in Kerry. One

\* This was, as I said, written last December. I am glad to find even so called Unionist correspondents corroborating the fact that, till the depression, the Glenbeigh rents were regularly paid.

† Spite does undoubtedly sometimes mingle with the landlord's calculations about evicting, he knows he will lose by it "hand over hand," and yet he does it. A high official told me that in regard to one property he had hopes of a settlement, because the trustee was a hard headed money lender, not likely to be moved to unprofitable harshness by personal considerations. What a state of things does such a ground of hope in a fair minded Englishman reveal. Spite comes in everywhere. At Kenmare, Lord Lansdowne's subscription to the Diocesan Education Fund was withheld till the names of those who had the audacity to form a committee for welcoming Lord Aberdeen were given to the agent.

landlord will say "Why shouldn't they live on potatoes and skim-milk? It's their proper food, of course" Another "Yellow meal all the year round? Yes, and let them be thankful they've got it" In Kerry the squircens, exceptionallly numerous, have been exceptionally overhearing And where a coarse contempt for men's and women's feelings has longest prevailed, there the reaction, when it comes, is always fiercest How astonished Arthur Young was at the treatment which "the small gentry, the vermin of the country," gave their serfs, and in Kerry such treatment was the rule till yesterday "Ah, but in Kerry there are many Catholic landlords" True, and among them some of the worst The influence of religion has been naught compared with that of class pride Among a people, then, over whom domineered a privileged horde of squireens, *shoneens*, *petite noblesse*, whose hold on the machinery of administration made the law a mere instrument of tyranny,\* there must always have been a remnant of desperate men, with hearts sore and consciences darkened, and feelings like those of many Frenchmen on the eve of the old Revolution Hence the hold that moonlighting took on certain districts Wherever men were most downtrodden, and rack-renting severest, and the disregard for the cry of the poor most cynical, there had always smouldered Ribbonism, Whiteboyism, some form of that protean *Vehmgericht*, which strove, too often by unmanly methods, to keep alive a flicker of manly independence

And now for a few more delusions First, Separatism—a\*most unfair name, for to link hand lovingly in hand is surely not to separate Among Kerry Fenians, if anywhere, I expected to find real Separatists, no, they have come to see the folly of it They want good markets, they want to be freed from the Cork butter ring Their view is that of the farmer who said—"If a fellow came here preaching Separation, I and my sons would pretty soon hand him over to the nearest police sergeant" The trust in England, in her sympathy, as well as in her earnest wish to do right, was very touching "We'll get justice now that Englishmen are coming over and seeing for themselves, and telling the people over there the truth about us"—that I heard a score of times † from people who had no idea that I was going to write

\* "*I am*," said Mr Goschen at Liverpool, "*is not the privilege of one class*" Ireland is what she is because (unhappily) till yesterday, the Ascendancy were sole administrators of the Law, sole arbiters of justice

† With Separatism I may class disloyalty Are Lord Spencer and Lord Aberdeen disloyal? To me Lord Spencer's frank and thorough change, because at last he came to recognize the power of the national sentiment, is one of the noblest things in modern political life Even the vile slander which alleged "reasons" for Mr Gladstone's change did not dare to meddle with the man who (as I saw him in the autumn of 1882) had stood fearless against the roar of a whole people Think, you who lightly talk of disloyalty in connection with Home Rule, that the same man is as unflinching now in what we Irish know to be the righteous cause And there is no more loyal set of men in these islands than the Kerry Home Rulers

Next delusion, that under Home Rule the Protestants will be molested. This is urged by the very men who assure us that the priests have quite lost their hold on the peasantry, from whom, then, is the danger to be feared—from the peasants, who will have got what they want, and whose interest it will be to keep right with their chief customers, the English, or from the priests, who, we are told, have wholly lost the initiative? Nevertheless, I know this is a real fear in many otherwise intelligent English minds, only the other day an old college friend wrote “I was in favour of Home Rule long ago, but my difficulty is, *will the Protestants be left in peace?*” Perhaps you say, “Look at 1641,” forgetting that 1641 was a Land war, that the interlopers were Protestants was an accident. The world, too, has moved on since 1641, the most bigoted Protestant would not now, I hope, spit Irish Catholic babes on his pike, “lest nits to lice should grow,” yet that is what “the saints” did who thought that God had given them the Irish land to inherit. Intolerance was on all sides a virtue then, if any in Ireland still so account it, they are certainly not the Catholics. It has been shown *ad nauseam* how, while Belfast keeps Catholics out of all her offices of trust and emolument, Cork, Waterford, &c., bestow them on Protestants in a proportion enormously greater than that of the respective religious populations. The same in Kerry, in Tralee the Catholics are to the Protestants as ten to one, yet of the twenty-one Town Commissioners chosen by popular vote, seven\* are Protestants. Read Alfred Webb’s valuable pamphlet, “Opinions of some Protestants as to their probable condition under Home Rule,” better still, go and live in a strictly Catholic part of Ireland, and see how you will be treated. I fearlessly assert that in Kerry a Protestant has always received marked respect, unless he took to proselytising. The rector of Killarney said to me “I’m not a Home Ruler. I’ve done many things (promoting emigration, &c.) not likely to make me popular. Yet all through this bad time I’ve never locked my hall-door at night. A man who is not mixed up with land has nothing to fear.” The rector of Tralee keeps quite aloof from politics, yet he and the Catholic dean pull heartily together in every effort for the good of the town. At far-off Cahirciveen it is the same. Ask Canon Brosnan, the parish priest, ask Mr O’Halloran, the rector. The former humorously told me how astonished the Dublin Castle folks were to see priest and parson coming arm in arm to plead with Sir M. Beach for a railway from Kilorglin. “They looked at us as if we’d dropped from the moon, but I think,” he added, “we favourably impressed the Chief Secretary.” Is not it an insult to human nature to imagine that cultured gentle-

\* Five and twenty years later they were hanging men and women Quakers in Boston, U S.

men, who have been working as brothers with their Protestant brethren, will all at once be turned into persecuting demons, because the Protestant Mr Parnell and his friends are transferred from St Stephen's to College Green?

Alas! there has been active ill-feeling, but *on the other side*\* Two clergymen in the south have been so boycotted by influential members of their flocks that their incomes have suffered severely. The curate of Donnybrook, too, expressed those Nationalist sentiments which, happily, many young T C D men share with Professor Galbraith, pressure was put on his rector, and he was dismissed. True, the shop out of which the rector of Ventry evicted a blacksmith for joining the League was boycotted, I saw it closed and padlocked. But the same would have happened to the priest had he acted in the same way. The only other case that I could find (and I searched much) in which a Protestant clergyman was concerned, was that of the Rev Mr Fitzmorris of Listowel, a *thorough Nationalist*. I cite it to prove that, despite all efforts at headquarters, boycotting has too often been used for revenge or spite, instead of being confined to what the League deems its legitimate object. I believe things were thus — A pillar at Mr Fitzmorris's gate was knocked over. The police were told, and (such small misdeeds being so much more severely visited there than here) several people were imprisoned, among them a man who (everybody said) was away at the time. When this man got free, he went home, soured in mind, and in a rage fired off a gun, and a child was shot. The punishment which followed was somehow connected with Mr Fitzmorris, and his hay was boycotted. "I went at once and bought some of it," said Father Dan Harrington, Principal of St Michael's College, Listowel. "And I told them," he added, "that wasn't the way to treat our friends. So the boycotting came to an end." Here is a parallel to that miserable Curtin case, the aggravated horror of which makes a calm judgment almost impossible. Like Mr Fitzmorris, Mr Curtin was a Nationalist, president of the local branch. The moonlighters who attacked him were no more League police than were the boycotters of Mr Fitzmorris, and the savage boycotting of the Curtin family which followed was to punish them for informing. There had already been life for life, and that (in moonlighters' ethics) should have sufficed.

One strong argument for Home Rule is the number and zeal of the

\* In the land war Protestants and Catholics stand shoulder to shoulder. Harsh agents are said to come down with extra harshness on Protestant tenants, they don't like their sturdier independence. I was told of a Trillick man evicted quite early in the fight. He was foreman at Messrs Revington's tweed mill (that oasis in the desert of dead manufactures). His masters kept him on, and his Catholic neighbours kept his farm empty, and when he was let back at a great reduction all those neighbours came, and with much rejoicing ploughed and sowed his land for him. A Protestant is the more respected the more firmly he holds what he professes to believe.



Protestant clergy who have gone in for it. Priests, we are told, don't count, for they must follow their flocks, an assertion which betrays a comically invincible ignorance\*. Then there are the doctors and the schoolmasters, the commercial travellers and the shopkeepers, almost to a man.

I shall never forget one of the largest shopkeepers in Killarney, a shrewd man too, for he told me how cleverly he had recovered a bad debt. "Somebody came in who never would pay me even a single instalment, so I began talking to him about this General. 'A good man,' said I, 'and come to help the shopkeepers as well as the landlords, and, as they say he does it cheap, I think I'll get him to help me.' The fellow went out, and in the evening he re-appeared, and said, quite casually, 'I think I owe you something.' 'Do you?' said I, 'well, I'll get the books and look.' 'Oh, you needn't do that, it's £2 13s, and here, I've brought it, and that you'll find clears me.' So you see," he added, "I've good reason for praising General Buller." "But about Home Rule?" I asked. "I'm told that down here in Kerry they'd kick it aside at once if they only got a good Land Bill." "Don't you believe it, sir," he broke out, with that "tear in his voice" which one only hears in the South-west. "Look at me, I've grown up, and I've grown old, longing for it. And we all long for it." The same with a farmer, one of Sir W. Petty's Protestants, near Kenmare. "We sent up eighty-six members, not to argue about Home Rule, but to get it for us. Do you think the Israelites didn't want the Promised Land? And that's our Promised Land, and you know, sir, who is the Moses and Joshua in one that'll be preserved to guide us into it"†. Mere sentiment, you say, but sentiment counts. Why, misguided sentiment, helped by the narrow

\* "My religion enjoins charity," said a devout Catholic layman, "and boycotting seems to be a want of charity. But sometimes we must prevent a man from injuring others." "I've grown up among this," said a Catholic dignitary, *not a Leagueur*, "the people have always been suffering because you in England don't understand things. We priests try to mediate, and when we venture to hint that we do know something of individuals—of their disposition and their paying power—an agent will often coarsely tell us to stand aside and mind our own business." "If the priests hadn't joined the League, half of us would have been shot before now," said a landlord agent who certainly does not love them too well.

† He, like almost all Irish Protestants, was a strict Sabbatarian. His distrust of Assistant Land Commissioners was great. "The tenant has no chance with them," he said. "The landlord has his case clearly set out by an able lawyer. The tenant's real grievance is lost in a rambling rignarole that they won't be at the pains to follow out." His chief grievance, however, was that *they went fishing on Sunday*, asking leave, too, of the very man whose land they had come to value. It is not, of course, the Commissioners' business to protect the tenant. All they have to do is to decide whether the land is really worth four fifths of the Government advance. Thus, the improvements (house, &c.) *increase the value of the land*, and therefore warrant them in giving more. On the other hand, if made by the tenant, these should in equity ensure him the land at *fewer years' purchase*. But many besides the tenants think that the Commission should be a Court of Equity. "The League," a high official told me, "has pretty well stopped one kind of land grabbing, the Commissioners must discourage that other kind which I call grabbing against themselves." I found the idea general in Kerry, that landlords were eager to force on sales, and that the Commissioners were not always careful enough to keep down prices.

selfishness of London,\* made the elections go wrong last July I've no space to argue about Home Rule, but I know it would send such a pulse through the extremities, that instead of three small tweed mills, Maybury's in Kenmare, Revington's in Tralee, and another near Killarney, being all that keeps manufacture alive in Kerry (for the Valentia quarries are closed, and so is the "Carrageen moss factory," that brought £400 a year to poor ruined Glenbeigh), there would be a little mill of some kind in almost every glen

One more delusion Mr Verschoyle says "Before Mr Gladstone touched the land question, there was in Kerry no agrarian crime, and *all was as it ought to be*" But, as I have shown, secret societies, all agrarian, never died out in Kerry There began the Phoenix Society, out of which grew Fenianism, which longed to throw off the English yoke *because England would not deal with the land question* All this was long before Mr Gladstone had moved in the matter To lay on him the blame of Kerry lawlessness is perhaps the most impudent thing that even party rancour has ever attempted †

Remedies? One Kerry M P advises planting, and many acres of waste are good for little else, though many more may be profitably worked by peasant owners Make the properties small enough Even Mr Froude ("Fortnight in Kerry") thinks the glens too thinly peopled, and the land not enough divided Kerry could maintain a large population, helped during the idle months by little mills (not large factories, Heaven forbid), and on the coast by curing-houses, training-ships, &c Do we want to hold our own among the nations? If so, why do we go on casting out the bone and sinew of our people? You can't get good soldiers out of city slums *non his juvenlus orta parentibus* Emigration there must be, but let it be regulated, and not compulsory Take Glenbeigh, put in a young priest as curate with Father Quilter, and when he has got the confidence of the people, send him off at the head of a whole swarm, and let them found another Glenbeigh somewhere—say on the Frazer River or in Tasmania or New Zealand ‡

This is perhaps a dream, and like a dream seems a good deal of my visit estates where every rent was thrice Griffith, where with butter at present prices men were struggling to pay £6 for the

\* Some Londoners, chiefly lawyers and bankers, gain by the present system—unjustly not only to the ruin of Dublin, but at the cost of the whole United Kingdom, which is taxed for forcibly holding Ireland down London needs a vast deal of education in this matter

† Yet another delusion "Home Rule would strip Ireland of capital" Whose? The non-reducing landlords have none Mortgagees (mostly London) drain away most of their income But there is money in Ireland (though not in Kerry), which national sentiment will set loose—a sentiment as powerful now as in the old Greek days It will be like the impulse which Thucydides says was given to art and everything in Athens, when the Persians and their "Castle" were shaken off

‡ Don't suffer it to become like its almost namesake Glenveagh in Donegal, cleared years ago by that ruthless land jobber Adair, and the people drifted either into work houses or town slums, or to America, with hatred in their hearts, there to be the raw material of which dynamiters are made

grass of a cow, where the landlord managed to get out from the Board of Works a loan for road-making thrice what he paid the tenant, and where, when the poor fellow was paid his third, he had to sign a receipt for all previous improvements, so that even the house he or his father had built might be confiscated. It is an evil dream a good deal of it—of men "writted to death," of agents' bitter tongues lashing their victims to fury, of other agents, kinsmen to attorneys, sharing the costs, and therefore seeking to multiply them, of £17 Dublin writs served where the ordinary £2 10s ejectment process would have sufficed, of tampering with leases, withholding pass-books, tempting a leaseholder to lay out the wife's dowry on improvements and then coming down on him with a ruinous fine. All this can't be pure invention.\*

Well, boycotting is, those who are engaged in the struggle assure us, a necessary evil. The practice is not new, nor confined to Ireland, the novelty is its being used to the prejudice of the dominant class. Of moonlighting no sane man can speak but in terms of the very strongest condemnation. Kerry lads must be taught their duty as sternly as must London lads whom a course of "penny awfuls" has made emulous of Jack Sheppard's fame. Juries too, must act on evidence, and they would do so the more readily but for the notorious partisanship of some Irish judges. Men shrink from convicting when they know that sentence will be given in total disregard of extenuating circumstances†.

I said it is a deadlock, it is also a dilemma. "Let the Irish first show respect for law and contracts," cries the London press. "We can't respect your law, it is *summa injuria*," retorts Ireland, "and the contracts were a delusion and a fraud, landlords' chicane sometimes makes even the protecting Land Acts a ghastly farce."

Well, what is to be done? Something soon, for, as matters are going on, the character of the people cannot fail to get more and more deteriorated. What would become of you or me were we for years cut off from our profession and its gains, and in full health compelled to stand idly by while another bungled through our work? And I saw farmers who had been living for years in League huts,

\* "Never mind just pry me the costs and I'll let you off this time," said an agent to a man whom he had processsed for rent, which, as it turned out (for the case was sifted), he really did not owe at all. See the excellent summary of the Land Laws in Mr Deane's "Short History of Ireland" (impartial from a thoroughly English point of view) Speaking of the old leases he says (p. 223) "Forfeitures occurred daily through the neglect of tenants, or the dexterous management of landlords." Read him for light on the whole Irish question. For light on Kerry read Sir Charles Russell's "New Views of Ireland," new edition.

† "In England just now," said a Kerry parson, "all the odium falls on the moonlighters. If England knew all, it would certainly fall in part on the land grabbers, land grabbing is, under our conditions of life such an odious stab in the dark, such a base appeal to the landlord's weakness, so bad every way." Look, too, at Chief Baron Pilles's comments on the formation of the Sligo panel. Juries must act on evidence, but juries must not be picked, nor should there be fourteen judges on the Irish Privy Council!

their homes occupied by police-protected emergency men How must they feel? And how must those feel who are still struggling on, and who have to pay at least 10 p c on their rental for all these extra police, besides "compensation" for often imaginary "injuries"? No wonder credit is gone, and trust between man and man fast going, and the knaves think that because farmers can't pay rents, therefore they need not pay shop debts And this is telling on the moral fibre. That fibre must have been strong indeed to hold out for centuries against influences like those recorded in "The Sham Squire" (read it, if you would understand why Irishmen are what they are) It has held out, but it has suffered, and now it is exposed to another and more subtle set of influences

There is nothing for it but to hasten on Home Rule I entered Kerry thinking that the Home Rule question was less important than some others, I came back assured that Home Rule cannot wait Ireland wants quiet, but, to quote a farmer's words, "things won't be quiet till we get our own Parliament-men, who'll soon lay the lash on those blackguards' sides, and we shall cheer them on in doing it" A Home Rule Government would at once get rid of moonlighting, at any rate "Ah! Mr Parnell would stop all that kind of work, if only he got the chance" "Why?" "Because he would have the people with him, and, now, it's a painful fact, but down here in Kerry, at any rate, lingers the old tradition, that there must be something right, *something helpful to the popular cause* at the bottom of whatever the Government sets itself to put down In our view it's an alien Government, remember, and till yesterday it could not possibly be just between man and man, because it took all its magistrates from one party Your Castle machinery may forcibly drive moonlighting under, but it will smoulder on, whereas a national Government would quickly quench it by removing the discontent on which it feeds" The speaker was a parson with life-long experience of the people and their sympathies

Bring in Home Rule, then, since it neither means separation, nor the beggaring of Ireland, nor the persecution of Protestants, nor the establishment of a Rome-ruled State\* You believe in Bentham here is a clear case of the greatest happiness for the greatest number You have never yet believed that we Irish were the best judges of our own needs, in Church, in education, it has always been the same You've insisted on giving us *what you, from your wholly wrong point of view, judged to be best for us* Change your plan at last Have a little faith in us Believe that behind all this agitation there

\* A fervent Catholic told me "You know our reverence for the Holy Father Well, he was suspected of setting himself against the Parnell testimonial, to which we were actually from some of our altars forbidden in the Pope's name to subscribe We showed pretty plainly that if it came to a question between the Pope and Home Rule, all our reverence would not make us give up the latter"

is a reserve force—the quiet tenacity with which people hold what they are assured is right

And let Mr Gladstone bring it in, for the immense faith in him, the deep love of him, in all these Kerry peasants' minds, no one can measure who has not been among them

"Ah, but the land question must first be settled, or the landlords will be robbed wholesale, and to settle the land question will take time"

Yes, and surely that's a reason for first bringing in Home Rule, and so putting an end to this wretched demoralizing deadlock. Leave the land question to a Commission of mixed English and Irish lawyers and practical men, in whose impartiality both sides will have confidence. The Commission now sitting is only one of inquiry, it has (we hear) been learning strange truths, as the Bessborough Commission did before it, and what it has learned might well be the basis of future action. Meanwhile, let Government adopt something like Mr Dillon's "Plan of Campaign," † and let it make such an arrangement with the mortgagees as shall enable the landlords to await a final settlement

The all-important thing is to stamp out that lawlessness which now burns so fiercely because it feeds on the unsatisfied national sentiment

I appeal to educated Englishmen—to men like my old London schoolmates and Oxford fellow-students—sling aside party and small personal interests. Ireland has too long been a parliamentary shuttlecock. That mode of government (or rather non-government) is for her in ignominy, for England it is not only a scandal, but a fatal weakness. Have faith in Ireland's professions, do there what you have done with such admirable results in Canada, and henceforth we shall have a contented Ireland, all parties being contented because each will fit into its natural place, and a contented Ireland, remember, means a strong United Kingdom. Once believe that we are in earnest, that we have given pledges of sincerity—all of us, not the poor fellows only who have been for four years out in the cold. Ask yourselves how it is possible to govern successfully when the state of things is such that a newly appointed Government officer could tell me "*We found at once that the Castle system is quite rotten*?"

\* "Ah! I ord I andolph," said a very able Kerry man when I asked would they take Home Rule from him? "We don't believe in him, *he has a rag on every bush*." The reference is to "well dressing." You will sometimes see a bush near a holy well covered with offerings in the shape of shreds of coloured rag. The Duke of Marlborough's brother, it is judged, does not confine his devotions to a single shrine, but tries any and every one, and yet even for him there is room for repentance. He has immense energy, he has the courage of his convictions. He is indeed a convert worth making.

† This was written before Government had tried to punish Mr Dillon and his friends for simply following the example set them by Sir M. Beach & Co.—viz., putting pressure on obstinate landlords. Well may the Tories despair after those cross examinations of their own Chief Secretary, &c.

Above all, don't lose your heads. The English in a panic are a sight to make angels weep. Don't listen to the bray of the London Press, kept going by the London mortgagees. When you are told that the Irish are repudiating all just obligations, see what a calm, reasonable man of wide experience like Abp. Walsh says, and ask yourselves, Is it likely that a whole nation, which Sir J. Davies so long ago said was specially justice-loving, should suddenly, with the certainty of thereby enraging that sister nation which it is its chief interest to please—nay, on whose goodwill its hopes entirely depend—become a nation of swindlers? That is what my month in Kerry taught me must be my last word to every true lover of the United Kingdom. To the landlords and agents my message is "Listen to reason. Think who are your true friends. See what the Tories have done and will do for you. They'll treat you as Pitt treated Lord Clare after he'd used him to bring about the misnamed Union. Give up your *incivism*, which at most is only a century old, for, with all his faults the Irish gentleman of 1782 was Irish, and did not try to be *West-Brish*. We would fain not lose you, it would be our loss as well as yours. Come before it is too late, and head a movement which else will unavoidably crush you out."

## HENRY SEARTE PAGAN

This, as I said, was written in December. Things have moved on apace, but their course seems to me to have rather given point to what I then said than to make it needful for me to alter or to modify. Glenbeigh has been cleared since I wrote, and thereby I trust, the death blow has been given to the Irish system of eviction. On that subject I shall speak calmly as I have on all others. It is well, except for the poor sufferers that the new system of a Government that came into power on this—for the sham Unionists cry of "Separatists" is a palpable and in too many cases a conscious lie—should end in that way. Chief Baron Polles is a truer friend to us Nationalists than poor Sir M. Leich. When there's an infamous, impossible law the best way towards its being at once struck out of the Statute book is to carry it out to the strict letter. The Chief Baron insisted on this, and "the Glenbeigh atrocity" is the result. Sir M. Leich's plan *ἐργαζομένης πρὸς τοῦτον τὴν ἡμέραν* might have long kept things *in statu quo*. No doubt Glenbeigh is congested now that the demand for outside labour has wholly ceased, send out a swarm, then, under a teetotal priest and a teetotal doctor with a spice of the enthusiasm of humanity, and some Sisters with that tact and loving wisdom of which there is such an abundant supply in Irish convents. Let the folks buy their holdings at a strictly fair price, and let the colony bind itself to pay for a few years the Government instalments. Such a colony would be an *αὐτοκία* a daughter for ever to the old mother glen. The colonists would go away with love instead of hatred in their hearts, they would be a strength instead of a weakness to what, when we get Home Rule, will at last be the really United Kingdom. These Glenbeigh people deserve to be practically tried. They paid as long as they could, places like theirs where rent was never even in part paid out of the land, would be sure to feel the pinch first. They have made the land, and, therefore, surely their part ownership should be respected. *The Glenbeigh clearance could never have taken place under Home Rule.*

## THE NAVY AND ITS RULERS

A HIGH authority has recently said, "There has been no time at which any man who had anything to say that might be of use to his countrymen, on any of the great questions of the day, was more bound to say it than now." Impressed with a conviction of this truth, and believing that the proper organization of our national defences, both as regards cost and efficiency, is one of the great questions of the day, I think possibly I may have something to say which may be found of use to my countrymen.

It is certainly not at this time necessary to enlarge on the national importance of a commerce reckoned by millions of tons of shipping, and by hundreds of millions in value of imports and exports, or on the imperative necessity that is laid upon us of defending that commerce if we intend to preserve our existence and our Empire. All are agreed upon this, all know that the Navy is the weapon by which that successful defence can alone be secured, and all turn with anxiety to ascertain its efficiency, and to measure its cost.

Though the principal scope of these remarks must necessarily embrace subjects acknowledged to be purely naval, it will not be possible to confine them only to those points hitherto dealt with by naval administrations. Our naval power or force depends on details of first-rate importance, which, owing to antiquated traditional arrangements and imperfect perception of modern requirements, are left out of the sphere of naval arrangements, though they cannot be detached from naval efficiency. It is true, that it is a naval department that builds or ought to build the ships required, but it is not a naval department that arms them, nor is it one over which the Admiralty has sufficient control. The Navy has the whole ocean

world for the sphere of its duties and for the field of its operations, but it depends for its mobility on depôts of coal at places which are scattered round the globe, neglected and undefended. The rapid direction of the Navy at a distance can be effected by means of electric cables to all points where our ships are wanted. Electric communication with these points is essential to a rapid use of those cruisers or squadrons which will be engaged in the protection of our colonies and commerce, yet it is mostly conspicuous by its absence, and where it exists it is not in the hands of the Admiralty but in those of private companies.

We have seen that, guided by antiquated tradition, the Naval Administration has publicly repudiated its responsibility for the two first essentials of naval power and has neglected to provide for the third. The remarks I shall have to make on naval ordnance and on secure depôts of coal will apply to the proceedings of the War Office more directly than to the Admiralty as organized at present.

I do not propose to enter into a statistical review of the comparative strength of our own and foreign navies, by giving a nominal list of the ships of war possessed by each, still less by giving a detailed description of each ship.

I have never seen any such enumeration, or such description which, to the great mass of unprofessional readers, would not be more or less misleading. If, as has been often asserted, you can prove anything by figures, the statement is never more true than when applied to those relating to the naval forces of this or any other country. I am confirmed in this view by the serious discrepancies to be found between the official Navy List and the returns presented to Parliament by the Admiralty, as well as by discrepancies between those documents and the very valuable compilation called the *Naval Annual*, a work of great industry and research, for which we are indebted to Lord Brassey, a former Secretary of the Admiralty, who had more than any one else the means of accurate knowledge in his hands. I may say in passing that, while I have every confidence in the accuracy of the figures given in his tables, I do not agree with his conclusions, or in the view he has taken of the merits of his Naval administration.

Instead, therefore, of a more detailed description of our naval forces, which could not really accurately inform any unprofessional person, I shall endeavour to give only such a general outline of the aggregate naval force of the two greatest maritime powers of the world—England and France—as can easily be understood by the general public. In doing so, I have followed chiefly the *Naval Annual* for 1886, already referred to, and compared it with the Admiralty return laid before Parliament, and ordered to be printed on May 17, 1886, checked by comparing them both with the official Navy List for July of that year.



For the sake of convenience, and to accentuate the difference between ships intended principally, if not exclusively, for fighting great battles afloat, the navies of the world are divided into armoured and unarmoured ships. The former may be called battle-ships, and the latter are designed for cruising the police of the seas, and other purposes, principally, on our side of the Channel, for the defence of our commerce, but on the other side for the destruction of that commerce and of every unarmed and defenceless town or position exposed to such attacks.

The armoured ships of England being of all dates since 1860, the offspring of various intentions, the result of continual progress in the art of destruction and of mechanical knowledge and experience, represent everything, from a ship of 1,230 tons displacement to one of 11,900. This variety of size entails, of course, every variety of offensive and defensive power, speed and coal endurance included.

I think every one will agree with me that it is impossible to compare, for any useful purpose, a list of seventy-three of such heterogeneous ships paraded by the Admiralty, with a list of sixty-seven ships given in the Naval Annual, on the authority of the French Minister of Marine, varying in size from 1,420 to 11,400 tons, entailing, of course, proportionate differences of offensive and defensive power, speed, and coal endurance. A further difficulty in making a useful comparison is to be found in the fact that not only do the types of the ships and the numbers included in their respective types differ, but the official lists given above include on both sides a large number of ships which are quite unsuited for the purposes of modern warfare, plated with armour utterly incapable of keeping out modern projectiles, of low speed, feebly armed, of little coal endurance, and ill adapted to sea-going purposes. We at least have eighteen such ships to deduct from the Admiralty list, and, though it is not possible to speak with equal certainty of the deductions we ought to make from the French Minister of Marine's list, he acknowledges eight to be of no further probable use, and very likely there are six or eight others that are thoroughly obsolete.

It is a remarkable fact that the lists of both countries still reckon amongst their armoured ships—one the *Resistance*, the other the *Protecteur*, both of which have been rendered unserviceable by torpedo experiments.

Making the deductions that, according to the best information attainable, should be made from both these lists, the numbers of the ironclads of the two countries may be stated approximately at fifty-five for England, and fifty one for France. Without going into further detail, taking everything into consideration, giving due weight to all the circumstances which affect the comparison, and assuming

that the designs of the naval constructors on each side of the Channel will fairly fulfil the intentions of each administration (a matter of interminable dispute, and which nothing but an experiment carried to destruction can settle), the nonclad force of England is, on the whole, rather superior to that of France alone. A combination of the navy of that Power with any other would completely reverse the position. It must be clearly understood, that the number and types of the ships of each nation, on which this opinion is founded, include ships building and those not completed, that by far the more formidable ships are in that category, and that it is stated that progress in the building of some of the larger French ships has been suspended.

There is on our side (and it must seriously detract from the assumed superiority credited to our nonclad force) the circumstance that some confusion or mystification exists as to the coal endurance of several of these war vessels. Amongst the nonclad ships now building are some partially protected with iron-plating, credited with a coal endurance of 8,000 knots at a speed of ten knots per hour, though they are only of 5,000 tons displacement, weighted with armour, and carrying a heavy armament and equipment, with 900 tons of coal, they are to attain a speed of eighteen knots, and have the coal endurance above stated. This, I have no doubt, is the estimate made by the naval architect who designed them, and I have no means of disputing it, but a comparison may be made of what has been done with what has been promised. Two ships of war, of somewhat similar type, the *Impregnable* and the *Waspate*, with a displacement of about 7,500 tons, are credited with a speed of seventeen knots, a stowage of coal of 1,200 tons, and a coal endurance of 7,300 knots at ten knots speed. I will quote the statement of the Secretary of the Admiralty concerning these ships —

"These vessels were laid down in the year 1881. They were designed to carry at their best trim only 400 tons of coal, or forty eight hours' consumption at low speed. They had a reserve of double that quantity, but of course at a greater displacement. They had an armour belt of about 7 ft 6 in wide, of which it was intended 3 ft 3 in should be above and 4 ft 3 in below water when at their best trim. Tied by a narrow margin such as stated, it would be naturally supposed that extra circumspection would be used in keeping their weights down, but the reverse was the case. Between 1881 and 1886 a great advance was made in gunnery and machinery. Proposal after proposal was made to alter and add to the armament and engines, until when the ships were completed, it was discovered that their weight was 430 tons greater than intended. When sent to sea with their bunkers full the armour was only 8 in above water. Remembering how shot ricocheted when it struck the water, one was prompted to ask of what use were the 7 ft of under water armour which those vessels carried, and for which the country had paid some quarter of a million."

Much the same defects arising from similar causes exist in other classes of ships, and there is nothing in the speeds or in the state-

ments of coal given, that can be relied on to prove that any one of our numerous ships of war could cross the Atlantic from England to New York at a speed of 13·5 knots, much less at the maximum speed of seventeen knots lately recorded of the *Umbria*. But for all the purposes of defence, the Admiralty ought to have some such ships in its own hands, not depending on the possibility of hiring them when wanted.

The unarmoured ships of each navy differ as much from any individual type and from those adopted by their rivals as do the armoured ships, and whole classes of numerous ships are excluded from any place amongst this list on both sides. No place is found there for yachts, transports, surveying ships, gun-boats, and gun-vessels of every variety of size and type, ships for harbour service, and torpedo boats. The latter will be referred to separately.

Thus limited we have, according to the Naval Annual, 120 unarmoured ships—not so many are given in the parliamentary return—varying in size and in every other quality from 600 to 7,500 tons of displacement, and in speed from 9·25 to 19 knots—that is, 19 knots is the estimated maximum speed of four torpedo cruisers not yet completed. From this total of 120, large deduction must be made. Forty-seven of this number cannot obtain a speed of 12 knots, and could not drive off or capture any swift steamer, however lightly armed, bent on the destruction of our commerce, and of the 73 remaining who can exert a speed of 12 knots and upwards, many are worn out and inefficient.

On the French list we find, limited in the same way, 120 unarmoured ships, varying from 70 to 7,100 tons of displacement, and in speed from 7 to 22 knots. Very large deductions must be made from this list. It is quite doubtful whether nine sea-going torpedo ships of 70 tons and 22 knots speed should not be more properly included amongst the torpedo boats, rather than amongst cruisers, doubts having been cast on their sea-going qualities, but they are certainly capable of doing incalculable mischief to passing traders.

If, then, we remove to another list these nine small but swift vessels, and deduct them, as well as 41 ships unable to realize a speed exceeding 12 knots, we find 68 French ships to be ranged against 77 English.

In considering the torpedo force of the two countries, and remembering that those building are included in the numbers given, we shall find that England has of all classes 181, varying in length from 150 to 63 feet, of which 88 are built, and 93 building, their speed varies from 15 to 22 knots. This maximum has been attained on the measured mile by one ship. Most of the other speeds given are estimated, and will probably be nearly, if not quite, realized.

France has, of all classes, including the nine so-called sea-going torpedo cruisers, built and building, 198, varying in length from 133 to 70 feet, the speed of which, excepting that of the nine craft already referred to, is not given either by the Admiralty Return or in the Naval Annual. They will probably, like our own boats, attain very nearly the speed promised for them.

The small unclassified armoured ships of both countries, very numerous, and useless as cruisers, of old and bad types, of weak armaments, of slow speed, and chiefly of wood, might each render some service in their own waters, and need not be further referred to, with the exception of 28 English steel or iron gunboats, admirably adapted for defensive works in our own waters, but with no great range of operation.

I should state as my opinion, leaving others to judge what it may be worth, that in fighting power the unarmoured ships of England are decidedly superior to those of our rivals, but if the *raison d'être* of the French Navy is, as has been frequently stated in that country, and by none more powerfully and categorically than by the French Minister of Marine, the widespread, thorough destruction of British commerce, and the pitiless and remorseless ransoming of every undefended and accessible town in the British dominions, regardless of any sentimentalities, or such rubbish as the laws of war, and the usages of civilized nations, and if at least one of the *raisons d'être* of the British navy is to defeat those benevolent intentions, and to defend that commerce on which depends our national existence and imperial greatness, then I fear that perhaps they have prepared to realize their purpose of remorseless destruction rather better, than we have ours of successful preservation.

It would I think, not be difficult to show that the approximate equality in armed force between the two nations is in reality an enormous advantage to the Power that has the least to defend, and that the twenty additional fast cruisers called for by Lord Charles Beresford would hardly redress the balance. But my space is too limited to enter into such details.

The expenditure on shipbuilding and machinery is stated in the Naval Annual to be, from 1864 to 1885 inclusive—for England, £34,337,000, for France, £23,000,000 (in round numbers), but it would be a great mistake to suppose that the larger expenditure by England of eleven millions signified anything like that amount of greater efficiency. The accounts of expenditure are differently kept in the two countries, and we should have to enter into a very contentious subject indeed—viz, the relative merits of each of the ships produced by this expenditure—before we could form a just comparison of the result. It would be also a great mistake to suppose that none

but a British Admiralty had committed blunders or mystified their respective legislatures. On the contrary, the French Ministers of Marine have often justly deserved the charges brought against them of vacillation, errors of judgment, and change of purpose. The difficulties of the problem have been for them, as well as for us, stumbling-blocks, and causes of waste of money.

Those difficulties were very real, but at any rate on our side of the Channel they were not fairly met, and though now, in 1887, at least a balance, though far from a decisive one, has been established between the fighting ships of the two countries, in our favour, it was otherwise for many a long year, and never more seriously against us than in the autumn of 1881. Even that might have been borne without any overpowering sense of indignation, if we had been shown the actual state of the case. That was revealed to us, not by a clear and ungarbled official statement of facts, but by the efforts of the Press, especially by those of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, by public discussion, and by the unceasing demonstrations of professional men and the highest authorities in naval architecture. On the contrary, it must be remembered, as a warning of what may happen to us again, that an obstinate defence was made by the Admiralty, they stigmatized those who urged the public to consider seriously the alarming condition of the Navy, as evil-minded panic mongers, but ill in vain, they had to surrender at last, to acknowledge deficiencies and shortcomings which they had hitherto denied or concealed, and to ask for millions to place the Navy in that condition of efficiency which they had hitherto asserted was its normal state.

The result that has followed this large increase on the ordinary expenditure for the last two years, and which has enabled me to make a perhaps somewhat favourable statement of our naval condition, is the measure of the dangerous position we have been in for some years. If two years' strenuous efforts, if the extra expenditure wrung from a reluctant Naval Administration have only placed us in such a restricted position of efficiency, what must have been our condition in 1884? Not in a state of profound peace, as has often been recklessly asserted, but with the burning questions of Russian annexations in Asia, of our Egyptian occupation, of wars waged by France in Tonquin, in China, and Madagascar, where we had interests little regarded by the belligerent power—then and now open or menacing, liable to burst into a fearful conflagration at any moment. All of us surmised, though we were not then in a position to assert, that the naval officers forming the council of the civilian at the head of the Admiralty, among whom were to be found officers of high distinction and reputation, could not and did not share the optimists' views taken by the civilians who were the spokesmen of Naval Administration, and now we know, from a letter published in

the *Times*, that the Senior Naval Lord at that date differed essentially from the policy pursued. There is no mistaking the inference that the naval officer specially selected to advise the civilian Minister must have stated his opinion, and that opinion was overruled and disregarded. I wish particularly to draw the attention of my readers to this fact. The naval officers who constitute the Board of Admiralty are selected and placed in that position to do as the First Lord tells them in the first place, but also, in the second place, to give the civilian that information which he cannot possibly have on professional matters. Information so given on such matters undoubtedly takes the form of advice, even when it is not asked for, and the confidence of the public in the Naval Administration of the day is largely and freely given to the Minister at its head, because, though he is necessarily ignorant on many important items of naval knowledge, they are aware that that knowledge can be and ought to be supplied by his naval council. The two most important naval functionaries are the First Sea Lord and the Controller of the Navy, the armament, manning, discipline, and distribution of the fleet, &c., are the special duties of his department, and, together with the Controller of the Navy, he has to pass judgment—I admit a judgment liable to be overruled by the civilian chief—on the design and construction of ships.

On all the purely technical points relating to these subjects his decision ought to be supreme. Next to him the most important official is now a naval officer—the Controller of the Navy. If he have the requisite ability and knowledge of business, it will be a great advantage to the First Lord that he should be a professional man. On the purely technical points of what relates to the material of the Navy, he is in the same position with regard to ships, stores, machinery, management of the dockyards, &c., as that occupied by the First Sea Lord, with regard to the *personnel* of the Navy. Each of them have a large staff of professional and technical experts under them, and both of them are responsible to the First Lord, but to him only, for their actions. It is, I think, a great misfortune, which cannot be too soon remedied, that the responsibilities of these two officers to Parliament is not recognized and enforced.

After Parliament has voted the supplies for the Navy, the distribution of expenditure under the several votes and the condition of our naval force depend much on the advice given to the First Lord by these two officers. It seems evident, therefore, that they should give, not only to him, but to Parliament, some account of their acts, and some explanation of the results obtained by the expenditure they have directed.

The one thing which can secure the usefulness of their position, and save them from being mere functionaries of the First Lord, is

that they should present to him, for publication with the Navy estimates, a yearly report in detail of the actual state of the department over which they preside, of what has been done with the expenditure relating to that department, of the improvements made or to be made, of the savings possible, or of the increased expenditure necessary for efficiency. These reports should show conclusively how far in their opinion the state of the Navy with regard to their respective departments was efficient and adequate for the calls made upon it, and for future contingencies. None of the subjects which had engaged the attention of these two officers should be omitted. These reports ought to be thoroughly discussed between themselves and the First Lord. Nothing should be found in them like petulance, fault-finding, or insubordination. If the views of these officers should be found, after discussion, explanation, and amendment, so incompatible with those of the First Lord that the officers could not sign them, they would of course resign the office they held, and the reason for such resignation would be stated in Parliament. This alone would, after what has passed, give the public confidence in the assertions, sometimes recklessly made by parliamentary officials, that their naval advisers, men of the highest position in their profession, entirely agreed with the opinion or with the statements they had just made.

The naval experts would most carefully consider the advice they gave, with the knowledge that it might be discussed and criticized in the House of Commons. The parliamentary exponents of naval policy would think twice ere they disregarded the counsels of their professional advisers, when they knew that their reasons for so doing must be given and criticized. Ample security could, I am sure, be found that the authority and responsibility of the Cabinet Minister, the First Lord of the Admiralty, should be supreme, but I am equally confident that the whole object for which his council is selected cannot be secured in any other way than by an annual report such as I have described. If such reports be considered unnecessary, the council is unnecessary too. We have been without that publicity and responsibility which is here advocated, have we secured the primary objects of administration, efficiency and economy? The answer is only too obvious. After the expenditure of many extra millions during the last two years we have not an adequate Navy, and as to economy, hear the moderate and judicious view taken by the Secretary of the Admiralty on the subject.

"Great efforts had in quite recent years been made, and would be made, to place the Navy in the strongest possible position. He was bound, however, to say that spasmodic efforts would never provide an efficient Navy. He hoped, further, that the costly warning afforded by these ships\* would induce present and future Boards of Admiralty

\* *Impératrice* and *Warapite*, already referred to

to make up their minds when they laid down a ship to complete their plan, push forward the construction, and allow no material changes. Apart from the ship's qualities being injured by the alterations made during her construction, the extra cost involved was a most serious item. The House of Commons were informed that the *Impérieuse* would cost £161,000, whereas £535,000 had been already expended upon her. Such a policy as he had indicated required great moral courage on the First Lord's part, for it would absorb so much money annually to complete in two or three years a few ships in hand, that he would be prevented from coming down to the House and announcing a grand building, but really paper, programme. He believed the policy of the present Board would be to complete quickly those on hand, and before the ships were laid down every plan of detail connected with their construction should be determined upon, so that no material alteration would be allowed during construction.

"The present Board found themselves left with a responsibility of providing no less a sum than £6,500,000 for vessels begun by previous Boards, but not completed, of which £3,200,000 had to be found next year and the year after. Alternately starving and feeding the Navy was a costly proceeding. One of the most disagreeable duties that he had had in his brief experience in office had been to feel compelled to concur in the expenditure of £10,000 and £50,000 upon vessels of 2,000 tons, with a *maximum* speed of only ten or eleven knots. Had adequate provision been made for an annual supply of new ships, the money thus wasted on old vessels would have been available towards the construction of modern craft. Another difficulty arising from the vacillating policy of which he was speaking, was that the dockyards had not their resources used in an economical manner. Building a number of ships one year, and few or none the next, threw at times numbers of the workmen into comparative idleness by the want of regularity of employment for the different trades. The neglected state in which the Navy was three years ago required a sudden accession of numbers to the muster-roll, the increase in four years being from 17,000 to 21,000 men. That high pressure could not continue. Hence discharges had been and would still be necessary, for while doing justice to the men of the dockyards, they were bound to consider the interests of the taxpayers. An excess of men at the dockyards meant the creation of work merely for the sake of finding employment, and not from its necessity. As an illustration going round the dockyards, he was so struck by the vast number of boilers stored away, most of them of an obsolete pattern, that he caused a stock-taking to be made, and it would surprise them to hear that they had upwards of 150 boilers in stock, some of them manufactured as far back as 1857, and a large number now obsolete, the whole costing something like £130,000.



"The starvation of the Navy had involved the country in enormous loss in the war panics that had from time to time occurred. These panics arose mainly through the feeling that the Navy was inefficient. Ships were bought in haste to be altered or fitted at great expense. He had one in his mind now which they bought and paid £60,000 for, then spent £100,000 in fitting her out, and after a short commission of three years she was again at the dockyards, and a further £30,000 would be expended on her.

"Political exigencies had had too much influence upon naval affairs. Boards of Admiralty, anxious to pose as the promoters of great fleets, had laid down the keels of many vessels, giving them a name on the Navy List, and there they had stood, deluding themselves and misleading the country into the belief that a fleet was actually building. By the adoption of such a policy vessels had been six, eight, nine, and ten years in course of construction. Between the date at which the ship was designed and the keel laid down, and the date of her final completion, such changes and advances had been made in armour, guns, and machinery, that before the vessel was ready for her trial trip she had become obsolete in design and construction, and more fitted for the ship-breaker's yard than to be sent to carry the British flag into foreign waters. Where such delay had occurred in building vessels, attempts had been made to introduce modern improvements, and serious alterations were thus made in the original designs of the vessels as they progressed. Thus it had come to pass that vessels designed for a certain purpose, with a certain draught and a given speed, had failed in all three requirements.

"The difficulty was with the system that had grown up, but the work of reform was in progress. At the same time, through the extra liberality of Parliament within the last three years, leeway was being made up. Apart from the vessels that were already in commission, practically a new and most powerful fleet of some thirty vessels would be completed during the forthcoming year, justifying the opinion as to our naval supremacy recently expressed by the First Lord. They could not, however, stay their hands. The wisest economy was to build new ships, regularly, steadily, and quickly, year by year, providing a fixed Naval Budget, and replacing vessels that become worn out or beyond repair, or obsolete. No wise shipowner failed to set aside a depreciation fund. Of one thing he was convinced, that over and above every other consideration speed in a seaway would play the most important part in any future naval warfare. A seagoing vessel of the greatest speed, armoured or unarmoured, would be the most efficient fighting vessel of the future. France recognized this all important fact. She evidently felt that she could not compete with our heavy-armoured ships, and she was therefore devoting her efforts to the building of fast unarmoured

cruisers to destroy a mercantile marine. It was the duty of the English Government to meet those efforts, and to protect that commerce which was the heart blood of the nation."

I can add nothing to these extracts. They show clearly that neither efficiency nor economy has followed the old system of irresponsibility and concealment. All that the Secretary of the Admiralty has said about panics, irregular working, dawdling over ships, wrong designs, and promises not performed, has been reiterated again and again by all persons who have looked at the subject without official spectacles (I admit it has never been so well said as by Mr Forwood), but hitherto without result. The surgeons have indeed probed the wound, and Mr Forwood's statements have shown how deep it is, but what security has the country that men like Mr Ritchie or Mr Forwood will conduct the reforms they have seen to be necessary? An accident may dismiss them to-morrow. It is even a serious danger that a Secretary of the Admiralty should display remarkable ability, he is in that case almost certain to be moved to some more shining parliamentary position, and the Navy again to be abandoned to the representatives of a vicious and worn-out system.

I have spoken of the two principal Naval members of the Admiralty Council, and have given a very faint outline of the work they should perform, and of the amount of public responsibility which should rest upon them.

The third chief officer of the Admiralty Council, the Financial Secretary, has a wider, a more serious and practical range of duties than even the two Naval experts to whom I have referred. Without good finance all good administration is impossible, and, to quote the words of Lord Brissey when he occupied that post, "no regulations could give him higher responsibilities than he actually bears, or confer on him greater powers of control than those with which he is already invested." It is his duty, with a very large staff under him, to collect and bring to account every item of expenditure incurred in every department, to check it by the estimates, to control it, and to focus it from time to time for the information and guidance of the First Lord. He is, besides, the parliamentary representative of the Navy in the House of Commons, and very generally the exponent of its policy. He is always so when the First Lord, as frequently happens, is in the House of Lords.

Now I think it self-evident that the wastefulness, and its resulting inefficiency, which the Financial Secretary has shown to have existed for so many years past did escape the control of the House of Commons in a very remarkable manner. A Naval debate was generally the most futile of all parliamentary performances, and was scrambled through at odd hours and times in a most perfunctory

manner The reason is not far to seek These estimates, the foundation of the appropriation account which is examined yearly by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, have been hitherto presented to Parliament in a form so confused, mystifying and unintelligible as to disgust and dissuade any one from attempting the task of criticism and control

We therefore find ourselves in rather a perplexing position It has become evident that expenditure has not given us its corresponding value in efficiency produced, therefore, say the false economists, reduce the expenditure, and save the amount of waste, regardless of efficiency This really seems, as far as we are yet acquainted with the cause of Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, the logic of his action But the true economist says "See that your expenditure does produce the efficiency expected from it, the money will not then be wasted, and the expenditure may be reduced" Mr Forwood has very well put the case in a speech he recently made at Liverpool He showed, as a man of business, how the very first principles of managing a concern with commercial success had been neglected by the Admiralty, how, from sham economy, they omitted to consider the depreciation to which all ships and cargoes are liable, and, failing to provide yearly the amount to meet it, left the country with a diminished stock and a necessity for larger demands of public money in future years He is a true economist, and he points out that when this forced expenditure has met the wants which his predecessors had allowed to accumulate and to which they have already pledged the country, the Admiralty will be able to make reductions The last Naval Estimates amounted to thirteen and a quarter millions, and Mr Forwood says that he is in hopes to effect a large saving in future years of this figure I quote from that speech, which is full of practical wisdom—"At the outset, let me say that, in my opinion, Lord George Hamilton will, in his place in Parliament, be able in due time to submit Naval Estimates which will show a substantial reduction from the estimates placed before Parliament by our predecessors in office If to the proposed expenditure of our predecessors we add the amount of obligations which have matured this year, but for which they made no provision, then I say our diminution of expenditure will not only be substantial, but I think I may safely add, it will be large You may remember that Lord Ripon's Naval Budget amounted to close upon £13,000,000, and that Mr Hibbert intimated even more might be required if shipbuilders pushed on with the new warships The work has been hurried forward, and more money is required this year, so that I feel I am within the mark when I estimate the total naval outlay for 1887 at thirteen and a quarter millions Our sketch estimates for next year will, as

I have already <sup>\*</sup>stated, show a large saving on this figure. I submit that no one can form a reliable opinion upon the comparative extravagance or economy of a Naval Budget by taking the amount in its aggregate. What is required is an examination in detail of the items that go to form the total amount. I venture to say, as a business man, that there is not one item of work proposed for next year that ought to be left undone, or that, viewed as a matter of true economy, ought not to be carried out. I draw a distinction between work and expenditure. I must confess that the present Admiralty mode of performing work is expensive."

He gives a forcible illustration of what <sup>\*</sup>he calls the false economy which ruled at the Admiralty for many years past, in their total neglect to provide for depreciation, and thus throwing the burden of the natural decay that takes place upon future years. The extract that follows is of extreme importance, as showing the effect of that sham economy which he so wisely deprecates —

"As regards Army expenditure, I have very little knowledge beyond the outlay over the guns and munitions of war with which that department has to furnish our fleet. As to this item, I can say that from 1881 to 1886 requisitions were made by the Admiralty upon the War Office to the extent of about six millions of money, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being only sanctioned something like four millions. The result naturally has been that we have had ships completed, waiting for their guns, and an insufficient supply of ammunition. This, I have no doubt, will lead to the necessity of a supplemental vote this year on the part of the War Office. Of one thing I am certain—that is, that politicians of all parties will support the policy of maintaining our services in a position of efficiency."

I am not wrong, therefore, in asserting that all Mr Forwood's remarks, and much more which limited space forbids me from entering upon, distinctly prove the total want of parliamentary or any other control over Naval expenditure. No such instances as he has quoted, respecting the cost of ships owing to delay in construction, the improvident omission of any provision for depreciation, the total failure of many ships to realize the intentions of their designs, could have occurred if parliamentary control had been exercised, and that control could not be, and was not exercised, because it lacked the necessary information, and why? Because, either designedly or negligently, the Admiralty took efficient measures to blind, and mystify their masters. If the Navy Estimates were confused and unintelligible, the exposition of Naval policy was equally past comprehension. Year after year I have studied both, and the only conclusion I could come to was, that if I could understand little about

that huge and dreary volume, its compilers and expounders understood even less

The results of the expenditure voted in the Navy Estimates for one year ought to have been clearly shown to the House of Commons in the following year. This was nominally done by the appropriation account, which, however, only followed the confused arrangements of the body of the Navy Estimates, and accounted for the expenditure only so far as that information extended. Now, nearly all the information a member of Parliament or the public in general would require in order to judge what results had been produced by the grants of money appropriated to the Navy is thrown together, without order and without method, in an Appendix, extending over nearly 100 pages (the Estimates proper for 1886 occupying 116), and with that Appendix the examiners of public accounts have nothing to do, and consequently never referred to it. No one, without an amount of labour of which, having tried it, I cannot speak without unmitigated horror, can arrive at even an approximate result of what the money voted by Parliament has really produced.

Now, as one deeply interested in the efficiency of the Navy, truly the right arm of our country, deeply and earnestly sympathizing with the heavy burden which the maintenance of such a right arm imposes upon the tax-paying public, I feel bound to look beyond the cares and the wants of the present moment. No one can be more convinced than I am that if the present administrators of Naval affairs remained for some years in office, we could get on, with some friction and some difficulty, and that a result not altogether unsatisfactory might be attained. But, considering the uncertain tenure of office which our parliamentary system entails, that the best men the country possesses are here to-day and gone to-morrow, that the "Outs" are to-day, as always, roaring round the "Ins," with the sole object of displacing them by any means fair or foul, what I would ask is this, is it wise to leave the continuation of such a system as I have indicated to the chapter of political accidents? Ought not matters to be so arranged as to make it impossible for such defaults as Mr Forwood has laid his hands upon to occur again? Much has been done both by the former short-lived Conservative Admiralty and by the present. I wish I could, as an old public servant, adequately express both to Mr Ritchie and to Mr Forwood my sense of the benefit they have conferred on the country, and this I say with all impartiality, as in general politics I do not belong to their party.

Many most useful re-arrangements have been made, but more remains to do, and before a proper system of Admiralty finance can be brought to bear upon Admiralty expenditure, a total reform and recasting of Naval accounts—by which I mean the Navy Estimates

and the appropriation accounts—must be carried out To give in an article in this Review a detailed exposition of how this should be done is not feasible I will, however, attempt a slight sketch of the lines it should follow At present the Navy Estimates are divided into seventeen separate votes, relating to all subjects on which money is required, but they are mixed up in the most extraordinary and incomprehensible manner There are in reality three great sources of Naval expenditure first, that incurred on the *personnel* of the Navy, and everything without which that *personnel* could not exist, second, the *materiel* of the Navy, and everything without which that *materiel* could not exist, third, the non-effective service, which includes civil and military pensions, half-pay, and other sundries of that nature

There is besides this an expenditure for services non-naval, which, if it should remain on the Navy Estimates, must continue to form a fourth division

The estimated expenditure for these divisions is thus arranged (or mis-arranged) for the year 1886–87 —

The votes relating to the first great division, or *personnel*, of the Navy are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, various parts of 11, 12 and 13, and part of 14

The votes relating to the second great division, the *materiel*, of the Navy, are vote 6, vote 10 in two sections, part of vote 11, and part of 14

The third division, the non effective service, is comprised in two votes, 15 and 16

Vote 17 is appropriated to services non-naval it might very well be handed over to the Army Estimates

In this year the gross expenditure proposed for the several divisions was

|                                  |            |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Personnel</i> —First division | £5,296,182 |
| <i>Materiel</i> —Second division | 5,583,522  |
| Non effective—Third division     | 2,250,753  |
| Non Naval—Fourth division        | 313,000    |

The two first divisions include every expense incurred either about men or materials, without which neither could exist, or without which no fleet could be built, repaired, manned, maintained or equipped, they therefore include the whole expense incurred upon the effective service of the Navy, the gross aggregate of which amounts to 11,284,784

This total may be divided into any number of votes for the convenience of discussion in the House of Commons, and so as to give as much detail as is considered essential for discussion and administration It may be, for instance, convenient that separate votes should show the cost of the Marines, that of clothing, victualling,

and taking care of the Navy in sickness and in health, the expense and amount of the reserves, &c &c , but all these items should be brought together. The votes that profess to give the medical expense of the Navy, or its victualling or its clothing cost, should follow one another, and no unnecessary difficulty should thwart the endeavours of the public to ascertain the whole cost of any item of Naval expenditure. The same remarks apply with even more force to the votes relating to the material division of the Navy, where more than anywhere else reform and economy are needed and can be practised. What is advocated is, the grouping together of all votes relating to the same subject. But each subdivision of a vote should contain the whole amount required for that subdivision, and that everything calculated to throw light on the results intended to be produced by the proposed expenditure should appear in the body of the estimates, where they will be subjected to the Appropriation Act and the criticism of the Commissioners of Public Accounts. It will be obvious that nothing like this is either attempted or achieved by the present form of Navy Estimates. The votes relating to the same subject are scattered throughout the book, the details often given in the body of the estimate are unessential and unimportant, while the appendices are full, without system, of the most important matter.

It is to be presumed that the object of presenting an estimate of expenditure to Parliament is to tell that body how it is intended to spend the money it is asked to grant, and to enable it to exercise some control over the demands made upon it. This it is quite impossible for it to do now, without an intimate knowledge, possessed by few, of a mass of unclassified professional detail, which knowledge the present form of estimates, while professing to give it effectually, withholds.

Any member of Parliament or of the general public would find that by this re-arrangement he had gained an immense step, he would find together in one group all that he wants to know about everything connected with the *personnel* of the Navy, and everything together in another group that he wants to know about dockyards, private work for the Admiralty, machinery, repairs, buildings, &c &c.

The Secretary of the Admiralty would find his way smoothed over many difficulties experienced in passing the Navy Estimates through the House of Commons, and his grasp over the current expenditure of the Admiralty enormously facilitated. This reform would go far to make administrative work combine economy with efficiency.

If he can make, amidst his pressing avocations, leisure to undertake this change, he will find at the Admiralty an officer at his elbow whose thirty years' experience has enabled him to master all the complications of this much-needed reform, willing and able to help him, and who I know does not substantially differ from the views put forward in these pages.

Before leaving the subject it would be as well to state that, as his Accountant-General must supply him at short intervals with current accounts of estimates, expenditure, and liabilities, it would greatly promote the objects of economy and efficiency if as much of these accounts as relates to the expenditure caused by acts of the First Naval Lord and the controllers of the Navy were also furnished to them periodically.

The armament of the Navy, it is known, is not purely a Naval concern. The War Office estimates the cost and supplies the guns required by the Navy—that is, it should do so, but the Secretary of the Admiralty has told us that, while the Admiralty asked for an expenditure of six millions for armament between 1881 and 1886, the War Office only supplied them with four millions. Of course the result has been that ships completed have been, and are I believe, still waiting for their guns, and at any rate this delay served as an excuse for the dawdling over the construction of ships so strongly deprecated by Mr Forwood, and condemned by Lord Ravensworth's Committee as leading to frightful waste of money and great inefficiency.

The War Office, however, not only supplies the armament itself, but it designs the guns it supplies, how much or how little the Director of Naval Ordnance is in a position to influence the officers of the War Office in the decision they come to with reference to those guns, is not, I think, very clear.

I believe it is very certain that, when the first breech-loading guns were found not to be satisfactory to the Navy, a very good muzzle-loading system of ordnance was supplied in its place, which bore a satisfactory comparison with that of other Powers. Colonel Maitland, a director of the Royal Gun Factory, gave it as his opinion, that up to 1875 or 1876 that was the case, then there came a period of stagnation, and that in 1881 we commenced making up for leeway.

It seems that the increasing thickness of armour-plating, and its better manufacture, had influenced the gun-makers on the Continent to endeavour to overcome that resistance by giving increased energy to the projectiles. To obtain this, breech-loading guns were adopted, as the increased length wanted for burning the enormous charges of powder to be used rendered muzzle loading tardy and difficult in land artillery, and impracticable in naval ordnance.

The Navy for some time resisted the change, and the delay thus occasioned in providing the fleet with a proper armament must be laid at the door of the Admiralty.

It must be remembered that the energy of the projectile, to increase which was the main purpose of substituting a breech- for a muzzle-loading gun, depends, *cæteris paribus*, upon the muzzle velocity given to the projectile, and on its weight.



These muzzle velocities in the best breech-loaders rarely exceeded 1,400 feet in a second, and were in many guns much less. When at last the Naval authorities gave way on the principle of breech-loading, it was seen that if the charge of quick-burning powder (up to a recent date in use in the Navy) was sufficiently large to give the sought-for increased velocity to the projectile, it would utterly destroy any gun constructed on the original Woolwich pattern of steel tubes and iron jacketing coils. Hence it was concluded that a less violent powder, burning more slowly and in a much longer gun, was the right thing. The soundness of this opinion has been controverted.

Colonel Brackenbury, of the Royal Artillery, at one time superintendent of the Royal Gun Factory, has recorded his opinion that there is no gun adapted for service in any country which is not by its weakness a hindrance to the full action of the spirit of artillery. He says "We are always taming and subduing the spirit, instead of strengthening the body, the spirit being of course the powder, and the body the gun."

A civil engineer, Mr J Longridge, who has spent years of study on the mathematical laws regulating the explosion of gunpowder, and the strain inflicted on the various parts of the gun by the gases generated, shares the opinion of Colonel Brackenbury as to inordinate length of gun and slow-burning powder, and has endeavoured to strengthen the body, instead of subduing the spirit, by a system of coils of wire applied in a certain way and in certain parts of a gun of more reasonable length. A quotation or two from the report made by a Prussian officer of artillery will show the opinion of a foreign expert on this matter. "The most important service rendered by Mr Longridge is his insisting on a strictly scientific basis for his gun construction. His system may well claim such a logical basis, whereas there is but little certain in the unscientific foundations of other existing systems." And he concludes by saying "Let us not, therefore, like the English Ordnance Committee, reject the hand thus held out to us." To go into questions of gun manufacture here, probably the most contentious of all subjects under the sun, is of course impossible.

Sir Frederick Bramwell, in a most able and interesting lecture at Birmingham in 1886, required forty-two pages of closely printed paper to state the case as he conceived it. It would require fully as many pages to state it as it appears to me. I am not, I think, misrepresenting him, when I give it as his opinion that everybody else is as bad or worse than we have been represented to be by unfavourable critics, and he gives the following instance of the great progress which he considers has been made—

We now have a gun, of 12-inch bore, entirely of steel, weighing 45 tons—a breech-loader. The projectile weighs 714 lbs, its muzzle

velocity is 1,910 feet in a second. But still further, we have a gun of 110 tons weight, 14 feet long, the weight of the projectile, 1,800 lbs, the charge of powder, 820 lbs, a muzzle velocity of 2,100 feet a second, and a muzzle energy of 55,100 tons. Of course these results are enormous, and although results somewhat similar have been realized by guns belonging to Italy, yet these and all other guns are liable to accidents, which Sir Frederick recapitulates and considers inevitable.

I have some results to compare with these, which make one hesitate to believe that the intentions of gun manufacturers are certain of being realized.

A short history of a smaller gun of from 80 to 81 cwts in weight, and 6-inch bore, will serve to show. When the reluctance of the Admiralty to adopt breech-loaders for the Navy was overcome, a breech-loading gun was designed by the Royal Gun Factory, to weigh about 80 cwts, and shortly afterwards 77 guns of this pattern were ordered to be made. Adopting a design is technically called scaling it. This design was scaled by the Ordnance Committee, who did so, stating at the time that they had had no opportunity of considering the design. This pattern was to fire 50 lbs of Pno 2 powder, with a projectile weighing 100 lbs and a muzzle velocity of 2,000 feet in a second. Circumstances occurred ' proof and upon the trial of an improved pattern, Mark II, of this gun, which induced the committee to reduce the powder charge from the first intention of 50 lbs to 38 lbs, and the initial velocity fell of course to 1,811 feet per second. Now, a similar gun had been procured from the Elswick Company, which, with three pounds less of powder, had given a muzzle velocity of 1,900 feet in a second. So much for improved patterns, and performance matched with promise. Yet after this the War Office, with the consent of the Admiralty, decided to continue the manufacture of 6-inch guns on the same pattern as the one I have described above. One of these guns was supplied later to the *Active*, and burst on board. No satisfactory reason was found for the occurrence. Another of these 6-inch guns, with 100 lb projectile, having burst at Shoeburyness, the charge was again reduced to 31 lbs, and the muzzle velocity to 1,690 feet per second. The cost of all the guns ordered on this pattern, which produced such deplorable results, is stated to have been upwards of £100,000.

The description of the new pattern 12-in bore gun which I have quoted from Sir F. Bramwell's lecture as *the present gun*, is all but identical (except that it is not made of steel) with the guns supplied to the *Collingwood*, with what result the public is already aware. Guns of that pattern are withdrawn from issue until they are strengthened by hooping. If we wish to see the difference between

gun-making on scientific and unscientific principles, we have only to turn to the guns manufactured by Sir Joseph Whitworth, especially to the unrivalled performances of one of his 9-in breech-loaders in August 1883

He has for many years called the attention of the Admiralty and War Office to the result of his experiments, to the metal he employs (called fluid steel), to the resisting power of his projectiles, to his mode of rifling, and to everything in short that builds up the power of a modern gun. That Sir Joseph's views and opinions were not those of a mere theorist, is evidenced by the history of his life, they were those, on the contrary, to which he had arrived by study and experiment applied to, eminently practical results. As an illustration of what has been said before, I will give a comparison between two nearly similar pieces of ordnance, one manufactured by Sir Joseph for the Brazilian Government, the other by Woolwich for the armament of the *Impérieuse* and *Wasp*. Both guns were breech-loaders—the Whitworth all steel, the Woolwich a steel tube with iron and steel coils. The calibres of the guns were slightly different, as was also the weight\*. The Whitworth projectile of steel weighed 103 lbs, the Woolwich was of chilled Palliser metal, and weighed 380 lbs. The charge of powder was—Whitworth, 197 lbs, Woolwich, 190 lbs. The calculated penetration at 1,000 yards into inches of iron was—Whitworth, 20.7, Woolwich, 16.6, the actual penetration at a target distant 70 feet was—Whitworth, about 23 inches of iron. The Woolwich gun did not undergo that ordeal.

Sir William Armstrong's Company claim, it is true, though in my opinion on quite untenable grounds, to have equalled or surpassed the effects of this Whitworth gun. Without admitting all that he puts forward, it certainly appears that there are two firms in England to whose productions the Woolwich guns are inferior in every single point that gives value to a weapon.

Comments on the facts related above are not required, they speak for themselves. As to the responsibility for the design of large guns, a Surveyor-General of Ordnance stated in the House of Commons, in a very qualified manner, that the Ordnance Committee was responsible for the designs of naval guns, and we were told by Mr Campbell-Bannerman that the responsibility of approving or rejecting a gun rests with the Secretary of State for War, that is, in all probability, with a person profoundly ignorant of every part of a most special and complicated subject. Is it not reasonable to suppose that if, every year, attached to this portion of the Army Estimates a report was drawn up, as I have suggested, for the Admiralty advisers, dealing in a similar manner with expenditure, estimates, and results,

\* The calibre of the Whitworth gun was 9.05 ins., that of the Woolwich gun 9.22 ins. The first weighed 20, the second 18 tons.

and giving full explanations of the acts of the Ordnance Committee and their reasons, signed by some person who would stand before Parliament as really responsible, we should never again have a record of failure such as has only been very partially disclosed by what has been stated in these pages

I find that I have no space left to give even a summary of our position with regard to fortifying and increasing the number of our coaling stations, and so giving that mobility to our fleet without which it cannot pretend to defend either our colonies or our commerce Lord Cairnvaron's letters to the *Times* are, however, a very valuable epitome of a history of neglect, grievous and almost unparalleled, and the subject must be left for future discussion I should have the greatest confidence that, if we ensured the reform in the Admiralty and War Office indicated in these pages, and shown to be indispensable by the errors and failures that have followed unreformed administration, we should soon make up for lost time Every reader who has followed me through this long and painful history will, I hope, do me the justice to believe that, while I advocate with all my power the efficiency of the Navy, I am equally as strong in my advocacy of economy, in fact, one depends upon the other Past years and long study of the subject have convinced me that, if we fail to practise economy, the rough-and-ready way of the public will be to cut off a lump sum of a million or two from the grants asked for, and leave the efficiency of the Navy to take care of itself I once more repeat that there can be no security for economy, and therefore for efficiency, so far as the Navy is concerned, without good finance, complete publicity, and individual responsibility to Parliament How to attain these it has been my object to show, and I have perfect confidence that sooner or later these methods, or their equivalents, will be adopted by the wisdom of Naval administrators, and sanctioned by the authority of Parliament

ROB SPENCER ROBINSON

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN ITALY

WITH slow but sure steps, free from great and risky troubles, Italy continues her task of domestic reorganization. Last June saw the opening of her sixteenth Parliament. The new Chamber, fresh from the elections of the 23rd of May, assembled in the same month of June at Montecitorio, simply, it may be said, to give a vote of confidence to the Cabinet of Signor Depretis, who, on the occasion of the provisional review of the Budget, gained a majority of sixty-seven votes. Members then separated for the usual summer holidays. They met again on the 23rd of November, and are now engaged in discussing the Budget in detail. Nothing of note has taken place to interrupt the debate, with the exception of an interpellation on the foreign policy of the Ministry, that gave rise to some important declarations on the part of Count di Robilant, which have made the tour of Europe.

It is the general opinion in Italy that, unless events take some extraordinary turn, the present Legislature will be the quietest and most peaceful we have had since the year 1860. None, indeed, of those great politico-social questions that so profoundly stir the minds of men loom above the horizon. The projects of law, and the measures of reform, which the Ministry have caused the King to announce to the Chamber, in his speech at the opening of Parliament are all of an administrative or regulative character, or aim at improvements in the Civil Service, and are scarcely, if at all, of a political complexion, while all parties, without distinction, are agreed upon their utility and necessity, differing only with respect to certain points of detail. Of the measures in question, the principal are the following — Reorganization of the Ministries, involving, among other things, the creation, in addition to that of a Ministry of the Presidency and Under-Secretariats of State, of a new Ministry, that of Posts and Telegraphs, and a Ministry of the Treasury subordinate to that of Finance, a project of reform of the provincial and communal law, destined to introduce a much-wanted order into the administration and finances of the communes of Italy, a measure for the reorganization of loan societies, the reform of the laws providing for public safety, the reform of

the judiciary and the magistracy, the reform of the universities, and, lastly, the so-called social laws—such as the Bill to enable workmen to claim compensation for injuries received in the course of their employment, a measure which has already been subjected to the ordeal of the Chamber and the Senate, but to which it has not so far been found possible to give a statutory form, owing to the many difficulties inherent in the subject. All these projects, I repeat, meet, in principle, with the approval of the great majority of the Chamber, and do not appear likely to trouble the waters of Montecitorio, and bring about a shipwreck of the Depretis Cabinet, which need only dread such domestic difficulties and incidents as cannot be foreseen and may at any time crop up. But neither in this quarter does the danger appear great, still less near at hand. The country enjoys just now a tranquillity which leaves little to be desired, in expression, however, not to be taken in too absolute a sense, for here and there in Italy signs are not wanting of bad feeling and discontent, as has been recently shown by the election of such men as the madman Coccapieller at Rome, of the libeller SbrarTaro at Pavia, and of the homicide condemned to hard labour, Amilcare Cipriani, at Ravenna and at Folli. These, however, are local explosions, explicable on special local grounds. In general, the country may be said to be tranquil and well-disposed rather than otherwise, nor is there anything that seriously threatens the public peace or the stability of our institutions. For our domestic evils and defects, all, one may say, of a merely administrative kind, the country trusts to the wisdom of Parliament and the Government to find a remedy.

I am of opinion that the merit attaching to this sufficiently satisfactory political situation belongs to Signor Depretis. It is, in truth, the reflection of an improved parliamentary situation, due to the establishment of a majority that has shown itself sufficiently homogeneous, stable, and inclined to support the Premier in the realization of his programme. And this fact is the more important and significant, in that it is no mere phenomenon of a simply transitory nature, the result of a successful stroke of parliamentary tactics, but is essentially of a lasting and permanent character, answering not only to actual parliamentary conditions but generally to the plainest tendencies of political thought in Italy. In this respect the fact of which I am speaking is highly characteristic of our domestic politics, and would form the subject of a most interesting study. In my former reviews, I have had no occasion to do more than touch upon this point, I shall now enlarge upon it, but as briefly as possible.

Up to the 18th of May, 1876, Italy was governed by the Right, which rendered to the country the immortal service of completing its unity with the addition of Rome and Venice, and placing upon a footing of equilibrium the national finances, which, during the preceding decade, had shown an annual deficit of about 500,000,000 francs. But on the 18th of May, 1876, the Ministry fell, and not upon a question that was really a political one. The matter in debate was the Railway question. The then Cabinet, of which the late Signor Minghetti was the head, with the intention of systematizing the administration of Italian railways, brought forward a Bill for their assumption by the State. The Left voted against the measure, as it was in the habit of treating every proposal of the Government, political or non-political, and placed the Ministry of Minghetti in a minority. It was thus that

the Left came into power. But what gave a special character and importance to the vote was the defection it revealed of a section of the majority which until then had supported the Ministry of the Right. A group of deputies, among whom were some of great influence, like Ricasoli and Peuzzi, representing chiefly Tuscan constituencies—of all the provinces Tuscany was the one most opposed to theories of administrative centralization and to any excessive extension of the functions of the State—joined their vote to that of the Left. It was in this manner, I repeat, that the Left came into power, and found itself pledged, upon the railway question, then and afterwards one of the greatest importance in the country, to a maintenance of the existing system of private control. On this question the Left was supported by many influential members of the Right. But the consequences of this identity of opinion on the railway question between the Left and certain dissidents of the Right did not show themselves for many years.

The Left acceded to power under the leadership of Depretis, but with the exception of the Piccini, a man versed in public business, who had been Garibaldi's vice-dictator in Sicily, Minister under Rattazzi in 1862, and a member of the Cabinet of Ricasoli in 1866, the Ministry, including Nicotri at the Ministry of the Interior, and Magliani, at the Ministry of Finance—who was known for his economic studies, published in the *Avanti Antologia*, the best and most widely circulated of Italian Reviews—consisted of men altogether new to office. Nor could Signor Depretis have chosen otherwise, for the Left comprised no politicians accustomed to public business or possessed of recognised administrative capacity. Hence the Right appeared to have free play in Parliament. The Left, in possession of the Government, could not but commit errors upon errors, with a little patience and adroitness the Right might have pressed their opponents into a corner, and taken advantage of some good opportunity to overthrow them. However, the possession of power is in itself a force—*heuti possidentes*! The Left gradually gained stability in office and sympathy in the country. On the other hand, the Right, both in the beginning and afterwards, appeared incapable of following any policy except that which the Left had previously pursued when in opposition—the policy, that is, of criticism and of confining action within the limits of mere negation. They brought forward no political programme in relation to which the party might rally itself, and on which they might seek to regain power. Led without energy and without faith by its chiefs, Minghetti and Sella, the Right gradually lost confidence in itself. In short, the process of its dissolution continued, and men saw a party that had, one may say, made Italy, and in whose ranks were to be found men of weight, such as Spaventa, Minghetti, Visconti Venosta, Sella, Bonghi, withdraw itself from the field of politics, leaving free action to a party which had come to power without experience of public affairs, almost without preparation for the business of government. At the present day the Right party in the Parliament of Italy no longer exists.

Such an abdication of its principles and of its glorious past by the Right must be regretted. It was a renunciation of its future, but perhaps it was an inevitable decline, the extinction of a party that had exhausted its stock of ideas, whose members in consequence were obliged to seek for a political existence in fresh combinations,

and endeavour to find in new chemical affinities—if I may use the expression—the conditions of their public life. The question was a great one. I remember, in relation to it, that before the advent of the Left to power, there was much talk, by no means destitute of foundation, of a contemplated coalition between the chief of the Right, Sella, and one of the leaders of the Left, Nicotera, with the object of uniting all the soundest and least heterogeneous elements of both sides of the Chamber to form a new majority, capable of giving stability to the Government and a vigorous impulse to legislative action. Various crises interfered to prevent the realisation of this project, but its existence is a proof that long before Signor Depretis effected his so called “transformation” the need was already recognized by the parties of greatest influence in the Chamber of providing for the formation of a parliamentary base more reasonable, more firm, and more assured. But a presentment of the facts will best explain the course of affairs.

Signor Depretis, on assuming the Government in March 1876, declared the principal points of his programme to be—reform of the electoral law, abolition of the forced paper currency, a law of compulsory education, and indicated vaguely the necessity of reforming the system of taxation in a sense favourable to the poorer classes, without, however, affecting the equilibrium attained in the Budget with so much labour. In addition, Signor Depretis gave out, in respect of the railway question, that the Ministry had drawn up a measure on the basis of private control. Here was a political programme that contained nothing alarming for any party. The announcement of electoral reform was received without distaste even by the Right, for the conviction was general that the electoral law required to be reformed in a more liberal sense. As to the project of taxation reform, which might have been considered as a threat of Radical legislation in the matter of imposts, the declaration was qualified by the Ministerial announcement that for the moment not a single lira of taxation would be abolished, and that no contribution would be annulled without full compensation to the revenue being otherwise provided. But during the two years it lasted the first Depretis Cabinet was able to realize little or nothing of the programme with which it started. In March 1878 the Ministry fell, not upon a vote of the Chamber, but solely on account of the Ministry no longer feeling itself master of the parliamentary situation.

Power, however, did not pass to the Right, but Signor Cairoli became Premier. From 1876 to 1881 Cairoli and Depretis alternately took each other's place, precisely as the chiefs of the Right, Menabrea, Lanza, Minghetti, had previously done. The Left becoming more and more discontented with its leaders, whom it had borne to power, at last voted against them, but such, nevertheless, were the political combinations of the time, that the Right never entered into the heritage. For the rest, Cairoli and Depretis were agreed upon the main points of the Left programme, always excepting one of great importance, which, in the event, brought about a schism in their party, and on which I shall have presently to enlarge. Only it must be said that Cairoli, whose instincts were of a most markedly popular character, and whose ideas were tinged with Radicalism, urged his projects of reform with greater vigour than Depretis.



And, in fact, one of the first acts of his administration was to cause his Minister of Finance, Seismit-Doda, to introduce a Bill for the abolition of the grist-tax, as introductory of the contemplated transformation of the system of taxation. The proposition, couched in no vague terms as in the Depretis-programme, but plainly and definitely worded, struck the Right and various other parties in the Chamber with consternation. The country had long been accustomed to the tax, which produced a net return to the State of seventy millions of francs, its incidence had been settled with infinite labour and pains and at considerable cost, and its immediate repeal appeared in the highest degree imprudent, all the more so in that the conditions of the Budget, but just brought to an equilibrium, did not yet allow of such a relief being granted to the taxpayer. But the Left had promised the country the abolition of the tax, and was anxious to keep its word, and, at the same time, gain an easy popularity. The grist-tax fell on all classes of consumers of flour, and hence was specially felt by the poor, on which account it had been baptized the hunger-tax. In van Sella, who had been the author of the tax, besought the Chamber not to accept a measure which threatened again to open the yawning gulf of deficit in the Budget. He was not listened to, and the abolition was carried by 250 votes against 77.

If ever there was a moment when the Right ought to have displayed firmness and shown a united front, it was assuredly now. The grist-tax constituted one of the main pivots of the financial administration of the Right, and it cannot be denied that the Bill of Seismit-Doda, although it was to come into operation gradually, and not at once, was of a somewhat revolutionary character. No doubt, it was intended to fill up the deficiency, which the abolition of the tax would cause in the Budget, by an increase of the taxes on articles of what is called voluntary consumption—such as sugar, coffee, alcoholic liquors, &c., and further, the product of almost all the remaining taxes continually increased, circumstances which prevented the abolition of the tax from being followed by any of the evils which many dreaded as its consequences. But I repeat that, at the time when the abolition was proposed and voted, the proceeding was of a rather revolutionary character, and the fact that only seventy-seven deputies of the Right could be found to support Sella on the question proves that already the germs of impotence and dissolution were in course of active fermentation in that party—germs that daily acquired destructive strength. With the Left the abolition of the grist-tax was motivated by a desire for popularity, but not a few Deputies of the Right also might be reproached with withholding their support from a hateful and hated law mainly to escape unpopularity.

The consistency of the Right was put to even more marked proof in the course of the discussion on electoral reform. This measure too was proposed by the Carli Cabinet, I believe in November 1878, but the debate upon it did not take place until the session of 1881. I have already said that even to the Right electoral reform was not distasteful. Why, indeed, should it have been so? In Italy, one may say, there is no distinction of classes, or, if there be any, it is infinitely less pronounced than in other countries. The Italian Parliament is a reflection, of course, of this state of society. Possibly the Right com-

prises more deputies notable by reason of their wealth, social position, or aristocratic title than the Left, but not, assuredly, to the extent of creating a sense of special interests, or a disposition to exceptional and privilege-preserving legislation. A deep feeling of devotion to the liberal and patriotic monarchy which governs us reigns equally on both sides of the Chamber, and what differences these may present are wholly of temperament, in that, namely, the Right is more pronounced in its desire for public order and political stability than the Left.

In this the whole diversity seems to me to consist. It was this fact that led the present Minister of Public Works, Signor Generali, in the course of the discussion on electoral reform, to say that in Italy there is in truth no Conservative party. I think the expression was just. Hence the Right had no objection in principle to reform, it simply desired the extension of the suffrage in a different sense from that in which it was proposed by the Ministry.

The old electoral law in Italy was based essentially upon a tax-assessment that was rather high—forty francs in the year—and under it the number of electors amounted to 628,000. The new law, which was in a special sense the outcome of the labours of Signor Zanardelli, who defended it afterwards as Minister of Grace and Justice, took for the basis of the suffrage the circumstance of having attended a certain class of elementary school, where reading and writing were taught,

her with a little arithmetic and geography. Here lay the main point of dispute between Right and Left, the former adhering obstinately to a tax-suffrage, the latter to an educational one, but on both sides opinions were far from being in harmony as to the quantum of the basis of either suffrage. To speak only of the Right, Minghetti, for instance, wished to reduce the qualification to ten francs, which would have given the suffrage to about 1,700,000. Bonghi would have allowed a vote to all citizens inscribed on the tax-rolls if only for the amount of a single lira, which would have increased the number of electors to something like 5,000,000, others, also members of the Right, advocated the principle of universal suffrage without any pecuniary limitations whatever. All these proposals were rejected by the Ministry, who feared they would result in giving a preponderant influence in the elections to the least progressive section of the community—the rural voters. To me this fear does not appear to have been well founded, and circumstances have shown that the Right was equally in error in its apprehension that an educational qualification, based almost solely upon the elector's ability to read and write, would give an overwhelming preponderance to the more tumultuous element of the town populations, and fill the Chamber with Radicals. To conclude, the Ministerial measure, modified of course in certain details but not in substance, and having tacked on to it a special law establishing *scrutin de liste*, passed the Chamber by 202 votes against 116. It gave an electorate numbering over 2,000,000 of voters.

It was under this law that the elections took place in the autumn of 1882, under conditions extraordinarily favourable to the Government, which had given three important reforms to the country—the electoral reform itself, the abolition of the forced paper currency, and the repeal of the grist-tax, which last events have shown to have in no way imperilled the Budget-equilibrium. In a speech made just before the

elections, Signor Depretis, who then for the third time presided over a Cabinet composed of members of the Left, made some important declarations, which claim notice. After having referred to the electoral reform just accomplished, Signor Depretis added that now it was necessary to say "A truce to political reforms, let us devote ourselves wholly to those administrative reforms which the country has so long waited for. The new electoral law has extended henceforth to every part of the country the benefits of the suffrage, but has at the same time increased the responsibility and the duty of the Government to carefully provide for the safety of institutions thus placed on a new footing, above all, the necessity must be kept in view of maintaining public order and affording due protection to person and property." These expressions called forth the warmest approval of the Right, and Minghetti himself took occasion to declare that upon such conditions he had no difficulty in accepting the new programme of Signor Depretis. His example was followed by many other members of the party, who without doubt owed their success at the polls to their adhesion to the Depretis programme. But by this conduct the Right gave itself the final blow as a political party. We shall understand this better a little further on.

In the elections of 1882 Depretis had an enormous majority. Besides the parties of the Left and Centre, a large section of the Right virtually gave him their support. But this majority was not homogeneous, nor united upon the financial measures contemplated by the Depretis programme, and ere many months had elapsed it was plain that the work of legislation made no progress, the majority was, as it was said, affected with "plethora." The occasion soon presented itself for a split to take place.

I have already mentioned that Signor Depretis, in respect of the programme of the party, was substantially in agreement with Carli and the other leaders of the Left, but on one important point, nevertheless, his views were different from theirs. This point related to the interpretation to be given to the right of meeting and association, and to the principle to be followed in the maintenance of public order. The divergence on this point had already shown itself in 1878, when Carli was Premier, with Zanardelli as Minister of the Interior. Zanardelli was of opinion that the right of meeting and association should be subject to scarcely any restraint, and that, as far as the maintenance of public order was concerned, the Government had no right to interfere save when public order was plainly threatened by some overt act. Under this doctrine of Signor Zanardelli's, which was resumed in the maxim "repression not prevention," numberless Republican and other unauthorized associations sprang into existence, and things got to such a pass that we were threatened with an immediate installation of the government of the mob. It was while the country was in this condition that the attempt of Passanante upon the life of the king took place in December of the above-mentioned year 1878, at Naples. No sensible man ever imagined for a moment that the Carli Ministry was in any degree whatever chargeable with complicity in this crime. But the theories of unrestrained liberty which the Ministry had been in the habit of professing could not but fall into disrepute amidst the clamour of public indignation which the outrage aroused in the country. The

matter was, of course, brought before Parliament, and the Cairoli Ministry was overthrown upon an order of the day moved by Depretis himself, in which, while it was admitted that the Government ought to "maintain inviolate the rights of public meeting and association, the Ministry was equally bound to defend public order by a strict application of the law." In this discussion Depretis, in substance, urged the necessity of reconciling the exercise of political rights with the greatest of the rights of the State, the right, namely, of self-conservation.

It was just upon a question of this kind that in May, 1883, the majority of "plebiscite" issuing from the elections of 1882 was rent in twain, and the singularity of the case lay in the circumstance that Signor Depretis had then for his colleague as Minister of Grace and Justice the same Zanardelli whose theories he had opposed in 1878. The exigencies of politics and the tyranny of party often impose similar inconsistencies. In May, 1883, then, among certain groups of the Left, suspicions arose as to the tendencies of the Cabinet presided over by Signor Depretis, suggested by the advances made to him by many members of the Right, among whom were some of the leaders of that party. Signor Nicotera brought forward a motion openly distrustful of the Ministry, and, together with other members of the Left, entered upon a severe review of the policy, especially of the domestic policy of the Government, aimed at Signor Depretis himself. The most was made of facts, real or supposed, and the most trivial incidents were used to throw suspicion upon the Liberalism of the Government. Shortly before demonstrations had taken place in various Italian towns with different objects, but especially in honour of the Irredentist Oberdan, condemned to death for an attempt upon the life of the Emperor of Austria, and in favour of the repeal of the Law of Guarantee, and the Government had been obliged to disperse meetings as well as to have recourse to other repressive measures. Signor Depretis energetically defended his policy, urging the necessity for the Government to maintain public order at any cost, in deference to the law itself, and to international duties. But two members of the Cabinet were personally interested in this question, Zanardelli and Baccarini, both advanced Progressists, who, precisely because they were so, had been specially aimed at by several speakers of the Right. They could not, of course, remain silent, and it was soon evident, from what they said, that they did not view the adhesion of the Right to the programme of Signor Depretis with the same amiability and satisfaction as Signor Depretis himself. They were anxious to be and to show themselves, above all, party men and, out of a feeling of loyalty to their party, were unwilling to clasp hands with men who, if they were no longer their adversaries to-day, might again become so to-morrow. But the Chamber, by a large majority, accepted the views of Signor Depretis, and approved an order of the day (May 19, 1883), which expressed full confidence in the Liberal policy of the Government. It was in consequence of this vote that Zanardelli and Baccarini resigned their portfolios. Thus the former majority became divided, and a new one was constituted, comprising members from both sides who supported the Depretis Cabinet. And it is with the help of this majority, uncertain and wayward as it has at times shown itself to be, that Signor Depretis has carried on the Government up to the present time.

In this review of past events I have dwelt upon them at some length, because the parliamentary situation, which is then outcome, is an important fact, and one which I believe to be characteristic of political life in Italy. The "transformation" of Signor Depretis has been much criticised, the epithets faithless and political renegade have been applied to him, and there is no reproach, accusation, or vituperation which his former friends have spared him, but the matter, viewed in its true proportions, simply amounts to this—that Signor Depretis sought to create conditions of homogeneous existence as a basis for the execution of a programme that had been accepted by both Left and Right. He thus realized ideas that had previously been shadowed forth in the antecedent attempts at a coalition between Sella and Nicotria. Given the Democratic basis of Italian political institutions, a basis which is in harmony with the profoundly Democratic nature of Italian society itself, there is no room in my opinion, for any distinction of Right and Left in the Italian Parliament, in the definite sense, at all events, which attaches to these terms when applied, for instance, to parliamentary parties in France and England. It is for this reason that I regard the transformation that took place in the Italian Parliament in May 1883, as a fact of an essentially permanent and not of a transitory nature. With the aid of his new majority Signor Depretis has been able to pass through the Chamber some of the important measures announced in his programme. Much still remains to be done completely to realize it, but such are the conditions of Parliament and the country that it may be permitted to hope that this task will be accomplished during the session which opened a few months back.

One of the most important points of this programme, and one which it has not hitherto been found possible to execute, principally through the confusion and uncertainty of the parliamentary situation, had relation to the systematization of Italian railways. It has been mentioned above that it was upon this question that the Right fell in March 1876. The Left in consequence of the vote of the 18th of that month found itself pledged to the continuance of the private system of administration, and in fact a law, of June 29 following, compelled the Government to introduce a railway bill based upon that system. However, in 1878, Signor Canali thought it well to refer the question to a parliamentary committee of inquiry. The committee, after more than four years' labour, came to the conclusion that the private system was the preferable one. There was no longer, therefore, any need to lose time in continuing the provisional railway administration, which had been some eight years in existence, and which had worked infinite harm to the public interests. Signor Genali, of the Centre, was nominated Minister of Public Works in June 1883, in the place of Baccarini, and was charged with the preparation of a railway measure on the basis of private control.

The railway question, one of importance in all countries, is one of the greatest importance in Italy, because with us it not merely involves economical considerations and touches material interests, but falls inevitably and properly within the province of Government. As I have already said, when the Right Cabinet introduced its Bill establishing a State control of railways, dissensions arose in the party, ending in the secession from it of a group of influential deputies. The latter

objected to following the Government on a railway policy that in their opinion changed the true nature of the Italian State, in which the administrative functions of the Government ought to be kept within the narrowest possible limits, and not pushed to an extreme as could not but be the case were the State to assume the administration of a great railway system. The question excited great feeling, and was discussed with special interest in Tuscany, where the traditions of private action and of administrative decentralization were more powerful than elsewhere. In Tuscany, in fact, had sprung into existence the "Adam Smith Society," which charged itself with the defence of private enterprise against the attacks of that "State-idolatry," which was rightly regarded as a foreign importation, not suited to the genius of the Italian people.

This kind of argument, which was most generally adopted and went to the root of the matter, acquired fresh force from a consideration of the conditions under which the parliamentary régime obtains among us. These are such that a Government control of railways must not merely fundamentally change the nature of the State, but must prove the ruin of the parliamentary system as well. Owing to a variety of causes, which this is not the place to enumerate, the public administration depends to some extent, in Italy, upon politics—that is, upon the deputies who handle politics. Under parliamentary conditions such as these we may imagine what would happen if the Chamber had to deal with questions of time-tables and tariffs, to look after the purchase of materials, the engagement of functionaries and workmen—more than a hundred thousand persons find employment upon the Italian railways—and to concern itself with all the other details of so vast an administration as that of the railway system of a great country. I know little of the results of State railway control in other countries where it obtains, and which, at the same time, enjoy parliamentary government, but of this I am sure that in Italy the consequences of State control could not fail to be most injurious, questions of railway administration would be turned into political questions, to be re-echoed in the Chamber to the hindrance of the really useful and proper work of Parliament, and the finances and the general interests of the State would in like manner suffer through the action of a variety of evil influences and the ceaseless play of party politics. I once asked a member of the Italian Senate, who has made railway business the study of his life, if he thought it possible effectively to organize a State control. He replied, "Yes, if the organization were outside of all Parliamentary influences, on this condition, which is a dream, State control might be successful."

Considerations of this kind gained the day in the Italian Parliament. The "railway conventions," which the Minister General had made with certain Italian banks, were accepted by a parliamentary majority of forty-nine votes. But the struggle was a long one, the debate lasted several months. The leaders of the Left, the members of the famous "Pentarchy," opposed them as a matter of course, covering the inconsistency of their action by directing their opposition, not against the system of private control, which they had accepted, but against the terms and clauses which the Minister of Public Works had agreed to in his conventions with the banks. It is worthy of notice that the conventions were accepted even by many of the principal members of the Right, such

as Bonghi and Minghetti, although the latter had brought in a State Control Bill in 1876. His acceptance, however, was due to special political considerations. Other eminent members of the Right, as Spaventa and Luzzati, adhered obstinately to the system of State control. It was on the occasion of the vote in favour of the Railways Conventions that the new majority of the 19th of May, 1883, for the first time declared itself upon a question of importance.

Another important matter determined by the Italian Parliament in the last session of the late Legislature was the reorganization of the system of land taxation on the basis of equalization. During the twenty-five years that had elapsed since the foundation of the kingdom of Italy, no equalization of the tax on real property had been effected in the different provinces. Each of the old Italian States had its own system of land taxation, founded upon different assessments. Even now there are twenty-two modes of assessment in Italy. By reason of this diversity of assessment, the southern provinces of Naples and Sicily and Tuscany were subject to a less burdensome contribution than the other provinces, and especially than those of the north, which were the most heavily burdened of all. This inequality of the tax on real property had engaged the attention of the Italian Government from the date of the constitution of the kingdom, and, in fact, from 1861 the Government had been pledged to bring a draft Bill on the subject before Parliament. But this draft Bill, notwithstanding the urgency which justice to the various proprietors of land in Italy impressed upon the measure, was never introduced on account of the fear that was felt that to bring it forward might arouse conflicts of interests between the different provinces of the kingdom, more especially between those of the north and south, which might have given occasion to a local antagonism dangerous to the national unity. But so unjust and abnormal an arrangement of the land-tax could no longer be tolerated. The preliminary study of the question occupied several years, it was pushed on with greater vigour and was completed by a draft Bill in consequence of the discussions raised by the agrarian crisis which occurred during the session of 1884, discussions which brought to light the distressed state of Italian agriculture, particularly in the northern provinces, where the burthen of the tax was heaviest.

It would be to exalt overmuch the patriotism of the Italian deputies to claim that in judging the Ministerial scheme of equalization they were actuated solely by a desire to promote the general good of the country. Considerations arising out of the particular conditions in which the electorates found themselves in respect of the proposed law exercised no doubt an influence on the minds of their representatives. And in fact, in the result, the deputies of the south, where the tax was least burdensome, voted against the scheme, while those of the north, including even many who were in opposition, supported it by a large majority. However, the sense of the justice and necessity of the reform was so strong in the country and in Parliament, that it was finally carried by a majority of 49 votes. Neither in the province of Naples nor in any other part of the country did any disorder take place, nor any of those outbursts of discontent which not a few deputies, opposed to the reform, had predicted as the consequences of the promulgation of the new law. The country remained, perfectly tranquil, and a few

weeks after the passing of the law of equalisation the Ministers Grimaldi, Tajani, and Genala, upon visiting many of the southern provinces, found themselves received with delight and enthusiasm.

I must here add a few words with respect to the law of equalization. Its preparation necessitated, of course, the execution of a new general land survey for the purpose of the tax upon a plan uniform throughout the kingdom. Herein, in truth, lay the real importance of the new law. The principle upon which the survey was to be carried out was discussed at great length. The Ministerial scheme gained the day. They proposed a geometrical survey, detailed and valuational. By a geometrical survey was meant one which should give the measure, with the area, boundaries, and outline of each holding, the expression "detailed" signified that a plan of each entire tenement belonging to a single proprietor was to be given, as in the parish and municipal surveys of England, but on a different scale, while the valuation was to be based, not on the income derived by the proprietor from his holding, but on an assessment made by public appraisers, aided by such rules and regulations as might be needed to enable the real value of each holding to be arrived at. Many of those who opposed the scheme desired not a geometrical survey but merely a descriptive one, giving only the measure, at most the area, but not the plan of each holding, others favoured a geometrical survey, but not a valuational one, preferring the system of allowing each proprietor to propose his own assessment. But the superiority of the Government scheme is incontestable. That scheme has the great advantage of ascertaining accurately, by the help of all the means furnished by science, the specific character of the holding subject to taxation, as well as of ascertaining, less accurately perhaps, but in conformity with available rules, its money-return, as a basis of taxation, thus subserving in a most useful manner, civil, judicial, and economical purposes. The survey is expected to take twelve years to accomplish, and is to be revised after thirty years, during the interval the improvements made upon properties are not to be subject to taxation.

The Equalization Bill introduced by the Minister of Finance, Signor Magliani, passed the Chamber, as I have mentioned, by a majority of forty-nine votes, but I ought to add that the Minister adroitly tacked on to it a law which greatly recommended the measure to members, the gradual repeal of the so-called war-tax of the "tasse decimi" incorporated with the land-tax, which meant a difference to the national revenue of 29,000,000 francs, about a fourth of the whole land-tax. Further, the Government with the passing of the new law came under an obligation to limit the right of the communes and of the provinces to levy a land-tax on their own account in addition to the royal tax, an additional burden on the land which some communes had pushed to the extent of making it heavier than that of the royal tax itself. The result of these measures was a very sensible alleviation of the fiscal burdens upon real property, they were the consequences of the promise made by the Government, as I have said, during the discussion raised in 1884 by the occurrence of the agrarian crisis. To the request of members, especially of those representing northern provinces, to relieve the agricultural distress, either by a protectionist tariff or by exemptions from taxation of the localities where the crisis was more particularly felt, or



by direct subvention from the Government, the Ministry had replied that nothing could be done beyond abandoning the "tre decimi" to relieve the agricultural interest during the development of the *Crédit Foncier*. This they did, introducing a Bill which was submitted to and obtained the approval of Parliament.

Here I take occasion to say that Signor Maghani, in November 1885, having to provide for a deficit of forty millions, brought a measure before Parliament, based on a scheme of tax reform, which had been advocated by the Left since its accession to power in 1876. Maghani proposed an increase of the duties upon coffee and sugar, and upon the manufacture of spirituous liquor, articles of so-called voluntary consumption, or at least of less necessary consumption, proposing at the same time to suspend the collection of one of the "decimi" of land-tax, which were to be repealed with the passing of the Law of Equalization that had not yet been discussed, or at least a reduction of the price of salt to twenty centesimi the kilogram. Parliament assented. The measure was a new proof of the consideration extended by the representatives of the people to the interests of the less favoured classes of society.

The Depretis Ministry had thus, up to the spring of 1886, fairly well retained the support of the majority of the 19th of May, 1883, but on the 5th of March of the former year, during the discussion of the so-called *Extrordinary Budget*, a question of confidence was raised, on which the Government obtained a majority of only fifteen votes. The debate had been at first of a merely financial character. Signor Maghani's administration had been severely censured by certain deputies because it was believed that the Budget had been seriously weakened and compromised by great carelessness and laxness in the expenditure. These censures the Ministry met victoriously, but in the course of the debate the question assumed a political character, and ended with a transfer of the attack from Maghani to Signor Depretis himself and the entire policy of his Cabinet. Thus the question became one of confidence, and, as I have said, the Ministry only escaped defeat by a majority of fifteen votes. Depretis felt himself so shaken in his position that he resolved to appeal to the country. The elections of the 23rd of May gave him a Chamber which strengthened his position, declaring in his favour upon the first appeal to it, in the following June, by a majority of sixty-seven votes.

What, we may inquire, were the causes of this melting away of the Ministerial majority, which, from being an enormous one, on May 19, 1883, had dwindled down three years afterwards to the exiguous figure of fifteen? The inquiry is indispensable, if we wish to understand the actual parliamentary situation in Italy, and to estimate the true strength of the present Depretis Cabinet.

When, in May 1883, in consequence of the vote of the 19th of that month, supervened the crisis, which resulted in the resignations of Zanardelli and Baccarini, members of the Depretis Cabinet, of advanced Progressist opinions, the Left was completely predominant in that Cabinet. Besides Depretis, who was Minister of the Interior, the Left had Mancini (at the Foreign Office), Zanardelli (Grace and Justice), Baccarini (Public Works), and Baccelli (Public Instruction), of the remaining four Ministers, Bertè (Agriculture and Commerce) had passed over from the Right, and the other three, Ferrero (War), Acton

(Marine), and Maghani (Finance), were rather technical experts than politicians. Zanardelli and Baccarini were replaced, the first by Giannuzzi-Savelli, a functionary of the judicial order, new to Parliament, and having no very definite political opinions, and the second by Genala, a deputy of the Centre.

The Cabinet had thus undergone modification in a moderate direction. But Baccelli still remained in the Cabinet, and his relations were rather with Carotì and with the Ministers who had resigned than with those who remained behind. His presence, therefore, in the Ministry thus modified was not agreeable to many members of the new majority, and particularly to a group of deputies of the Centre whose special organ was the *Rassegna di Roma*. Here was the first germ of instability and of discontent with the Ministry of the majority of May 19. The antipathy to Baccelli increased when, in December 1883, he brought in his measure for the reform of higher education. I cannot here explain, even briefly, what was the scheme of Baccelli's proposed reform. I can only mention that it was based on the principle of the almost absolute freedom of the universities, freedom of teaching, of administration, and of discipline. According to Baccelli's project the State was not to interfere with higher education, except in connection with the conferring of degrees upon the students. But public opinion was not favourable to the proposal, the university corporations themselves, almost without exception, regarded it with dislike. The notion of freedom which ran through the Bill was in general considered rather as a rhetorical flourish than anything else, and as deficient in a sense of reality. Nevertheless the proposal engaged the attention of the Chamber for more than two months, but obtained a majority of only nine votes. In the Senate an amendment was made which touched the very essence of the proposal, and eventually Baccelli became discredited in the Ministry. He and his scheme would not have kept their ground but for the personal intervention in favour of both of Signor Depretis, who declared that he regarded the Baccelli measure as a Cabinet question. But it became daily more evident that neither Parliament nor the country would in any degree entertain it. The Chamber showed its discontent in the matter with the Ministry on the occasion of the nomination of a President, in March 1884, in the room of Signor Farini, who had resigned. The Government candidate was Signor Coppino, a member of the Left, who only obtained a small majority of votes in his favour. The vote, however, was in reality aimed at Baccelli alone. A crisis ensued, which gave occasion to another of the many so-called "incarnazioni" of Depretis. Together with Baccelli, who was succeeded by Coppino, three members of the Cabinet of secondary rank resigned their portfolios. Among them was Butti, who himself was the very incarnation or the so-called "social legislation" which in the past had met with but small success in Parliament, and was not to achieve a better success afterwards.

The resignation of Baccelli had the effect of bringing back homogeneity to the Ministry, and to the majority even in a greater degree, in that, in consequence of the March crisis, Brin had entered the Cabinet as Minister of Marine, whose technical and administrative abilities were universally acknowledged. There still, however, remained in the Cabinet a Minister regarded with little favour by many members of the majority, especially by the group of Centre dissidents whom I have

already mentioned, and who appear to have made it their mission to act as a wedge in the midst of the majority, for the purpose of splitting it in two. The Minister in question, Signor Mancini, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

Signor Mancini, a barrister of high standing, entered the Depretis Cabinet in May 1881, upon the fall of the Canolì Ministry on the well-known Tunis question. He entered, therefore, upon the duties of his office at anything but a happy moment, and under anything but favourable auspices. Italy was then in a state of complete isolation and it was at such a juncture that on the Mediterranean coast a deep wound was inflicted upon her pride and her interests. To Signor Mancini's efforts we owe our extrication from this isolation. He set on foot and promoted amicable relations with Germany and with Austria-Hungary, put an end to the Irredentist agitation, and inspired foreign governments with renewed confidence in the sincerity of our desire for peace. But like Canolì, he was destined to find his political tomb in Africa. Mancini had already declined the invitation of the English Government to community of action at Alexandria and Cairo. This refusal did not fail to draw down upon him some censures in Parliament, but it must not be forgotten that at the time the English offer was made public opinion in Italy was in general unfavourable to its acceptance. On the other hand, Mancini showed no hesitation in sending an expedition to the Red Sea. One day, in January 1885, the Italian Chamber was profoundly agitated by the announcement that a body of Italian troops had left for Assab, which they were to garrison as a prelude to the occupation of Missowah and Beilul. Public opinion on this occasion approved the action of the Ministry. It was a moment when in all countries fermented ideas of colonial enterprise with greater vigour than at any previous time and hence we were pleased with an act which brought Italy, too, into the universal race of colonization, and lifted us out of the state of enervation into which, through a combination of causes, we had fallen. When Signor Mancini afterwards sketched in Parliament the motives and the aim of the expedition, there was the better reason for approving the Government policy. It was plain that the object of the Italian expedition was to co-operate with the English troops in the Soudan against the Mahdi. No positive agreement had been entered into with England, but it was certain that the English Government, in accordance with the declaration made by Lord Granville in the House of Lords in February 1885, not only accepted, but accepted with pleasure, the aid of Italy. As to Italy herself, the Red Sea expedition was despatched, not in view exactly of the foundation of colonies, as was generally believed, but as a first step towards the re-establishment of that equilibrium in Mediterranean politics which, since the Tunis affair, had been disturbed to our prejudice. It must be admitted that to attain this object a somewhat lengthy route was chosen, but Italy remembered the Crimean expedition which had opened the way to the conquest of her independence, and the country was full of hope. What happened, however, is known to every one in England. Wolseley failed to relieve Gordon, and the determination of the English upon the fall of Khartoum to withdraw from the Soudan cut the sinews of the Italian expedition, and limited the sphere of our action to Massowah and Beilul.

The course of events in Africa had a disastrous influence upon the parliamentary position of Signor Mancini. I do not know to what

extent, if at all, Gladstone was held responsible in England for the failure of Wolseley and his lieutenants. But I know that this failure was fatal to Signor Mancini, who almost seemed to be charged with the disaster because he had not foreseen it. No respite was allowed him, the possibility even of things taking such a turn in the Sudan as to permit of a renewal of the contemplated combined action of England and Italy was not regarded. Interpellation followed upon interpellation, and Signor Mancini could only answer that the Red Sea expedition was a first step in the way to that colonial expansion which the country had shown its desire to achieve—a first step which would be followed by others—but that meanwhile patience must be exercised. This did not satisfy Parliament, or rather many members of the Right and the usual group of Centre dissidents, who, acknowledging Mancini's ability, did not think him suited to the post he occupied, where, not to speak of his other defects as a politician, instead of the moderation and reserve of a diplomatist he displayed the prolixity and used the inflated language of an advocate. It was not in fact to the expedition to the Red Sea, nor to the Cabinet which had despatched it, that exception was taken, but to the Minister Mancini alone. Mancini was able to maintain his position, thanks to the intervention of Depretis, who had more than once to declare in Parliament that he and all the Cabinet supported the policy of the Foreign Minister, and that to strike at the latter was to strike at the whole Ministry. A like intervention of Depretis was able on two or three occasions to save Mancini. But by June 1885, he had become, in a parliamentary sense, altogether discredited. In July, on the discussion of the Foreign Office expenditure, he had a majority of one vote only. Depretis was then obliged to bow before the vote of the Chamber, which desired to see his Foreign Minister sacrificed. In the place of Mancini the Count di Robilant occupied the Consultation. The Count was at that time ambassador at Vienna, and, although he had not definitely attached himself to any political party, might be regarded as belonging to the Right. From the two instances I have cited, which make it sufficiently plain that the caprice of this or that group of the majority was enough to dislodge a Minister it disliked, it is clear that the majority itself lacked, if not homogeneity—and homogeneous it ought to have been as a party of one programme—at least discipline. Nor were the examples of Biscelli and Mancini without parallels. Other Ministers had fallen in the meantime from nearly similar causes—Aston, Berti, Pessina, Faracciu. And, with the exception of Mancini, who, after leaving the Ministry, remained faithful to Depretis, they all turned hostile to the Premier, and made their friends, few or many, turn hostile too. Many deputies of the Right, also, in spite of the example set by Minghetti, who continued loyally to support Depretis, and the acceptance of a portfolio by one of its most influential members, General Ricotti, who, in December 1884, had replaced General Ferreo at the Ministry of War, assumed an attitude of hostility towards Depretis. Different causes led to this conduct on the part of the Right, there was some sense of neglect felt by the party, a certain impression existed that the administration of Signor Magliani lacked the guiding principles of firmness and strict economy, again, it was sometimes alleged—and this was especially the complaint of Signor Spaventa—that Signor Depretis did not found his policy upon the principles of political morality. Thus by degrees a group of dissidents came to form itself

in the Right party, as had already occurred in that of the Centre. Up to this time Signor Depretis, by an extraordinary display of parliamentary ability, had been able to keep together his majority. But now it looked as if he had got to the end of his resources. In a Parliament like ours, where the different parties do not represent different sets of opinions—where there are, properly speaking, no parties at all—the struggles of the different groups which compose it are in reality nothing but conflicts of interests and ambitions more or less legitimate. And it is most difficult, if not impossible, to reduce these conflicts to silence, tranquillized for a moment in one quarter, the next they break out in another, and what was done yesterday is undone to-day. It was in the way I have described that it came about that the vote of the 5th of March gave a majority of only fifteen votes to the Ministry, a result that in the parliamentary situation, which had then lasted a year, almost meant a declaration of want of confidence.

Was, then, the work at an end which had been undertaken in consequence of the vote of the 19th of May, 1883, that established a majority with the object of supporting Signor Depretis in carrying out his programme of reform? That cannot be said yet. In the first place the last elections have deprived the vote of the 5th of March of much of its importance, a Chamber having been elected which has declared itself in favour of Signor Depretis by a majority of sixty-seven votes. In the next essential circumstance of the case must not be forgotten. What gave the finishing blow to the majority of the 19th of May, 1883, was the Law of Equalization of the Land Tax, which stirred into activity great and opposite interests throughout the country, and disorganized all the parties in the Chamber, throwing them into confusion and disorder. In fact, in voting upon that law, each deputy was urged, as I think I have already observed, almost wholly by a consideration of the interests of the electors he represented. When the vote had been taken a very remarkable circumstance occurred—the deputies of the Left and of the Extreme Left who had voted in favour of the Cabinet on the question hastened to return to the fold almost ere the Law of Equalization was safely passed, and regained their places among the ranks of the Opposition, but the deputies of the Right, especially those who had voted against equalization, that is, against the Ministry, did not rejoin the majority, the greater number of them remained in Opposition. These deputies voted also with the Opposition on the question of confidence in June last, on which men of the most opposite and incompatible views, such as Crispi and Ruconi, Spaventa and Zanardelli, Chiaves and Baccanti, found themselves united. At present the Chamber is engaged in the discussion of the Budget. From the day of the opening of the session, which took place on the 23rd of November last, up to the present time, the Chamber has had no opportunity of giving a political vote. It is impossible, therefore, to say what line of policy the dissidents of the Right will adopt. It is certain, however, that even without their aid the Depretis Cabinet may continue to live, having obtained, as I have said, a majority of sixty-seven votes in June last. But it must be added that among the dissidents are to be found men of great influence, while in the majority these are rather lacking than the reverse. The main resource of Depretis lies in temporizing, like Fabius Maximus, the *cunctator*, with whom some of our wits compare him, and it may be this power will help him with the dissidents who at

bottom are not opposed to the Ministry save through misunderstandings, and on pretexts and grounds of a transitory and unpermanent character—slighted interests, and wounded ambitions

This review of Italian affairs would be altogether incomplete, if I were not to say a few words concerning the conflict, still real enough, though dormant, which exists between Italy and the Vatican—a conflict which certain recent events have quite lately brought into a new light. The question is one of which the discussion interests not Italy only, but the whole world, for it brings into play two things equally valued by mankind—truth and reason, religion and liberty. Of this conflict I treated at length three years ago in this Review. I shall not of course repeat here what I then said. I must, however, remind the reader that the condition of antagonism existing between the Quirinal and the Vatican exercises an influence on the state of political society in Italy which deserves to be noticed. In Italy the Court, the Parliament—all active political society in fact—supports the national unity with Rome as capital, without restrictions, reserves, or qualifications of any kind. On this point we are absolute irreconcilables. The King, replying to the Syndicate of Rome, during the ceremony of the last commemoration of the 20th of September—the day the Italian troops entered Rome—made use of a happy phrase in this connection, calling Rome a ‘Hands-off Conquest’ (*conquista intangibile*). The phrase had a great success, and was adopted as a motto by all the Liberal associations in Italy, it expresses, indeed, the inmost thought of the nation, their fixed resolve to keep Rome for Italy.

But politics are not everything in this world, nor are they so in Italy, faith also exists, and there are those who believe and who feel the need of an authority on earth to be the interpreter of their consciences, of their religious wants, and of their hopes of the world to come, and this authority, for Italian Catholics, can be no other than the Pope. Now, the Pope has always refused, and still refuses, to recognize Rome as belonging to Italy, and not only does he refuse us Rome, but he denies the fundamental principle itself, in virtue of which we are at Rome, and possess the life, the aspect, and the force of a nation. This principle is the well-known maxim, a Free Church in a Free State, a maxim which involves the separation of Church and State. To this principle the Vatican has always opposed, and still obstinately opposes, the notion of the Theocratic State. Leo XIII has clearly set forth the doctrine of the Vatican on this point in his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, of the 22nd of August, 1885. Well, there are in Italy good Catholics who are at the same time good patriots. These desire the unity of Italy with Rome as her capital, but under reserve, more or less openly declared, of the Pope’s liberty of action and decision. Their conscience—and they are by no means few in number in Italy—suffers, as it were, from the stress of two opposite sentiments. Unable to do anything else, they emit pious wishes for a reconciliation of the Quirinal and the Vatican. There are several periodicals in Italy of which this is the leading idea. One appeared in December last at Milan, under the designation *Il Rosminiano*, after the celebrated philosopher of that name. But the notion is one that is likely to remain indefinitely in a state of platonic calm. There is no reason to suppose that it can ever realize itself in action. In the meanwhile the National Catholics—so the supporters of a reconciliation of the Pope with Italy style themselves—stand widely aloof from active

politics. And this is a misfortune, for it is one element of strength the less in the discussions upon which turn the destinies of the country. But the National Catholics form, in line, only an insignificant minority, at bottom they are mere Utopians. The real strength of the nation, the immense majority of Italians have no fancy for playing at masquerades of this sort, or for throwing away the substance in grasping at the shadow. Our minds are made up, we shall meet hate with hate, war with war. At the outset of his Pontificate it was possible to hope that Leo XIII would show himself to be in some degree a different man from his predecessor, and that he would better comprehend the times, but his acts during these latter years have demonstrated the futility of any such expectations.

He has gradually come within the circle of Catholic ideas of the most irreconcilable type. He has no better conception than his predecessor of the spiritual power enjoying independence without a scrap of territory belonging to it, and of the Law of Guarantee he no more accepts the principles to-day than did the Curia when it was first promulgated fifteen years ago. Under these circumstances every act of the Vatican which is, or only seems to have, a political signification, never fails to agitate the political pulse, and occasion a current of anti-clerical feeling throughout the country. This was seen last year upon the publication of the Brief of the 13th of June in favour of the Jesuits. Possibly in issuing his Brief Leo XIII had no other object in view than that of removing the doubt which existed as to whether with the re-establishment of the Order by the Bull of Pius VII were revived or not the privileges accorded to the Jesuits since the days of Paul III. This doubt is removed by the Brief of Leo XIII. But the Brief was one of a series of acts of the present Pope, all of which showed his sympathy with that detested Order. And the Jesuits, as is well known, are the most obstinate supporters of the Papal theocracy. No wonder need be felt then that last summer the cry of "Down with Clericalism" became the rallying cry of numerous demonstrations. No town of any importance in Italy but what had its anti-clerical meeting. The discussions that took place at these meetings followed very various lines. At Milan, for instance, the repeal of Art. I of the constitution was demanded, which declares the Catholic religion to be the religion of the State, as well as the secularization of all Church property, the repeal of the Law of Guarantee, and I know not what else. In general, however, these meetings were distinguished by a spirit of moderation, limiting themselves to a declaration of the indisputable right of Italy over Rome, and the maintenance in its integrity of the national programme. The Government did not care to interfere with any of these meetings and demonstrations, it even dabbled a little in anti-clericalism on its own account. The Minister of Justice, Tajani, caused the Jesuits to be expelled from Florence, where they had obtained unlawful possession of certain parochial buildings, and took various measures with the view of strictly executing the laws upon the suppression of religious corporations, forbidding the excessive taking of vows and orders, and the illegal occupation of public buildings by members of the suppressed corporations. In addition, Signor Tajani is credited with having entertained the intention of bringing in a measure calculated to restrict the numbers of the Jesuits who swarm everywhere in Italy. For the present, however, the anti-clerical agitation has subsided, but the conflict with the Vatican is,

as I have said, still alive though dormant, and a very little would suffice to wake it into activity

Notwithstanding, however, these exhibitions of anti-clerical proclivities on the part of Signor Tajani, nothing is more opposed to the ideas of the Depretis Cabinet than the inauguration of a policy of so called hostility to the Vatican, and I have reason to believe that Tajani's displays of anti-clericalism were as little to the taste of the Premier and of the other members of his Cabinet as to that of many deputies of the majority, and least of all were acceptable to the dissidents of the Right. The existing Ministry, like all those that have preceded it, stands firmly, in relation to the Vatican question, upon the Law of Guarantee, which sanctions the sovereignty of the Pope and the independence of his spiritual power. This law establishes a sort of truce between Church and State. As to the Vatican question itself, the solution of the problem it presents is left to time and its beneficent influences—to time, which, according to our great philosopher, Cesare Beccaria, brings all political and social phenomena into equilibrium.

This, too, at bottom, is the feeling of the country in general, which, despite the provocations offered by the Vatican, has invariably shown itself averse from every kind of violence, as well as from every act which might wear even the appearance of violence. Hence it is that, notwithstanding some displays of excitement, easily explicable, at various popular demonstrations, public order has never been disturbed at any anti-clerical meeting. And this, it must be said, was the case not only at anti-clerical meetings, but on every occasion when the subject was discussed. It is clear that since 1882 the country has made great moral progress, the subversive elements of society have gained no ground during these last four years, and the country has not been the loser by this. In numbers the Anarchic parties are no stronger than they were in the last Chamber, and even in that, though elected on a widened suffrage, they showed no more strength than in the Chamber of 1880. Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists between them do not muster much more than thirty members. Hence it is clear that in the past the Radicals had no other strength than what they derived from the timidity and feebleness of Ministries. But the declarations made by Signor Depretis in view of the elections of 1882, that public order must be preserved at every cost within the limits prescribed by law—declarations which, as has been said, drew the Right in his direction—have produced their natural effect. These declarations were accompanied by corresponding acts, and the current of Demagogism has been arrested.

At the outset I mentioned some of the more important projects of law, which still remain to be discussed, as completing the Depretis programme for the reorganization of the State. I cannot stop to say anything of these projected measures here, for to do so would compel me to exceed the limits of space imposed upon the present article. I repeat, however, what I have already said, that the necessity of the measures in question is acknowledged by all parties in the Chamber, who differ only as to the means and upon certain special points, and are in no peril, therefore, of being ranged in two opposing camps by any hard and fast line of opinion. An example of what I mean may be seen in the projected reform of the communal and provincial laws, which, from a certain point of view, has a political character, involving such questions



as the mode of election of syndics, who are now nominated by the Government, the extension of the political suffrage to those who possess the local suffrage, and the extension of the suffrage to women. These are three moving measures which find supporters and opponents on both sides of the Chamber, and give rise, therefore, to no struggle of parties. The same is the case with the so-called social measures, the need of which all parties acknowledge, though as yet the ample discussion to which they have given rise has produced nothing in the shape of a law. It is not asserted that the Opposition in respect of these projects of reform will have nothing to say to the Ministry. Such an expectation would show ignorance of the position of political parties, and indeed, generally of human nature. What is meant is merely that there will be no reason why the majority which supports the present Ministry should split in respect of the incomplete portion of the Depretis programme. At present, then, the Depretis Ministry seems free from any danger ahead, the more so in that, if it cannot be denied that the majority which support Signor Depretis does not manifest all the conditions of stability and homogeneity which might be desired, the Left is, as an Opposition, even more disunited. The so-called "Pentarchy" may be considered as dead and buried. It received its death blow at the last elections. None of its then members—Crispi, Nicotera, Zanardelli, Baccini, Canali—has in the present political situation any, even the smallest, chance of a successful struggle with Depretis or of ousting him from power. I have already observed that the Right as an historical political party has been dead since it accepted the Depretis programme in 1882, the same remark applies to the Left as represented by the present Opposition. The latter continues to struggle only for the honour of a name, a name which now covers nothing but mere emptiness.

The "transformation," then—that is, the fusion into one party of the sanest and most homogeneous elements of the Right, the Centre, and the Left, which received its Parliamentary sanction on the 19th of May, 1883—still obtains, in fact, it is the only party that does exist, in contrast with the historical parties, of which latter it may be said what our heroic-comic poet wrote of one of his heroes

"Andr  combattendo ed era morto" (*He went on fighting and he was dead*)

Is a proof desired? In one of the Opposition journals I saw lately the suggestion of the possibility and desirability of a coalition between Di Robilant of the Right and Nicotera and Zanardelli of the Left. Now, if a serious London newspaper took it into its head some fine morning to suggest in all seriousness a political combination between Salisbury on the one hand and Chamberlain and Bright on the other, I feel assured that the suggestion would be received from one end of the United Kingdom to the other with peals of laughter. But the paragraph in the Italian journal I have referred to excited no merriment whatever in Italy. What does a fact like this mean? It means that with us the old political parties exist no longer. Whether they will ever exist again I do not know, but for the present at all events they are dead. This is the most characteristic feature of contemporary politics in Italy, and to have dwelt upon it at some length will not, I believe, be found without interest even for foreigners.

GIOVANNI BOGHETTI

# CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

## I — POETRY

AT the end of last year Lord Tennyson brought out a book containing, along with other things, a sequel to "Locksley Hall." It is difficult to judge this new poem impartially. One reader says "The old was better," others (perhaps they are the majority) are carried away altogether by this revival of the music of a poem more widely known perhaps, than any other of this century—a poem which, in spite of sober criticism, in spite of Bon Gaultier, has been so generally accepted, admired, and loved. This second poem, indeed, derives no small portion of its influence from the first "Locksley Hall." Old associations come in and take captive the scrupulous mind that is trying to be unprejudiced. Impartiality is all very well, but the reader is not much to be envied who remains unmoved by the opening of this poem

"Half the morning have I paced these sunny tracts,  
Watch'd a sun the hollow ridges roaring into cataracts  
Wander'd back to living boyhood while I heard the curlews call—  
I myself so close to death, and death itself in Locksley Hall."

After that opening most people will be content to listen. Like the first "Locksley Hall," the second poem is a passionate dramatic monody, changing rapidly from the expression of personal feeling by the imaginary speaker, to more general thoughts, fears, and hopes, great part of the charm of the two poems lies in this rapid change from the passion of the lover to no less passionate utterances of impersonal thoughts and imaginations. The single voice making its complaint in the wilderness, between the moorland and the sea, wakens up every now and then the voices of the world to answer it. The second "Locksley Hall" is a song of reconciliation and forgiveness, but as it is a lyrical poem—passionate, not merely reflective—there are many variations of mood. There is no one single conclusion or moral. The old man was a young man sixty years ago, full of pain and anger, trying to find cure for his vexation in enthusiasm for the future of mankind and the world. Now he has no thoughts that are not pious towards the dead people whom he in his youth judged harshly. But the fiery hopes of his youth have long cooled down, and he is oppressed by the seeming deterioration of the world, yet he will not altogether give up his old hope, though it be now "too like despair." A good deal is to be learned by comparing this poem with the "Ancient Sage," published a year ago, in the "Tiresias" volume. There the argument is much the same, though it is stated in grave recitative, not with the lyrical fervour of

\* "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After, &c." By Lord Tennyson. London Macmillan & Co

'Locksley Hall' There the general doctrine, the philosophy, is more important —

"And we the poor earth's dying race and yet  
No phantoms, watching from a phantom shore  
Await the last and largest sense to make  
The phantom walls of this illusion fail,  
And show us that the world is wholly fair"

In 'Locksley Hall,' the to-and-fro doings about the interpretation of the world are brought to a close in a return to the simple lyrical utterances of resignation and forgiveness

"Forward, let the stormy moment fly and mingle with the past  
I that loathed, have come to love him I love will conquer at the last  
(One at eighty, mine own age and I and you will bear the pill  
Then I leave thee Lord and Master, latest Lord of Locksley Hall"

One of the best of the other books of poetry published in 1886 is "The Judgment of Prometheus"† If poetry were, like punting or music, an art supposed to require training and study, "The Judgment of Prometheus" would be sure to find an honourable place in the schools of poetical design and composition. From beginning to end it is an example of the success that is only gained by single-minded following of artistic perfection. The idyll that gives its name to the volume treats of the debate between Zeus and Poseidon, and its solution by the great Titan, the deliverer. It is full of admirable passages in noble verse. The poem on "Rhodes" will perhaps find more general acceptance. It ought certainly to be praised by that increasing number of students who are inclined to revolt against the tyranny, as they consider it, of subtlety and enigma. Those disaffected persons divide poetry into that which you can read aloud and that which you can read, if at all, only in silence. It is easy to see to which class these stanzas on "Rhodes" belong (p. 12)

"Therewith I shot an arrowy ray  
Down through the blue Aegean deep  
Thrilled by that magic dart of day,  
The hidden isle shook off her sleep  
She moved she rose, and with the morn  
She touched the air and Rhodes was born

"Then all about that starry sea  
There ran a gratulating stir  
Her fellows for all time to be  
In choral congress greeting her  
With air borne songs and flashing smiles,  
A sisterhood of glorious isles"

Of the other poems the most remarkable is that which concludes the volume—"An Ode on the Death of General Gordon." Along with this it is fitting to mention the noble poem on the same subject by Sir Francis Doyle, at the end of his recently published "Reminiscences and Opinions." Mr. Myers could hardly fail, with such a theme, to say things worth bearing in mind, and what poet living has a better right than Sir Francis Doyle to commemorate the three hundred and nineteen days of Khartoum?

\* "The Ancient Sage" ("Tiresias and other Poems," p. 64)

† "The Judgment of Prometheus" By Ernest Myers. London Macmillan & Co 1886

"*Brutus Ultor*"\* is a true Roman play Plutarch might speak a prologue to it The author's qualities are already well known, here they are shown perhaps to greater advantage than ever before There is something very fascinating in the speed and vigour of this play It goes on without exciting any suspicion in the reader that blank verse is an unnatural form of expression for purposes of dialogue In most modern five-act tragedies the blank verse has a taint of "gramercy" and "halldome" about it, but here there is nothing forced or affected

Mr Lewis Morris's play of "*Gycia*"† has certainly an interesting plot It turns upon the conflict between a wife's love to her husband and her sense of duty towards the State The Lady Gycia reveals to the archon and senators of Cherson the conspiracy in which her husband Asander is engaged, hoping to save the State of Cherson, and at the same time bring her husband out of all his entanglements The State is saved, but the archon and senators break their promise to Gycia—they do nothing to preserve the life of her husband, and the tragedy ends with the death of Gycia, following upon the death of Asander The story is taken, as the preface informs us, from Byzantine history, with little modification of the incidents It is certainly worthy of poetical treatment The main fault of Mr Morris's play is that the personages, though clearly presented, are wanting in interest The story is worth much more than the characters The play challenges comparison with "*Venice Preserved*," and Belvidera keeps her precedence of Gycia Asander is a poor creature, a sort of well-meaning Darnley, who never knows whether he is telling the truth or not, and is never sure what exactly he wishes to gain by his lying The contrast between Asander's pliability and Gycia's narrow earnestness is the strong point in the story The secondary characters—Irene, a lady in love with Asander, Theodorus (her brother), in love with Gycia, statesmen and courtiers of Bosphorus, archons and senators of Cherson—serve the purpose either of making trouble between the shifty Asander and his wife, or of weaving a political coil round the unfortunate hero

Mr Woolner's "*Tiresias*,"‡ in spite of many merits and beauties, is not a satisfactory poem—not as good as its predecessor, "*Silenus*" The purpose of it apparently is to set forth, by means of the ancient myth, the nature of the life of a poet, to show how the artist's joy makes compensation for the man's sorrow Tiresias received the gift of prophetic vision after his blindness had cut him off from ordinary reality In the execution the poem of "*Tiresias*" somewhat fails It is divided into two parts the first part dealing, more or less directly, with the fortunes of Tiresias, the seer and prophet, the second containing imaginative rhapsodies from his mouth The first part arouses one's interest in the old myth, the second part forgets all about Tiresias The first part is a sort of history of the poet, the second part is an appendix, with specimens of his works The reader is not properly prepared for the transition from the one part to the other, and feels himself in consequence baffled and perplexed

The poems of the Bishop of Derry § belong, most of them, to a good

\* "*Brutus Ultor*" By Michael Field London G Bell Clifton J Baker 1886

† "*Gycia*" By Lewis Morris London Kegan Paul, Trench & Co 1886

‡ "*Tiresias*" By Thomas Woolner London G Bell & Son 1886

§ "*St Augustine's Holiday, and other Poems*" By William Alexander, D D, D.C.L., Bishop of Derry and Raphoe London Kegan Paul, Trench & Co 1886

school They are not infected with the timidity and over-carefulness of these latter days, they recall the boldness and freedom of the first revolt against artificial poetry The following lines alone might suffice to make the author pass for one of the old romantic battalion —

"Then on a great Assyrian quay,  
Fast by the town of Nineveh,  
At noon of night, methought I stood  
Where Tigris went with glimmering flood,  
And walls were there all storied round  
With old grim kings, enthroned, encrowned,  
Strange visaged chief and winged bull,  
Pine cone, and lotus wonderful  
Embark'd, I floated fast and far,  
For I was bound to Babylon  
I saw the great blue lake of Wan,  
And that green island Akhtamar,  
I saw above the burning flat  
The lone and snow capped Ararat,  
But ever spell bound on I pass,  
Sometimes hearing my shallop creep,  
With its cool rustle, through the deep  
Mesopotamian meadow grass  
And now (as when by moons of old,  
Crandly with wrinkling silver rolled  
It glimmered on through grove and lea,  
For the starry eyes of Raphael  
Journeying to Irbatane)  
The ancient Tigris floweth free,  
Through orange grove and date tree dell,  
To pearl and rainbow coloured shell,  
And coral of the Indian sea' \*

The verses in Professor Blackie's "*Mensis Vitæ*" † are concerned with a great number and variety of subjects — praise of backgammon and of Loch Baa, condemnation of "squabblement of Church and State," and of "wandering M P's brainless babble," attract the attention of those appealed to by this cheerful singer

"The Last Crusade," by Mr Alfred Hayes, ‡ is a carefully written blank verse narrative of the expedition in which Saint Louis died

The hexameter version of "Jack and the Beanstalk" § ought to take rank as one of the finest specimens of that much-abused metre The illustrations are from Mr Caldecott's unfinished sketches The giant in these has no fixed likeness, but shows as he appeared from time to time to the artist, who was making up his mind about him His changes of shape are very terrible This giant was one of the outlandish ettins who have power of perplexing the vision, as shown in the well-known case of Thor's journey to Jotunheim

Mr Ashby-Sterry's verses || are of the sort of which the scorner has said that "almost any man could reel it off by yards together" The scorner is wrong, for the great majority of men who write verses write bad and unmetrical ones, whereas this sort of poetry, light as it may be, can be trusted to keep in time and tune

A good many laborious and solemn minstrels might profit by studying Mr Joseph Mayor's "Chapters on Metre" ¶ Yet there are some

\* "*Super Flumina*," pp 67, 68

† "*Mensis Vitæ*" By J S Blackie, London Macmillan & Co 1887

‡ Birmingham Cornish Brothers 1887

§ "Jack and the Beanstalk" By Hallam Tennyson Illustrated by Randolph Caldecott London Macmillan & Co 1886

|| "The Lazy Minstrel" By J Ashby Sterry London T Fisher Unwin 1886

¶ C J Clay & Sons 1886

dangerous things in it—*eg*, Mr A J Ellis's blank verse in p 63, showing different licenses of versification all huddled together. The ordinary blunderer is bad enough, but with a *notum organum* of this sort, a scientific theory of all the possible irregularities in a heroic line, he may be able to produce something impossibly discordant. But only a very wicked man would make this use of Mr Ellis's permutations and combinations. Mr Mayor's views have nothing extravagant in them, and ought to do a great deal to clear up this vexed question. Readers who do not care to enter deeply into the matter will find a good deal to engage them in Mr Mayor's clever treatment of previous speculators—of Dr Guest on the one hand and Mr Symonds on the other.

Among translations lately issued, it is necessary to notice Sir Theodore Martin's "*Faust*,"\* Lord Carnarvon's "*Odyssey*,"† Mr Way's "*Iliad*,"‡ Mr Rutherford Clark's "*Odes of Horace*,"§ and Mr Toynbee's selection from Béranger || Mr A D Ainslie has rendered Goethe's "*Reynard the Fox*" ¶ into common metre, without much spirit. Of new editions, one of the most popular is sure to be that of Mr Coventry Patmore's collected poetical works.\*\* Professor Skeat has published for the Clarendon Press a parallel text edition of "*Piers Plowman*" ††. The notes and glossary are much the same as in the edition made by Professor Skeat for the Early English Text Society. It is to be hoped that this edition may have many students, though the weaker sort will not find much that is outwardly attractive in this arrangement of three texts together. The separate volumes of the Early English Text Society, cumbrous as some of them are, will be more convenient for those who wish to read straight on.

Another production of the Clarendon Press is more peculiar in its importance—the three Cambridge Comedies, edited by Mr Macray ††. "*The Return from Parnassus*," printed first in 1606, has long been a source of interest. It was known that it was only a third part of a series of Cambridge plays, but the other two plays—the "*Pilgrimage*" and the first part of the "*Return*"—were supposed to be lost. They have been recovered in the Bodleian by their editor, Mr Macray. It is pleasant to think that we owe their preservation to the pious care of Hearne, a benefactor to be honoured by all students of old English poetry. The newly discovered plays are as good as the part already known. The general character of those three Elizabethan comedies is much the

\* "*Faust*" Part II. Translated by Sir Theodore Martin, K C B. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

† "*The Odyssey of Homer*" I–XII. Translated into English verse by the Earl of Carnarvon. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

‡ "*The Iliad of Homer*" I–XII. Done into English verse by Arthur S Way, M A. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1886.

§ "*The Odes of Horace*." Translated by T Rutherford Clark. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1887.

|| "*Songs of Béranger in English verse*." By William Toynbee. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

¶ Macmillan & Co. 1886.

\*\* George Bell & Son. Third edition. Two vols. 1887.

†† The "*Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*," in three parallel texts, together with "*Richard the Redcless*." By William Langland. Edited by the Rev Walter W Skeat. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1886.

‡‡ "*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, with the two parts of the Return from Parnassus*." Three Comedies performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, A D MDXCVII–MDCI. Edited from MSS by the Rev W D Macray, M A, F S A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1886.

same The theme is that perennial favourite, the neglect of learning, the scantiness of endowments, "Quid dant artes nisi luctum?" The old song, sung by the threadbare travelling scholars 400 years before, might have been a motto for these Cambridge men working at their Christmas plays Very probably they did not deserve the good-conduct prize, or any other prize Very probably they neglected their Tully and their Ramus They show a lamentable acquaintance with works that do not pay in the schools The "Return from Parnassus," as previously printed (that is, the third play in the series), was greatly valued for its references to contemporary poetry There are some very pithy and elegant criticisms of Spenser, Constable, Lodge, Drayton, Marston, Marlowe, and others Burbage and Kemp appear on the stage, the latter giving utterance to the plausible opinion that "few of the university men pen plays well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down, ay, and Ben Jonson too" The pieces discovered by Mr Macray show the same familiarity with English poets "The Tyrant of the North, rough Barbarism"—that is a phrase borrowed from Samuel Daniel On page 62 of this edition will be found in imitation of "Chaucer's vayne," which is followed by examples of "Spencer's veyne," "Mr Shakespeare's veyne" "Mr Shakespeare's veyne," it seems, was in great favour at that time with fashionable people Further, it must be noted that those plays, which have waited so long for publication, contain, besides their little flashes of wit and satire, a good deal of excellent comedy—e.g., "Leonard the Carrier" (p 26), and "Gulio," the admirer of Shakespeare's poetry and of everything else favoured by the great world The author of those old plays must have held a somewhat curious position He was evidently too flighty, too modern and rebellious, for success in the trivial or quadrivial arts He must have been, on the other hand, scarcely in full sympathy with the gorgeous youth who made free with the name of Ronsard, and despised the ancients The great battle of the books, ancients against moderns, was going on briskly in those days The Parnassus comedies, taken all together, represent the opinions of the trimmers, who held aloof and criticized both sides

In France no poetry has been published during the last twelve months likely to compete in interest with the two posthumous volumes by Victor Hugo\* "Théâtre en Liberté" is a collection of short dramatic pieces, the earliest of which belongs to 1854, the latest to 1873 Fanciful or romantic comedy prevails throughout the book, which, whatever may be the rank assigned to it among the works of its author in the *édition définitive* of the next century, is likely to keep its power of attracting readers The fragment of a preface gives notice that these pieces were written "for the theatre that every one carries about in himself" There are very few such theatres which will complain of the entertainment afforded them by this Prospero and his company of actors "Mangeront ils?" is the name of the longest of those airy masques It mingles pure comedy with romance and with poetic eloquence in a thoroughly puzzling and entrancing way The passion

\* "Théâtre en Liberté," "La Fin de Satan" By Victor Hugo Paris Hetzel, Quantin 1886

of the two lovers, the sublimity of the aged sorceress, the old deep undertone of defiance to tyrants—these are elements out of which one is led to expect some solemn issue. But that was not the plan of the master of the show. The solemn passages lead into the wildest revelry, and the theatre, which was beginning to beat time to *ça ira*, and looking out for a brilliant new tyrannicide, is dissolved in laughter by the intervention of the vagabond hero, Airolo. Then the audience purges its misotyrannic spleen by hearty ridicule of the tyrant, “Le Roi de Man,” and his parasite, Mess Tityrus, latest born of the tribe of Gnatho. “La grand’ mère” is a beautiful dramatic idyll on an old theme—pride of race conquered and brought down by children. In “L’Épée” the genius of Liberty is not beguiled by comedy, as in “Mangeront ils?” The sword was made to be turned against the oppressor—that is the moral of it. The chief personages are an outlaw of a mountain village in Dalmatia, and his father and son. The old man and his grandson are loyal to the duke, and therefore unfriendly to the outlaw, the course of the drama shows their conversion to the side of revolt. The other pieces are shorter, but are all of great interest.

“La Fin de Satan” was first mentioned to the public in 1859, in the preface to the first series of the “Légende des Siècles.” There the author explained that the “Légende des Siècles” was meant to form one poem in a series of three—the others being “La Fin de Satan” and “Dieu.” “La Fin de Satan,” which was never quite completed by the poet, was apparently written about the same time as the first series of the “Légende des Siècles,” and its different parts have alliances with different parts of the “Légende.” Thus “La Fin de Satan” is full of the horrors of the infinite abyss, the infinite darkness, and the fall of Satan brings to mind inevitably the exile of King Canute in “Le Parricide.” In the “Légende” there is an entry into the same monstrous antediluvian world as in “La Fin de Satan.” The section named “Jésus-Christ” in “La Fin de Satan” has a companion piece in “Première Rencontre du Christ avec le Tombeau,” in the “Légende des Siècles.” It is not necessary to look for any one particular analogue to the praise of “L’Ange Liberté.” The poem is divided into three books—“Le Glaive,” “Le Gibet,” and “Le Prison,” according to the three weapons of Cain—the nail, stick, and stone—which were preserved by the spectral daughter of Satan, Lilit-Isis, for the furtherance of evil. The first book is concerned chiefly with Nimrod the tyrant, the second with the life and death of the Messiah, the third, unfinished, was intended to commemorate the fall of the Bastille and the victory of the angel Liberty, who in the epilogue brings about the pardon of Satan. It is impossible here to give any idea of the power of this extraordinary work—the *divina voluptas atque horror* attending on this “Marriage of Heaven and Hell,” the wonderful changes and contrasts between the tragical loneliness and darkness of the abyss, and the rapture of the “song of the birds,” between the evil of Nimrod and his servant and the repentance of Barabbas.

W. P. KER



## II—GENERAL LITERATURE

**BIOGRAPHY**—In his admirable article on Carlyle in the new volume of the "Dictionary of National Biography,"\* Mr Leslie Stephen observes, *apropos* of Carlyle's lamentations over his troubles in his Cromwell investigations, that Carlyle, with all his complaining, "had never been enslaved to a biographical dictionary." The remark is the first sigh of the weary editor, yet weary or no, there is no sign of flagging either in the quality of his work or its pace. The principal articles in the present volume, besides the editor's on Carlyle, are Mr James Gairdner's on the several Queen Cathelines, Dr Jessopp's Cecil, Mr Æneas Mackay's Carstares, and Mr Lee's Caxton. Lord Frederick Cavendish and James Carey the informer lie near one another in the same volume here. There is no notice whatever of Professor Gershom Carmichael. One might read Dr Blaikie's account of Dr Chalmers through without receiving the least hint that he was an important political economist, and wrote several works of considerable value in that department. The author of the article on "Jupiter" Carlyle, though he has consulted various MS authorities, does not seem to have known of his correspondence, preserved in Edinburgh University Library.—In "Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky,"† compiled from information supplied by her relatives and friends, Mr Sinnett writes of this pretended prophetess of esoteric Buddhism in a tone of almost religious adoration, which will seem to the exoteric mind to be simply absurd. It appears she was from her birth bred in an atmosphere of the preternatural, and when a child of four she had the conceit that she was invulnerable, and that her presence was, through her interest with the unseen powers, an infallible and indispensable protection to her nurses from all kinds of danger. The child was mother of the woman. Mr Sinnett's account of the Coulomb case will not, we fear, satisfy the Psychical Research Society, or any other tribunal endowed with a moderate measure of common sense. The book is badly written—Mr Sinnett could do much better, but it contains a good deal that is curious, and, for students of the history of enthusiasm, not unimportant.—M Edouard Simon, in his *Life of the Emperor William*,‡ has not attempted a popular history of modern Prussia, his object has been rather to trace the Emperor's personal action in the course of diplomatic struggles, and particularly in that line of policy which led to the consolidation of the German Empire. He has declined to enter into a full description of events of universal interest, such as the Franco-Prussian war, confining himself to an account of the causes and results of these contests and their influence upon the success of the Emperor's favourite policy of military supremacy. The work is that of a faithful chronicler who has avoided personal comment, it is singularly free from moral or sentimental platitudes, and it is marked by a perfect impartiality on all questions affecting the author's own country. M Simon has a sincere admiration for his hero, and wins our sympathies for him, whether in his foreign relationships or in the constant opposition which he encountered from his own Liberal Parliament. The

\* Vol ix London Smith, Elder & Co

† London George Redway

‡ "The Emperor William and his Reign" From the French of Edouard Simon London Remington & Co

phraseology of the translation is perhaps above the average, though there are some very noticeable errors in the usage of individual words—"The Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel,"\* which consists of a fragmentary letter addressed to the Duke of Meiningen, is of chiefly esoteric interest. It contains no very definite or intelligible account of his principles or method of education. From his earliest childhood, Froebel seems to have given himself to a life of introspection. His mother's death, and the unsympathetic treatment he received from his stepmother, threw him, when quite young, upon his own resources, and from his needs as a child he learnt to appreciate the needs of all children. Nature was his favourite study, and between Nature and humanity he was never tired of drawing fanciful connections. "I continued," he says, "without ceasing, to systematize, symbolize, idealize, realize and recognize identities and analogies amongst all facts and phenomena, all problems, expressions, and formulas." His language seldom drops below this airy level. As his editors admit, he is highly egoistic, and his writing contains almost every fault of style, but they have preferred to let him speak for himself, and their own work of translation is honestly done. The German public were slow in accepting Froebel's system of universal German education, the term was not sufficiently definite for them. They were willing enough to receive a special training as footmen, shoemakers, soldiers, "or even noblemen," but did not care about being educated to become "freethinking, independent men"—Mr W. T. Jeans's "Lives of the Electricians"† gives a very good account of the lives of Professors Tyndall, Wheatstone and Moise, and of the various discoveries and inventions for which we are indebted to them. It is written in a popular and interesting style, and communicates a good deal of useful knowledge in an easy way.

TRAVEL—"The Cruise of the *Marchesa* to Kamschatka and New Guinea, with Notices of Formosa," &c, by F. H. Guillemard, M.D.,‡ strikes one at first sight by the unusual excellence of its get-up and the artistic merit of its numerous illustrations by Whymper and others, but the meat is as good as the shell. It is the record of a two-years' cruise of a naturalist in Asiatic waters, chiefly among the lesser known islands of the Malay Archipelago, but as far south as the Dutch end of New Guinea on the one hand, and as far north as Kamschatka on the other. He has much fresh information to convey, not merely about the animals and plants of these places, but also about the character and condition of their population, and his descriptions, both of natural scenery and what may be called human scenes, are always graphic and entertaining. His account of the island of Formosa, with the neighbouring republic on the small island of Samasana, and of the Papuans in New Guinea, are particularly instructive. Of the Papuans he agrees with the opinion that they are a special race, different both from the Malays and Australian aborigines. In North Borneo he found land selling for nearly £900 an acre, even there it would seem they have their problems of ground-rents and earth-hunger. On the whole, this is one of the most delightful and instructive of recent works of travel.

MISCELLANEOUS—Lord Brassey has not gone to the Peers to take

\* "Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel" Translated and Annotated by Emilie Michaelis and H. Keatley Moore. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.  
 † London: Whitaker & Co.  
 ‡ London: John Murray.

a life of ease, but has begun an undertaking of as much labour as utility "The Naval Annual, 1886,"\* is a big volume of 550 pages large octavo, and it is the first number of a serial that is intended to appear yearly. It treats of the comparative naval strength of the maritime Powers and their navy estimates, of the efficiency of British naval administration, of the suggestions for reform at the Admiralty and dockyards, of the foreign squadrons, naval shipbuilding present and future, torpedoes, coaling stations, manning the navy, armour and ordnance, and other various naval incidents of 1885. The information is very complete and carefully compiled, and while not concealing faults, tends on the whole to restore confidence in the state of the navy and naval administration.—Dr Charles Rogers publishes the third and concluding volume of his "Social Life in Scotland"†. It deals mainly with folk-lore, sorcery, apparitions, and the like, and contains a large and miscellaneous, but quite uncritical collection of facts (or alleged facts) illustrative of Scottish ideas on the subjects in the past or the present time. His first chapter, on literary and scholastic life in Scotland, consists in great part of a bald and utterly needless and incomplete chronicle of Scottish men of letters and their works from St Columba to writers of our own time. The chapter on "Humour and Eccentricity" contains much that is amusing, and that on "An Eighteenth Century Correspondence" will be read with great interest, because it is the first account that has been published of the correspondence of "Jupiter" Culylc, which lies in the Edinburgh University Library, and contains a number of letters from eminent and interesting people of last century.—Under the title of "The New Liberal Programme,"‡ Mr Andrew Reid has collected the views of a number of Liberal politicians about the causes of the defeat of their party last July, and the measures the party ought now to press for. In spite of the title, the programme suggested by the several writers contains nothing very new. Perhaps the nearest thing to it in the book is the explanation of the defeat offered by Mr Haldane, the able young member for East Lothian. He thinks politics naturally progress by "a rhythmic movement," by alternate periods of Radical inflation and Conservative depression, and that we are now doing our term of depression, and had been for some time before 1885, but the worst of this theory is, that the facts are against it, for did not the Dartmouth speech show that the Radical current is actually so strong at present that Conservative leaders must run with it and turn reformers?—Mr Pickwick, stirred like a loyal subject by the example of the Queen, celebrates his jubilee this year also, § for it is exactly fifty years since he entered upon that empire of his on which the sun not only never sets, but probably never will. At any rate, the popularity of "Pickwick" now is as great as on its first day, and, in fact, goes on increasing, if we judge from the number of purchasers. It was a good idea of Mr Charles Dickens the Younger to mark the occasion by issuing an elegant edition of his father's first and most famous novel, with numerous illustrations and editorial notes of much interest. It is, of course, unnecessary in the case of so well-known a work to do more than thus call attention to this new and very excellent edition of it.

\* Portsmouth Griffin & Co

† Edinburgh William Paterson

‡ London Swan Sonnenschein & Co

§ "The Pickwick Papers" By Charles Dickens Edited by Charles Dickens the Younger London Macmillan & Co

## HOME RULE AND IMPERIAL UNITY.

THE principal charge made against the scheme of Home Rule contained in the Irish Government Bill, 1886, is that it is incompatible with the maintenance of the unity of the Empire and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. A further allegation states that the Bill is useless, as agrarian exasperation lies at the root of Irish discontent and Irish disloyalty, and that no place would be found for a Home Rule Bill even in Irish aspirations if an effective Land Bill were first passed. Such is the indictment against the Home Rule Bill preferred by the dissentient Liberals, and urged with great ability by Mr Dicey in "England's Case against Home Rule." An endeavour will be made in the following pages to secure a verdict of acquittal on both counts—as to the charge relating to Imperial unity and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, by proving that the accusation is absolutely unfounded, and based partly on a misconception of the nature of Imperial ties, and partly on a misapprehension of the effect of the provisions of the Home Rule Bill as bearing on Imperial questions, and as to the utility of the Home Rule Bill in view of the necessity of Land Reform, by showing that without a Home Rule Bill no Land Bill worth consideration as a means of pacifying Ireland can be passed. In conclusion, some observations will be directed to meeting certain objections urged by Mr Dicey against the Home Rule Bill of 1886, beyond and apart from the matters involved in discussing the foregoing questions.

An explanation of the Irish Bills of 1886, and their true bearing on Imperial and agrarian questions is not uncalled for. As Mr Dicey admits with characteristic candour, "no legislative proposal submitted to Parliament has ever received harder measure than the

Government of Ireland Bill"\* And there is no exaggeration in saying that, on every occasion when the Home Rule Bill is mentioned by opponents, the hardest language is used. The whole battery of abuse is discharged on the unhappy supporters of the Bill "Separatist," "Disruptionist," "Revolutionist," are the epithets applied without distinction to any one who says a word or writes a line in favour of the only practical scheme of self government for Ireland. The complete partisan spirit in which Home Rule has been treated is the more to be deplored as the subject is one which does not lend itself readily to the trivialities of party debates. It raises questions of principle, not of detail. It ascends at once into the highest region of politics. It is conversant with the great questions of constitutional and international law, and leads to an inquiry into the very nature of governments and the various modes in which communities of men are associated together either as simple or composite nations. To describe those modes in detail would be to give a history of the various despotic, monarchical, oligarchical, and democratic systems of government which have oppressed or made happy the children of men. Such a description is calculated to perplex and mislead from its very extent, not so an inquiry into the powers of government, and a classification of those powers. They are limited in extent, and, if we confine ourselves to English names and English necessities, we shall readily attain to an apprehension of the mode in which empires, nations, and political societies are bound together, at least in so far as such knowledge is required for the understanding of the nature of Imperial supremacy, and the mode in which Home Rule in Ireland is calculated to affect that supremacy.

Now the powers of government are divisible into two great classes—1 Imperial powers, 2 State powers, using "State" in the American sense of a political community subordinated to some other power, and not in the sense of an independent nation. The Imperial powers are in English law described as the prerogatives of the Crown, and consist in the main of the powers of making peace and war, of maintaining armies and fleets and regulating commerce, and making treaties with foreign nations. State powers are complete powers of local self-government, described in our colonial Constitutions as powers to make laws "for the peace, order, and good government of the Colony or State" in which such powers are to be exercised.

Intermediate between the Imperial and State powers are a class of powers required to prevent disputes and facilitate intercourse between the various parts of an empire or other composite system of States—for example, the coinage of money, and other regulations relating to the currency, the laws relating to copyright, or other

\* Dicey, p. 223

exclusive rights to the use and profits of any works or inventions, and so forth. These powers may be described as quasi-Imperial powers.

Having arrived at a competent knowledge of the materials out of which governments are formed, it may be well to proceed to a consideration of the manner in which those materials have been worked up in building the two great Anglo-Saxon composite nations—namely, the American Union and the British Empire—for, if we find that the arrangements proposed by the Irish Home Rule Bill are strictly in accordance with the principles on which the unity of the American Union was based and on which the Imperial power of Great Britain has rested for centuries, the conclusion must be that the Irish Home Rule Bill is not antagonistic to the unity of the Empire or to the supremacy of the British Parliament.

In discussing these matters it will be convenient to begin with the American Union, as it is less extensive in area and more homogeneous in its construction than the British Empire. The thirteen revolted American colonies, on the conclusion of their war with England, found themselves in the position of thirteen independent States having no connection with each other. The common tie of supremacy exercised by the mother country was broken, and each State was an independent nation, possessed both of Imperial and Local rights.

The impossibility of a cluster of thirteen small independent nations maintaining their independence against foreign aggression became immediately apparent, and, to remedy this evil, the thirteen States appointed delegates to form a convention authorized to weld them into one body as respected Imperial powers. This was attempted to be done by the establishment of a central body called a Congress, consisting of delegates from the component States, and invested with all the powers designated above as Imperial and quasi-Imperial powers. The expenses incurred by the confederacy were to be defrayed out of a common fund, to be supplied by requisitions made on the several States. In effect, the confederacy of the thirteen States amounted to little more than an offensive and defensive alliance between thirteen independent nations. If the State of New York refused to pay its share of (say) 100,000 dollars into the common treasury, all Congress could do was to ask the twelve other States to send their contingent of men to the federal army, and make war on New York. Similarly, if New York passed a State law infringing the federal law as to Customs duty, war by the twelve States against the one erring member was the only remedy. A system dependent for its efficacy on the concurrence of so many separate communities contained in itself the seeds of dissolution, and it soon became apparent that one of two things must occur—either the American States must cease as such to be a nation, or the com-

ponent members of that union must each be prepared to relinquish a further portion of the sovereign or quasi-sovereign powers which it possessed. Under those circumstances, what was the course taken by the thirteen States? They felt that they were in the position of the loose bundle of sticks, held together by a band liable to be broken at any moment. They were determined to be compacted into a solid nation, as firm and close in construction as could be made by political joinery. The readiest and most obvious mode of carrying this object into effect would have been for each State to have accepted the position of a county in an American kingdom, retaining its Legislative Assemblies and legislative powers for county purposes only. The States, however, were unwilling to part with all their higher legislative powers, and they perceived that it was quite possible to maintain complete unity and compactness as a nation if, in addition to investing the Supreme Government with Imperial and quasi-Imperial powers, they added full power to impose federal taxes on the component States and established an Executive furnished with ample means to carry all federal powers into effect through the medium of federal officers. The government so formed consisted of a President and two elected Houses called Congress, and, as a balance-wheel of the Constitution, a Supreme Court was established, to which was confided the task of deciding in case of dispute all questions arising under the Constitution of the United States or relating to international law. The Executive of the United States, with the President as its source and head, was furnished with full authority and power to enforce the federal laws. The army and navy were under its command, and it was provided with courts of justice, and subordinate officers to enforce the decrees of those courts throughout the length and breadth of the Union. Above all, a complete system of federal taxation supplied the Central Government with the necessary funds to perform effectually all the functions of a supreme national government.

The nature of the Constitution of the United States will be best understood by considering the position in which its subjects stand to the Central Government and their own State Governments. In effect, every inhabitant of the United States has a double nationality. He belongs to one great nation called the United States, or, as it would be more aptly called to show its absolute unity, the American Republic, having jurisdiction over the whole surface of ground comprised in the area of the United States. He is also a citizen of a smaller local and partially self-governing body—more important than a county, but not approaching the position of a nation—called a State.

It is no part of the object of this article to enter into the details of the American government, its advantages or defects. This much, however, is clear—the American Constitution has lasted nearly one

hundred years, and shows no signs of decay or disruption. It has stood the strain of the greatest war of modern times, and has emerged from the conflict stronger than before. Even during the war the antagonism of the rebels was directed, not against the Union, but against the efforts of the Northern States to suppress slavery, or, in other words, to destroy, as the Southern States believed (not unjustly as the event showed) their property in slaves, and consequently the only means they had of making their estates profitable. One conclusion, then, we may draw, that a nation in which the Imperial powers and the State powers are vested in different authorities is no less compact and powerful, as respects all national capacities, than a nation in which both classes of powers are wielded by the same functionaries, and one lesson more may be learnt from the American War of Secession—namely, that in a nation having such a division of powers, any conflict between the two classes results in the Supreme or Imperial powers prevailing over the Local governmental powers, and not in the latter invading or driving a wedge into the Supreme powers. In fact, the tendency in case of a struggle is towards an undue centralization of the nation by reason of the encroachment of the Supreme power, rather than towards weakening of the national unity by separatist action of the constituent members of the nation.

In comparing the Constitution of the United States with the Constitution of the British Empire, we find an apparent resemblance in form as respects the Anglo-Saxon colonies, but underlying the surface a total difference of principle. The United States is an aggregate of homogeneous and contiguous States which, in order to weld themselves into a nation, gave up a portion of their rights to a central authority, reserving to themselves all powers of government which they did not expressly relinquish.

The British Empire is an aggregate of many communities under one common head, and is thus described by Mr Burke in 1774, in language which may seem to have been somewhat too enthusiastic at the time when it was spoken, but at the present day does not more than do justice to an Empire which comprises one-sixth of the habitable globe in extent and population —

“ I look, I say, on the Imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the colonies ought to enjoy under those rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive Empire in two capacities — one as the local Legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately and by no other instrument than the executive power, the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her Imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several Legislatures, and guides and controls them all without annihilating any. As all these provincial Legislatures are only co-ordinate with each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her, else they



can neither preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance " \*

The means by which the possessions of Great Britain were acquired have been as various as the possessions themselves. The European, Asiatic, and African possessions became ours by conquest and cession, the American by conquest, treaty, and settlement, the Australasian by settlement, and by that dubious system of settlement known by the name of annexation. Now, what is the link which fastens each of these possessions to the mother country? Surely it is the inherent and indestructible right of the British Crown to exercise Imperial powers—in other words, the supremacy of the Queen and the British Parliament? What, again, is the common bond of union between these vast colonial possessions, differing in laws, in religion, and in the character of the population? The same answer must be given—the joint and several tie, so to speak, is the same—namely, the sovereignty of Great Britain. It is true that the mode in which the materials composing the British Empire have been cemented together is exactly the reverse of the manner of the construction of the American Union. In the case of the Union, independent States voluntarily relinquished a portion of their sovereignty to secure national unity, and entrusted the guardianship of that unity to a representative body chosen by themselves. Such a union was based on contract, and could only be constructed by communities which claimed to be independent. Far different have been the circumstances under which England has developed itself into the British Empire. England began as a sovereign power, having its sovereignty vested at first solely in the Sovereign, but gradually in the Sovereign and Parliament. This sovereignty neither the Crown nor the Parliament can, jointly or severally, get rid of, for it is of the very essence of a sovereign power that it cannot, by Act of Parliament or otherwise, bind its successors. This principle of supremacy has never been lost sight of by the British Parliament. Their right to alter or suspend a colonial Constitution has never been disputed. Contract never enters into the question. The dominant authority delegates to its subordinate communities as much or as little power as it deems advantageous. Each body, and, if it sees fit, resumes a portion or the whole of the delegated authority. The last point of difference to be noted between the American Constitution and the Constitution of the British Empire is the fact that as Minerva sprang from the brain of Jupiter fully equipped, so the American Constitution came forth from the hands of its framers complete and, what is of more importance, practically in material matters unchangeable except by

\* Burke's Speech on American Taxation, vol. 1 p. 174

† This is the opinion of both English and American lawyers. See Blackstone's Commentaries, 1 226. As to American cases, see Corley on Constitutional Limitations, pp. 2-149.

the agony of an internecine war or some overwhelming passions. The British Empire, on the other hand, is, as respects its component members, ever in progress and flux. An Anglo-Saxon colony, no less than a human being, has its infancy under the maternal care of a governor, its boyhood subject to the government of a representative council and an Executive appointed by the Crown, its manhood under Home Rule and responsible government, in which the Executive are bound to vacate their offices whenever they are out-voted in the Legislature. Changes are ever taking place in the growth, so to speak, of the several British possessions, but what is the result? Nobody ever dreams of these changes injuring the Imperial tie or the supremacy of the British Parliament, that alone towers above all, unchangeable and unimpaired, and, what is most notable, loyalty and devotion to the Crown—that is to say, the Imperial tie—so far from being weakened by the transition of a colony from a state of dependence in local affairs to the higher degree of a self-governing colony, are on the contrary, strengthened almost in direct proportion as the central interference with local affairs is diminished. On this point an unimpeachable witness—Mr Merivale—says “What, then, are the lessons to be learnt from a consideration of the American Constitution and of our colonial system? Surely these—that Imperial unity and Imperial supremacy are in no degree dependent on the control exercised by the central power on its dependent members.” Facts, however, are more conclusive than any arguments, and we have only to look back to the state some forty years ago of Canada, New Zealand, and the various colonies of Australia, and compare that state with their condition to-day, to come to the conclusion that the fullest power of local government is perfectly consistent with the unity of the Empire and the supremacy of the British Parliament. Under the old colonial Constitutions the Executive of those colonies was under the control of the Crown, and Mr Merivale says “that the political existence consisted of a series of quarrels and reconciliations between the two opposing authorities—the colonial legislative body and the Executive nominated by the Crown.” England resolved to give up the control of the Executive, and to grant complete responsible government—that is to say, the Governor of each colony was instructed that his Executive Council (or Ministry, as we should call it) must resign whenever they were out-voted by the legislative body. The effect of this change, this relaxing, as would be supposed, of the Imperial tie, was magical, and is thus described by Mr Merivale \*

“The magnitude of that change—the extraordinary rapidity of its beneficial effects—it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. None but those who have

traced it can realize the sudden spring made by a young community under its first release from the old tie of subjection, moderate as that tie really was. The cessation, as if by magic, of the old irritant sores between colony and mother country is the first result. Not only are they at concord, but they seem to leave hardly any traces in the public mind behind them. Confidence and affection towards the home, still fondly so termed by the colonist as well as the emigrant, seem to supersede at once distrust and hostility. Loyalty, which was before the badge of a class suspected by the rest of the community, became the common witchword of all, and, with some extravagance in the sentiment, there arises no small share of its nobleness and devotion. Communities, which but a few years ago would have wrangled over the smallest item of public expenditure to which they were invited by the Executive to contribute, have vied with each other in their subscriptions to purposes of British interests in response to calls of humanity, or munificence for objects but indistinctly heard of at the distance of half the world."

The Dominion of Canada has been so much talked about that it may be well to give a summary of its Constitution, though, in so far as regards its relations to the mother country, it differs in no material respect from any other self-governing colony. The Dominion consists of seven provinces, each of which has a Legislature of its own, but is at the same time subject to the Legislature of the Dominion, in the same manner as each State in the American Union has a Legislature of its own, and is at the same time subject to the control of Congress. The distinguishing feature between the system of the American States and the associated colonies of the Dominion of Canada is this—that all Imperial powers, everything that constitutes a people a nation as respects foreigners, are reserved to the mother country. The division, then, of the Dominion and its provinces consists only in a division of Local powers. It is impossible to mark accurately the line between Dominion and Provincial powers, but, speaking generally, Dominion powers relate to such matters—for example, the regulation of trade and commerce, postal service, currency, and so forth—as require to be dealt with on a uniform principle throughout the whole area of a country, while the Provincial powers relate to provincial and municipal institutions, provincial licensing, and other subjects restricted to the limits of the province. As a general rule, the Legislature of the Dominion and the Legislature of each province have respectively exclusive jurisdiction within the limits of the subjects entrusted to them, but, as respects agriculture and immigration, the Dominion Parliament have power to overrule any Act of the provincial Legislatures, and, as respects property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the Dominion Parliament may legislate with a view to uniformity, but their legislation is not valid unless it is accepted by the Legislature of each province to which it applies.

The executive authority in the Dominion Government, as in all the

self-governing colonies, is carried on by the Governor in the name of the Queen, but with the advice of a Council that is to say, as to all Imperial matters, he is under the control of the mother country, as to all local matters, he acts on the advice of his local Council. The result of the whole is that the citizenship of an inhabitant of the Dominion of Canada is a triple tie. Suppose him to reside in the province of Quebec. First, he is a citizen of that province, and bound to obey all the laws which it is within the competence of the provincial Legislature to pass. Next, he is a citizen of the Dominion of Canada, and acknowledges its jurisdiction in all matters outside the legitimate sphere of the province. Lastly, and above all, he is a subject of her Majesty. He is to all intents and purposes, as respects the vast company of nations, an Englishman, entitled to all the privileges as he is to all the glory of the mother country so far as such privileges can be enjoyed and glory participated in without actual residence in England. One startling point of likeness in events and unlikeness in consequences is to be found in the history of Ireland and Canada. In 1798 Ireland rebelled. Protestant and Catholic were arrayed in arms against each other. The rebellion was quenched in blood, and measures of repression have been in force, with slight intervals of suspension, ever since, with this result—that the Ireland of 1886 is scarcely less disloyal and discontented than the Ireland of 1798. In 1837 and 1838 Canada rebelled. Protestants and Catholics, differing in nationality as well as in religion, were arrayed in arms against each other. The rebellion was quelled with the least possible violence, a free Constitution was given, and the Canada of 1886 is the largest, most loyal, and most contented colony in her Majesty's dominions.

Assuming, then, thus much to be proved by the Constitution of the United States that national unity of the closest description is consistent with complete Home Rule in the component members of the nation, and by the history of Canada and the British colonial empire that an Imperial tie is sufficient to bind together for centuries dependencies differing in situation, in nationality, in religion, in laws, in everything that distinguishes peoples one from another, and further and more particularly that emancipation of the Anglo-Saxon colonies from control in their internal affairs strengthens instead of weakening Imperial unity, let us turn to Ireland and inquire whether there is anything in the circumstances under which Home Rule was proposed to be granted to Ireland, or in the measures intended to establish that Home Rule, fairly leading to the inference that disruption of the Empire or an impairment of Imperial powers would probably be a consequence of passing the Irish Government Bill and the Irish Land Bill. And, first, as to the circumstances which would seem to recommend the Irish Home Rule Bill.

Ireland, from the very commencement of her connection with England, has chafed under the restraints which that connection imposed. The closer the apparent union between the two countries the greater the real disunion. The Act of 1800, *in words and in law*, effected not a union merely, but a consolidation of the two countries. The effect of those words and that law was to give rise to a restless discontent, which has constantly found expression in efforts to procure the repeal of the Act of Union and the re-establishment of a National Parliament in Dublin. How futile have been the efforts of the British Parliament to diminish by concession or repress by coercion Irish aspirations or Irish discontent it is unnecessary to discuss here. All men admit the facts, however different the conclusions which they draw from those facts. What Burke said of America on moving in 1775 his resolution on conciliation with the colonies was true in 1885 with respect to Ireland —

“The fact is undoubted, that under former Parliaments the state of America [*read for America, Ireland*] has been kept in continual agitation. Everything administered as a remedy to the public complaint, if it did not produce, was at least followed by an heightening of the distemper, until, by a variety of experiments, that important country has been brought into her present situation—a situation which I will not miscall, which I dare not name, which I scarcely know how to comprehend in the terms of any description.”\*

At length, after the election of 1885 Mr Gladstone and the majority of his followers came to the conclusion that an opportunity had presented itself for providing Ireland with a Constitution conferring on the people of that country the largest measure of self-government consistent with the absolute supremacy of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament and the entire unity of the Empire. A scheme was proposed which was accepted in principle by the representatives of the National party in Ireland as a fair and sufficient adjustment of the Imperial claims of Great Britain and the Local claims of Ireland. The scheme was shortly this. A Legislative Assembly was proposed to be established in Ireland with power to make all laws necessary for the good government of Ireland—in other words, invested with the same powers of local self-government as a colonial Assembly. The Irish Assembly was in one respect unlike a colonial Legislature. It consisted of one House only, but this House was divided into two orders, each of which, in case of differences on any important legislative matter, voted separately. This form was adopted in order to minimize the chances of collision between the two orders, by making it imperative on each order to hear the arguments of the other before proceeding to a division, thus throwing on the dissentient order the full responsibility of its dissent, with a com-

\* Burke, vol 1 p 181

plete knowledge of the consequences likely to ensue therefrom. The clause conferring on the Irish Legislature full powers of local self-government was immediately followed by a provision excepting, by enumeration, from any interference on the part of the Irish Legislature, all Imperial powers, and declaring any enactment void which infringed on that provision. This exception (as is well known) is not found in colonial Constitutional Acts. In them the restriction of the words of the grant to Local powers only has been held sufficient to safeguard the supremacy of the British Parliament and the unity of the Empire. The reason for making a difference in the case of the Home Rule Bill was political, not legal. Separation was declared by the enemies of the Bill to be the real intention of its supporters, and destruction of the unity of the Empire to be its certain consequence. It seemed well that Ireland, by her representatives, should accept as a satisfactory charter of Irish liberty a document which contained an express submission to Imperial power and a direct acknowledgment of Imperial unity. Similarly with respect to the supremacy of the British Parliament. In the colonial Constitutions all reference to this supremacy is omitted as being too clear to require notice. In the case of the Irish Home Rule Bill instructions were given to preserve in express words the supremacy of the British Parliament in order to pledge Ireland to an express admission of that supremacy by the same vote which accepted Local powers. It is true that the wording by the draftsman of the sentence reserving the supremacy of Parliament was justly found fault with as inaccurate and doubtful, but that defect would have been cured by an amendment in Committee, and, even if there had not been any such clause in the Bill, it is clear, from what has been said above, that the Imperial Legislature could not, if it would, renounce its supremacy or abdicate its sovereign powers. The executive government in Ireland was continued in the Queen, to be carried on by the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of her Majesty, with the aid of such officers and Council as to her Majesty might from time to time seem fit. Her Majesty was also a constituent part of the Legislature, with power to delegate to the Lord Lieutenant the prerogative of assenting to or dissenting from Bills, and of summoning, proroguing, and dissolving Parliament. Under these provisions the Lord Lieutenant resembled the Governor of a colony with responsible government.\* He was invested with a double authority—first, Imperial, secondly, Local. As an Imperial officer, he was bound to veto any Bill injuriously affecting Imperial interests or inconsistent with general Imperial policy, as a Local officer, it was his duty to act in all local matters according to the advice of his Council, whose tenure of office depended on their being in harmony with, and supported by, a

majority of the Legislative Assembly Questions relating to the constitutionality of any particular law were not left altogether to the decision of the Governor If a Bill containing a provision infringing Imperial rights passed the Legislature, its validity might be decided in the first instance by the ordinary courts of law, but the ultimate appeal lay to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and, with a view to secure absolute impartiality in the Committee, it was provided that Ireland should be represented on that body by persons who either were or had been Irish judges Not the least important provision of the Bill, as respects the maintenance of Imperial interests, was the continuance of Imperial taxation The Customs and Excise duties were directed to be levied, as heretofore, in pursuance of the enactments of the Imperial Parliament, and were excepted from the control of the Irish Legislature, which had full power, with that exception, to impose such taxes in Ireland as they might think expedient The Bill further provided that neither the Imperial taxes of Excise nor any Local taxes that might be imposed by the Irish Legislature should be paid into the Irish Exchequer An Imperial officer, called the Receiver-General, was appointed, into whose hands the produce of every tax, both Imperial and Local, was required to be paid, and it was the duty of the Receiver General to take care that all claims of the English Exchequer, including especially the contribution payable by Ireland for Imperial purposes, were satisfied before a farthing found its way into the Irish Exchequer for Irish purposes The Receiver-General was provided with an Imperial Court to enforce his rights of Imperial taxation, and adequate means for enforcing all Imperial powers by Imperial civil officers The Bill did not provide for the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament on all Imperial questions, including questions relating to Imperial taxation, but it is fully understood that in any Bill which might hereafter be brought forward relating to Home Rule those defects would be remedied

An examination, then, of the Home Rule Bill, that "child of revolution and parent of separation," appears to lead irresistibly to two conclusions First, that Imperial rights and Imperial powers, representation for Imperial purposes, Imperial taxation—in short, every link that binds a subordinate member of an Empire to its supreme head—have been maintained unimpaired and unchanged • Secondly, that, in granting Home Rule to discontented Ireland, that form of responsible government has been adopted which, as Mr Merivale declares—and his declaration subsequent events have more than verified—when conferred on the discontented colonies, changed restless aspirations for separation into quiet loyalty

That such a Bill as the Home Rule Bill should be treated as an invasion of Imperial rights is a proof of one, or perhaps of both, the

following axioms—that Bills are never read by their accusers, and that party spirit will distort the plainest facts. The union of Great Britain and Ireland was not, so far as Imperial powers were concerned, disturbed by the Bill, and an Irishman remains a citizen of the British Empire under the Home Rule Bill, with the same obligations and the same privileges, on the same terms as before. All the Bill did was to make his Irish citizenship distinct from his Imperial citizenship, in the same manner as the citizenship of a native of the State of New York is distinct from his citizenship as a member of the United States. Now it has been found that the Central power in the United States has been more than a match for the State powers, and can it be conceived for a moment that the Imperial power of Great Britain should not be a match for the local power of Ireland—a State which has not one-seventh of the population or one-twentieth part of the income of the dominant community?

One argument remains to be noticed which Mr Dicey and the opponents of Home Rule urge as absolutely condemnatory of the measure, whereas, if properly weighed, it is conclusive in its favour. Home Rule, they say, is a mere question of sentiment. “National aspirations” are the twaddle of English enthusiasts who know nothing of Ireland. What is really wanted is the reform of the Land Law. Settle the agrarian problem, and Home Rule may be relegated to the place supposed to be paved with good intentions. The Irish will straightway change their character, and become a law-abiding, contented, loyal people. Be it so. But suppose it to be proved that the establishment of an Irish Government, or, in other words, Home Rule, is an essential condition of agrarian reform—that the latter cannot be had without the former—surely Home Rule should stand none the worse in the estimation of its opponents if it not only secures a safe basis for putting an end to agrarian exasperation, but also gratifies the feeling of the Irish people as expressed by the majority of its representatives in Parliament? Now, what is the nature of the Irish Land Question? This we must understand before considering the remedy. In Ireland (meaning by Ireland that part of the country which is in the hands of tenants, and falls within the compass of a Land Bill) the tenure of land is wholly unlike that which is found in the greater part of England. Instead of large farms in which the landlord makes all the improvements and the tenant pays rent for the privilege of cultivating the land and receives the produce, small holdings are found in which the tenant does the improvements (if any) and pays a fixed rent-charge to the owner. In England the tenant does not perform the obligations or in any way aspire to the character of owner. If he thinks he can get a cheaper farm, he quits his former one, regarding his interest in the land as a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and



pence Not so the Irish tenant He has made what he calls improvements, he claims a quasi-ownership in the land, and has the characteristic Celtic attachment for the patch of ground forming his holding, however squalid it may be, however inadequate for his support In short, in Ireland there is a dual ownership—that of the proprietor, who has no interest in the soil so long as the tenant pays his rent and fulfils the conditions of his tenancy, and that of the tenant, who, subject to the payment of his rent and performance of the fixed conditions, acts, thinks, and carries himself as the owner of his holding A system, then, of agrarian reform in Ireland resolves itself into an inquiry as to the best mode of putting an end to this dual ownership—that is to say, of making the tenant the sole proprietor of his holding, and compensating the landlord for his interest in the ownership The problem is further narrowed by the circumstance that the tenant cannot be expected to advance any capital or pay an increased rent, so that the means of compensating the landlord must be found out of the existing rent

The plan adopted in Mr Gladstone's Land Bill was to commute the rent-charges, offering the landlord, as a general rule, twenty years' purchase on the net rental of the estate (that is to say, the rent received by him after deducting all outgoings), and paying him the purchase-money in  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent stock taken at par The stock was to be advanced by the English Government to an Irish State department at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest, and the Bill provided that the tenant, instead of rent, was to pay an annuity of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on a capital sum equal in amount to twenty times the gross rental An illustration will most readily show how the plan works, it being only necessary to premise that an annuity of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent paid for a period of forty-nine years will discharge all principal and interest due in respect of a capital sum lent at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent

Bearing the foregoing assumption in mind, let John Jones be the tenant of the Shannon holding at £10 a year, and John Brown the landlord Then the account stands as follows —Shannon holding = £10 a year gross rent Assume the outgoings to be £20 per cent, then the sum payable to the landlord = twenty times the gross rent, after deducting 20 per cent for outgoings—that is to say,  $\frac{1}{4} \times 10 = 200 - 40 = 160$  The sum payable by the tenant =  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on ten years' purchase of gross rental—that is to say,  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on £200, or £8 a year for forty-nine years England lends Ireland £160 stock at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to pay the landlord And, inasmuch as an annuity of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent pays off principal and interest of money lent at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in forty-nine years, the Irish authority pays off the debt in forty-nine years by a payment of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on £160, or £6 8s, for forty-nine years At the same time, the Irish State authority receives from the tenant £8 a year for the same period, thus gaining the

difference between £6 8s and £8, or £1 12s, for expenses of collection and profit. The consequence, then, is that by Mr Gladstone's plan the landlord obtains twenty years' purchase on the net rental for his estate, the tenant's rent is reduced from £10 to £8, the Irish Government receives £8 and pays only £6 8s, making an annual profit of the difference.

Another mode of putting the case shortly is as follows —The English Exchequer lends the money to the Irish State authority at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and an annuity of 4 per cent paid during forty-nine years will, as has been stated above, repay both principal and interest for every £100 lent at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On the sale of an estate under the Bill, the landlord receives twenty years' purchase, the tenant pays £4 per cent on twenty years' purchase of the gross rental, the Irish State Authority receives £1 per cent on the gross rental, the English Exchequer receives 4 per cent on the net rental only.

The machinery, so to speak, of the Land Bill is this —An Imperial Commission is appointed to see that the landlord obtains a fair price for his estate. The Irish Government create a Land Department to conduct the business on behalf of the Irish Government. The tenant requires no protection, as his rent is necessarily reduced, and consequently no power of refusing to become the owner of the land was given to him, except in certain special cases. It has been found, however, that the absence of a power on the side of the tenant to refuse to become proprietor is liable to misconstruction, it will be advisable, therefore, in a future Bill, to provide that the State should become the proprietor instead of the tenant, if the tenant prefers to retain his existing position instead of becoming an owner on payment of a reduced rent for forty-nine years, and should be entitled to make what bargain it pleases with the tenant. The notable feature which distinguishes this plan from all other schemes is the security given for the repayment of the purchase-money. Hitherto the English Government has lent the money directly to the landlord or tenant, and has become the mortgagee of the land—in other words, has become in effect the landlord of the land sold to the tenant until the repayment of the loan has been completed. To carry into effect under such a system any extensive scheme of agrarian reform (and it is not extensive such a reform would be of no value in pacifying Ireland) presupposes a readiness on the part of the English Government to become virtually the landlord of a large portion of Ireland, with the attendant odium of absenteeism and alien domination. Under the Land Bill of Mr Gladstone all these difficulties are overcome. The Irish, not the English, Government is the virtual landlord. It is the interest of Ireland that the annuities due from the tenants should be regularly paid, as, subject to the prior charge of the English Exchequer, they form part of the Irish revenues. It may be objected that the Irish Government

may repudiate the debt, that is rendered impossible by a provision that all the Irish revenues, including the land rents, are to be paid into the hands of the Imperial Receiver-General, whose office we have described above, and it is his duty to liquidate the debt due to his Imperial master, the Imperial Exchequer, before the Irish Government can receive any portion of the moneys in his hands. The position of the Receiver-General has perhaps not been sufficiently guarded in the present Bill, and it will be advisable in a future Bill to declare that he shall, if he thinks fit, collect the taxes by Imperial officers. The cardinal difference, then, between Mr Gladstone's scheme and any other land scheme that has seen the light is this—that in Mr Gladstone's scheme the English loans are lent to the Irish Government on the security of the whole Irish revenues, whereas in every other scheme they have been lent by the English Government to the Irish creditors on the security of individual patches of land.

The whole question, then, of the relation between Home Rule and agrarian reform may be summed up as follows—Agrarian reform is necessary for the pacification of Ireland, agrarian reform cannot be efficiently carried into effect without an Irish Government, an Irish Government can only be established by a Home Rule Bill, therefore a Home Rule Bill is necessary for the pacification of Ireland. It is idle to say, as has been said on numerous platforms, that plans no doubt can be devised for agrarian reform without Home Rule. The Irish revenues are the only collateral security that can be obtained for loans of English money, and Irish revenues are only available for the purpose on the establishment of an Irish Government. Baronial guarantees, union guarantees, county guarantees, debenture schemes, have all been tried and found wanting, and vague assertions as to possibilities are idle unless they are based on intelligible working plans.

The foregoing arguments will be equally valid if, instead of making the tenants peasant-proprietors, it were thought desirable that the Irish State should be the proprietor and the tenants be the holders of the land at perpetual rents and subject to fixed conditions. Again, it might be possible to pay the landlords by annual sums instead of capital sums. Such matters are really questions of detail. The substance is to interpose the Irish Government between the tenant and the English mortgagee, and to make the loans general charges on the whole of the Irish Government revenues as paid into the hands of an Imperial Receiver instead of placing them as special charges, each fixed on its own small estate or holding. The fact that Mr Gladstone's land scheme has been denounced as confiscation of £100,000,000 of the English taxpayers' property, while Lord Ashbourne's Act is pronounced by the same party

wise and prudent, shows the political blindness of party spirit in its most absurd form. Lord Ashbourne's Act requires precisely the same expenditure to do the same work as Mr Gladstone's Bill requires, but in Mr Gladstone's scheme the whole Irish revenue is pledged as collateral security, and the Irish Government is interposed between the ultimate creditor and the Irish tenant, while under Lord Ashbourne's Act the English Government figures without disguise as the landlord of each tenant, exacting a debt which the tenant is unwilling to pay as being due to what he calls an alien Government.

An endeavour has been made in the preceding pages to prove that Home Rule in no respect infringes on Imperial rights or Imperial unity, for the simple reason that the Imperial power remains exactly in the same position as it was before, the Home Rule Bill dealing only with Local matters. If this statement be correct, it disposes at once of a great part of Mr Dicey's book. A system which does not affect the Empire or diminish the supremacy of the British Parliament, which merely confers local self-government on a dependency of the Empire not so important to Great Britain as several of her colonies, can hardly be said "to work irreparable injury to Great Britain and the British Empire." At all events, Burke thought that the Imperial supremacy alone constituted a real union between England and Ireland. He says —

"My poor opinion is, that the closest connection between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the well-being—I had almost said to the very being—of the three kingdoms, for that purpose I humbly conceive that the whole of the superior, and what I should call Imperial politics, ought to have its residence here, and that Ireland, locally, civilly, and commercially independent, ought politically to look up to Great Britain in all matters of peace and war. In all these points to be joined with her, and, in a word, with her to live and to die"†

How strange to Burke would have seemed the doctrine that the restoration of a limited power of self-government to Ireland, excluding commerce, and excluding all matters not only Imperial, but those in which uniformity is required, should be denounced as a disruption of the Empire!

I agree altogether with Mr Dicey when he says "that the welfare of thirty millions of citizens must, if a conflict of interest arise, be preferred to the interest of five millions of citizens"—nay, further, that it is an error of democracy to admit "that a fraction of a nation has a right to speak with the authority of the whole, and that the right of each portion of the people to make its wishes heard involves the right to have them granted"‡

What is contended is, that if the aspirations of the Irish people can be satisfied by a Home Rule Bill which cannot injure

\* Dicey, p. 16

† VOL. LI.

‡ "Letter on Affairs of Ireland," i. 462

§ Dicey, pp. 17, 29

Imperial rights or the supremacy of the British Parliament, it is folly to reject so cheap a mode of settling a question which has for centuries been a thorn in the side of the English. It is true that, unlike Mr Dicey, I do not think that in considering Home Rule we ought "to separate in the clearest manner matters of business from matters of feeling"\*. It is not, as he affirms, an "illusion of language or falsely applied historical method to talk of England and Ireland as though they were two human beings"†. Surely nations are actuated by the same passions, the same hopes, the same fears, as individuals, and Mr Dicey corrects himself when, speaking in another part of his book, he says that "in Germany the sentiment of nationality has overridden the political divisions which broke up Germany into almost disconnected and often hostile States"‡.

On the land question Mr Dicey agrees that "historical causes have generated in Ireland a condition of opinion which in all matters regarding the land impedes that enforcement of law which is the primary duty of every civilized government"§. He then states that, instead of such a condition being any argument in favour of Home Rule, the proper conclusion is "that if the popular source of discontent be agrarian, then the right course is to amend the Land Laws, while improving the administrative system and enforcing justice between man and man"||. The short answer to this is that the necessity for amending the Land Laws is the most cogent possible argument for Home Rule, inasmuch as no effectual agrarian reform can be carried into effect without an Irish Government and the collateral security of the Irish revenues, and that neither the Irish Government nor the security of the Irish revenues is obtainable without a Home Rule Bill. What Mr Dicey means by improving the administrative system is proved by other parts of his book, in which he mentions, with apparent approbation, "the official hierarchy which on the Continent represents the authority of the State,"¶ and declares "that there is nothing objectionable or anomalous in increasing, as time goes on, the stringency of criminal procedure"\*\*. Why any improvements in criminal procedure should succeed in checking agrarian crime when neither the Act of 1881, which, he justly says, established a despotic government, nor the Act of 1882, which he thinks ought to be made permanent,†† was unsuccessful, Mr Dicey does not inform us, nor does he allude to the obvious argument that legislation is ineffective to repress crime generated, as agrarian crime is, by a sense of injustice, unless it at the same time provides some remedy for the injustice. In chapter iv he deals with the argument in favour of Home Rule derived from foreign experience, by sup-

\* Dicey, p 15  
|| *Ibid* p 97

\* *Ibid* p 10  
¶ *Ibid* p 83

‡ *Ibid* p 56  
\*\* *Ibid* p 119

§ *Ibid* p 98  
†† *Ibid* p 117

posing that the Home Rulers hold up for admiration Turkish rule, and think that the Austro-Hungarian Government, and the Russian administration of Finland, and so forth are examples for Home Rule in Ireland \* Now, a little consideration would have shown Mr Dicey that, instead of adopting foreign types, the framers of the Irish Bills proceeded strictly on the lines of the English Constitution as embodied in the American copy of English prerogatives or in our own colonial Constitutions. Foreign examples were only adduced to show that countries adverse to each other while the one was in a state of dependence to the other became friendly as soon as local independence was accorded to the dependent member.

Every argument against Home Rule is necessarily based on the assumption that it is inexpedient to alter the Act of Union to the extent of allowing a separate Legislature in Ireland. On this hinges the whole case of the opponents to the Home Rule Bill, for, once admit the expediency of a separate body with power to govern Ireland in Local matters, and there remains to the framers of the Home Rule Bill the comparatively easy task of showing that the form they have adopted, either in its present shape or with such amendments as would not be inconsistent with the principle of the measure, is an admirable expedient for removing Irish difficulties. It is right, then, to examine in detail Mr Dicey's plea on behalf of the maintenance of the Union. With characteristic candour, he begins by admitting that, "although eighty-six years have elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty of union between England and Ireland, the two countries do not yet form a united nation. The Irish people are, if not more wretched (for the whole European world has made progress, and Ireland with it), yet more conscious of wretchedness, and Irish disaffection to England is, if not deeper, more widespread than in 1800" † He says that, "if the Union is to be maintained with advantage to any part of the United Kingdom, the people of the United Kingdom must make the most strenuous, firm, and continuous effort, lasting, it may well be for twenty years or more, to enforce throughout every part of the United Kingdom obedience to the law of the land" ‡ Coupling this expression, "enforcing the law of the land," with his remarks on coercion in a previous chapter,§ it is clear that Mr Dicey's maintenance of the Union rests on the same basis as Lord Salisbury's—that is to say, a benevolent despotism for twenty years. On the other hand, to balance, as it were, the foregoing severe saying, he adds that "a change of feeling would make it easy for English politicians and English voters to perceive that the local affairs of Ireland ought to be managed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom in accordance with the opinion of the parliamentary representatives of

\* \* Dicey, p 51

† *Ibid* p 128

‡ *Ibid* p 131

§ *Ibid* p 117

Ireland " \* He does not deny that the maintenance of the Union is an arduous effort, and " it must be combined with an equally strenuous endeavour to see that in Ireland, as in every part of the United Kingdom, the demands of the law be made to coincide with the demands of morality and of humanity " † In favour of the Act of Union, as I understand Mr Dicey's book, he advances no direct arguments except that " it ended once and for all an intolerable condition of affairs," ‡ without explaining what the affairs were of which it ended the intolerable condition or how it ended them The result, then, of Mr Dicey's arguments is this—that the Union ought to be maintained by any requisite amount of coercion, but that, in the meantime, the agrarian feud must be put in end to by making the tenants proprietors of the land, and Ireland must be governed by laws conformable to morality and humanity, and passed in accordance with the demands of the Irish representatives Now, such being Mr Dicey's programme, is there any material part of it within the sphere of practical politics except through the medium of Home Rule and a Land Bill dependent on Home Rule? The twenty years of benevolent despotism which Mr Dicey and Lord Salisbury rightly consider essential to the well-governing of Ireland under the Union are absolutely certain not to come to pass, and, if they did come to pass, it is hard to see why twenty future years of coercion should effect what past centuries of coercive rule have failed to effect Further, how can Ireland be governed according to the wishes of Ireland with coercion? and how can the agrarian feud be stamped out without a Land Bill? And yet, as has been shown above, an effective Land Bill cannot be passed without the establishment of a National Government in Ireland The only material objection to Home Rule is the allegation that it is injurious to the unity of the Empire and the supremacy of Parliament—a charge which has been sufficiently disposed of in the previous pages Having decided that the Union ought to be maintained, and, as a consequence, that Home Rule ought to be rejected, it seems a work of supererogation in Mr Dicey to go through the various forms of Home Rule—namely, federation, colonial independence, Grattan's Constitution, the Gladstonian Constitution—and condemn each form separately Why, he should make his anathemas joint and several With respect to federation, it undoubtedly, as Mr Dicey says, is in effect the result of a written *compact* between independent States, who form a union together on equal terms, and it is a mere confusion of thought to treat federation as having in principle, though it may have in form, anything in common with Imperialism, meaning by Imperialism the relation between the head of the Empire " and the component parts of the great political union of communities of which our Empire is composed " Federation would undoubtedly, as Mr Dicey avers, destroy

\* Dicey, p. 137

† *Ibid.*, p. 140‡ *Ibid.* p. 132

the supremacy of the British Parliament, and not only that, but the existence of the Empire, but, for the reasons stated above, federation between the dominant head of the Empire and a dependent community is a contradiction in terms, and never was dreamt of by the framers of the Home Rule Bill. Colonial independence appears to commend itself to Mr Dicey as the best form (though bad at the best) of Home Rule for Ireland, but he thinks the consequent power of Ireland to have an army and navy would be dangerous. Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill maintains the Union in respect of the army and navy and all other Imperial matters. The Irishman, for the purposes of peace and war, remains subject to the British Parliament in all respects as he has hitherto been. He has by a great majority of his representatives stated that he is satisfied with Local self government and Imperial submission. Why Mr Dicey should think it conducive to the unity of the Empire to discharge the Irishman from his Imperial obligations does not appear, and is difficult to discover. Grattan's Constitution granted an independence more complete in law, though perhaps not more complete in practice, than colonial independence. It is therefore condemned at once as being inapplicable to the state of things which the Home Rule Bill was intended by its framers to establish in Ireland.

To conclude. One charge made against the Gladstonian Home Rule Bill is that of impairing the supremacy of the British Parliament. That allegation has been shown also to be founded on a mistake. Next, it is said that the Gladstonian scheme does not provide securities against executive and legislative oppression. The answer is complete. The executive authority being vested in the Queen, it will be the duty of the Governor not to allow executive oppression, still more will it be his duty to veto any act of legislative oppression. Further, it is stated that difficulties will arise with respect to the power of the Privy Council to nullify unconstitutional Acts. But it is hard to see why a power which is exercised with success in the United States, where all the States are equal, and without dispute in our colonies, which are all dependent, should not be carried into effect with equal ease in Ireland, which is more closely bound to us and more completely under our power than the colonies are, or than the several States are under the power of the Central Government.

Mr Dicey sums up the whole matter as follows —

"If the passion of nationality is the cause of the malady, then the proposed cure is useless, for the Home Rule Bill will not turn the people of Ireland into a nation. If a vicious system of land tenure is the cause of the lawlessness, then the restoration or recreation of the Irish Parliament is needless, for the Parliament of the United Kingdom can reform, and ought to reform, the land system of Ireland, and ought to be able to carry through a final settlement of agrarian disputes with less injustice to individuals than could any Parliament sitting at Dublin."\*

\* Dicey, p. 279



Mr Dicey, by thus separating Home Rule and agrarian reform, obscures and misrepresents the whole situation. The cause of Irish discontent is the conjoint operation of the passion for nationality and the vicious system of land tenure, and the scheme of the Irish Home Rule Bill and the Land Bill removes the whole fabric on which Irish discontent is raised. The Irish, by the great majority of their representatives, have accepted the Home Rule Bill as a satisfactory settlement of the nationality question. The British Parliament can, through the medium of the Home Rule Bill and the establishment of an Irish Legislature, carry through a final settlement of agrarian disputes with less injustice to individuals than could a Parliament sitting in Dublin, and, be it added, with scarcely any appreciable risk to the British taxpayer. Of course it may be said that an Irish Parliament will go farther—that Home Rule is a step to separation, and a reform of the Land Laws a spoliation of the landlords. To those who urge such arguments I would recommend the perusal of the speech of Burke on Conciliation with America, and especially the following sentences, substituting “Ireland” for “the colonies” —

“But [the Colonies] Ireland will go further. Alas! when will this speculating against fact and reason end? What will quiet these panic fears which we entertain of the hostile effect of a conciliatory conduct? Is it true that no case can exist in which it is proper for the Sovereign to accede to the desires of his discontented subjects? Is there anything peculiar in this case to make it a rule for itself? Is all authority of course lost when it is not pushed to the extreme? Is it a certain maxim that the fewer causes of discontentment are left by Government the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel?”

THIRING

## TRANSYLVANIAN PEOPLES

TRANSYLVANIA has not inaptly been described as a store-house of different nationalities, and it would probably be hard to find, either in the old world or the new, another country containing such heterogeneous racial elements within the limited space of 54,000 square kilomètres. Here we find the fiery Magyar, the melancholy Roumanian, the stolid Saxon, the merry, thieving Tzigane, the wily Jew, and the solemn Armenian, all living together cheek by jowl in about the following proportions —

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| Roumanians | 1 200,400 |
| Hungarians | 652,200   |
| Saxons     | 211,400   |
| Tziganes   | 80,000    |
| Jews       | 24,000    |
| Armenians  | 8 000     |

Though each of these half-dozen races is as virtually different from the other five as an Englishman is unlike a Frenchman, or a Pole differs from a Spaniard, though each, in possessing its own religion, customs and superstitions, its individual interests and aspirations, well deserves the attention of any ethnologist, there are two which seem to me of peculiar and paramount interest, as embodying the spirit of the past and of the future in sharp and effective contrast. In the one we have the memory, in the other the promise of a noble manhood, for if the Saxons were men but yesterday, so the Roumanians will be men to-morrow, and while the former are rapidly degenerating into mere fossil antiquities, physically deteriorated from constant intermarriage, and morally opposed to any sort of progress involving amalgamation with the surrounding races, so the latter will be at their prime a few generations hence, when they have had

time to shake off the habits of slavery and have learned to recognize their own value

These Saxons, whom we find to-day living in isolated colonies all over Transylvania, appear to have come hither about seven centuries ago at the invitation of the Hungarian king, Géza II. In thus summoning German colonists to replenish the scantily peopled land, the Hungarian king displayed wisdom and forethought far in advance of his time, as was proved by the result. It was a bargain by which both sides were equally benefited, and consequently induced to keep the contract, for while the Germans obtained freedom which they could not have in their own country, so their presence was a guarantee to the monarch that this province would not be torn from his crown.

The question of what precise part of the German Fatherland was the home of these outwanderers is enveloped in some obscurity. They have retained no certain records to guide us to a conclusion, and German chroniclers of that time make no mention of their departure. Doubtless the Crusades, which were then engrossing every mind, caused these emigrations to pass comparatively unnoticed. Only a sort of vague floating tradition is preserved to this day in many of the Transylvanian villages, where, on winter evenings, some old grandam, shrivelled and bent, sitting ensconced behind the blue-tiled stove, will relate to the listening grandchildren crowding around her knees, how many, many hundred years ago their ancestors once dwelt on the sea-shore, next to the mouth of four rivers, which all flowed out of a larger and mightier river. In this shadowy description, probably the river Rhine is to be recognized, the more so that in the year 1195, these German colonists are, in a yet existing document, referred to as Flandersers. The name of *Sachsen* (Saxons), as they now call themselves, was only much later used as their general designation.

Although the Hungarian kings kept their given word to the emigrants right nobly, yet these latter had much to suffer, both from Hungarian nobles jealous of their privileges, and from the more ancient inhabitants of the soil, the Wallachians, who, living in the mountains in a thoroughly barbaric state, used to make frequent raids down into the plains and valleys, there to pillage, burn and murder whatever came in their way. If we add to this the frequent invasions of Turks and Tartars, it is a positive marvel how this handful of Germans, brought into a strange land and surrounded by enemies on all sides, should have maintained their independence and preserved their individuality under such combination of circumstances. They built churches and fortresses, they founded schools and guilds, they made their own laws and elected their own judges, and, in an age when Hungarian nobles could scarcely read or write, these little German

colonies were so many havens of civilization midst a howling wilderness of ignorance and barbarism

Whoever has lived among these Transylvanian Saxons, and has taken the trouble to study them, must have remarked that not only seven centuries' residence in a foreign land has made them lose none of their identity, but that they are in fact *plus catholiques que le pape*—that is to say, more thoroughly Teutonic than the Germans living to-day in the original Fatherland, and it is just because of the adverse circumstances in which they were placed, and of the opposition which met them on all sides, that these people have kept themselves so conservatively unchanged. Feeling that every step in another direction would be a step towards an enemy, finding that every concession they made was in danger of becoming the link of a captive's chain, no wonder they clung stubbornly, tenaciously, blindly, to every ancient custom and superstition, to each peculiarity of language and costume in a manner which has probably not got its parallel in history. Left on their native soil, and surrounded by friends and countrymen, these people would undoubtedly have followed the current of time, and have changed as other nations have changed. Their isolated position, and the peculiar circumstances of their surroundings have kept them what they were. Like a faithful portrait taken in the prime of life, the copy still goes on showing the bloom of the cheek and the light of the eye long after Time's destroying hand, withering the original, has caused it to lose all resemblance to its former self, and it is with something of the feeling of gazing at such an old portrait that we contemplate these German people, who dress themselves to-day like old bas-reliefs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and continue to hoard up provisions within the fortified church-walls as in the days when besieged by Turk or Tartar.

From an artistic point of view, these Saxons are decidedly an unlovely race, having something unfinished and wooden in their general appearance. Looking at them, I always felt myself irresistibly reminded of the figures of Noah and his family out of a cheap—a very cheap—toy Noah's ark. Nor is their expression in agreeable one, something hard and grasping, avaricious and mistrustful, characterizing them as a rule. But this is scarcely their fault, their expression, like their character, being but the natural result of circumstances, the result of seven centuries' stubborn resistance and warfare. The habit of mistrust developed almost to an instinct, cannot so quickly be got rid of, even if there be no longer cause to justify it. This defensive attitude towards strangers manifested by the Saxons, makes it, however, difficult to feel prepossessed in their favour. Taken in the sense of antiquities, they are, no doubt, extremely interesting, but viewed as living men and

women they are not attractive, and though one cannot help admiring the solid virtues and independent spirit which have kept them what they are, yet somehow they contrive to make these very virtues disagreeable, and to appear to disadvantage beside their less civilized, less educated, and less scrupulous neighbours the Roumanians

It is interesting to trace by what means these Saxons have contrived to keep themselves intact from all outward influences. Not without difficulty, as we see by ancient chronicles, has their costume been kept thus rigidly unchanged, for here, like elsewhere, even among these quiet, practical, prosaic, and unlovely people, the demon of vanity has been at work, and much eloquence was expended from the pulpit, and many severe punishments had to be prescribed, in order to subdue the evil spirit of fashion threatening to spread over the land at various times. So in 1651 we find a whole set of dress regulations issued by the bishop of one of the Transylvanian districts, of which here are a few samples —

1 The men shall wear neither blue nor yellow boots, nor shall the women venture to approach the holy sacrament or the baptismal font in red shoes, and whosoever conforms not to this regulation shall be refused admittance to church

2 All imitations of the Hungarian dress in the matter of waistcoats, braids, galloons, &c, are proscribed to the men

3 It is likewise forbidden for men and for serving-men to wear their hair in a long foreign fashion, hanging down behind, for that is dishonour. 'If a man have long hair it is a shame unto him' (1 Cor. xi. 14)

4 The peasant folk shall wear no high boots, and no wide woollen hats, nor an embroidered belt, for he is a peasant. Who is seen wearing such will expose himself to ridicule, and the boots shall be drawn off his legs that he shall go barefoot

5 The women shall avoid all that is superfluous in dress, nor shall they make horns upon their heads\*. Rich veils shall only be worn by such as are entitled to them. Neither shall any woman wear gold cords beneath her veil, not even if she be the wife of a gentleman. Silk caps with gold stars are not suitable for every woman. More than two handsome jewelled pins shall no woman wear, and if she require more than two for fastening her veil, let her take small pins. Not every one's child is entitled to wear corals round its neck. Let no woman copy the dress of noble dames, for it is not suitable for us Saxons

6 Let the *Herren Tochter* (gentlemen's daughters) not make the use of gold braids over common, but let them content themselves with honourable fringes. The serving-girls shall go without broad fringes, nor may they purchase silk cords of three yards' length, else

\* This would seem to be an allusion to the Roumanian fashion in certain districts of twisting up the veil in the shape of two horns

they will be stripped off their heads and nailed against the church wall Nor is it allowed for peasant maids to wear crooked (probably puffed) sleeves

Apparently these stringent injunctions had the desired effect of keeping female (and male) vanity in check for a time, but scarcely a hundred years later we find a new set of dress rules delivered from another pulpit, and up to this day the undue length of a ribbon, or an excessive number of head-pins, is matter for reproof in every Saxon community

Another characteristic feature of Saxon peasant life which has much contributed to their rigid conservatism, are the different associations or confraternities existing in each village These consist of the *Bruderschaft* (brotherhood), the *Nachbarschaft* (neighbourhood), and the *Schwesternschaft* (sisterhood)

To the first-named institution, the *Bruderschaft*, belong all young men of the parish from the date of their confirmation up to that of their marriage This community is governed by laws in which the respective duties of its members as citizens, sons, brothers and suitors are distinctly traced out In their outward form these brotherhoods have some resemblance to the religious confraternities in Catholic countries, and most probably they originated in the same manner, but while these latter have degenerated into mere outward forms, the Saxon *Bruderschaften* have retained the original spirit of these institutions, which principally consisted in the reciprocal guard their members kept over each other's morality The head of the *Bruderschaft* is called the *Alt knecht* He is chosen every year, but can be deposed in the interval if he prove unworthy of his post It is his mission to watch over the other members, keep order and dictate punishments, but when he is caught erring himself the *Alt knecht* incurs a double forfeit The finable offences are numerous, and are taxed at ten, fifteen, twenty kreutzers and upwards, according to the heinousness of the offence Here are a few of the delinquencies which are subject to penalty —

1 Carelessness and slovenliness in attire, every missing button having a fine attached to it

2 Bad manners at table, putting the elbows on the board or striking it with the fist

3 Irregularity in church attendance

4 Misbehaviour in church, such as yawning, stretching, &c Also falling asleep during the sermon, a very heavy fine being put upon snoring

5 Having worn coloured hat ribbons, or whistled loudly in the street on a fast day \*

\* After concluding this article I learn from a current newspaper that the late king of Bavaria, whose tragical death was lately in every mouth, attempted to revive in

Also the relations of the young men to the fair sex, and the etiquette of dancing and spinning meetings is accurately chalked out—for nowhere is village etiquette more strenuously observed than among these Saxon colonists—and there are countless little forms and observances which to neglect or transgress would be as grave as to revise the respective orders of claret and champagne at a fashionable dinner-party, or for a lady to go to Court without plumes. The laws of precedence are here every whit as clearly defined as among our upper ten thousand, and the punctilio of a spinning-room quite as formal as the ordering of her Majesty's drawing-room.

No youth is permitted to enter the spinning room in his week-day clothes, and the exact distance the men are allowed to approach the spinning-wheel of any girl is in some villages precisely defined by inches. A fine of ten kreutzers (twopence) is attached to the touching of a maiden's breast-pin, while stealing a kiss always proves a still more expensive amusement.

Dancing usually takes place on Sunday afternoon, either in the village inn, or in the open air in summer at some convenient spot, under a group of old trees, or a rustic shed erected for the purpose, the permission to dance having each time been formally requested of the pastor by the head of the brotherhood. The couples are often settled beforehand by the *Allknecht*, and it is not allowed for any youth to refuse the hand of the partner assigned to him. However hot be the weather the men must retain their heavy cloth coats during the first round dance, and only when the music strikes up for the second time does the *Allknecht* give the signal for lightening the costume by laying aside his own coat and permitting the girls to divest themselves of their uncomfortable high stiff caps.

On his marriage each youth ceases to be a member of the *Bruderschaft*, on leaving which both he and his bride must pay certain taxes in meat, bread and wine to the confraternity. In some districts it is usual for the young couple to attend the village dances for a period of six months after their marriage, but more usually dancing ceases altogether with matrimony. In one or two villages there prevails a custom of the married women dancing every fourth year only.

After his marriage a man becomes a member of the *Nachbarschaft*, or neighbourhood. Every village is divided into four neighbourhoods, each one governed by a head called the *Nachbarvater*. This second confraternity is regulated much in the same manner as the *Bruderschaft*, with the difference that the regulations thereof apply

Munich these German brotherhoods, such as they used to be in the Middle Ages. He constituted himself the head of the confraternity, and chose the costume to be worn by the members on grand occasions.

These mediæval figures, with their wide flapping hats, their pilgrim staffs and cockle shells, were among the most noteworthy figures at the royal funeral.

more to the reciprocal assistance which neighbours are bound to render each other in various household and domestic contingencies. Thus a man is only obliged to assist those that belong to his *Nachbarschaft* in building a house, cleaning out wells and extinguishing fires. He must also contribute provisions on christening, wedding, or funeral occasions, and lend plates and jugs for the same.

The *Nachbarvater* must watch over the order and discipline of his quarter, and enforce the regulations issued by the pastor or by the village *manne* or *Hann*, as he is here called. This authority extends even to the interior of each household, and he is bound to report to the pastor the names of those who absent themselves from church. He must fine the men who have neglected to approach the sacrament, as well as the women who have lingered in the churchyard wasting their time in senseless gossip. Children who have been overheard speaking disrespectfully of their parents, couples whose conjugal quarrels are audible in the village street, dogs wantonly beaten by their masters, vain young matrons who have exceeded the prescribed number of glittering pins in their head-dress, or girls surpassing their proper allowance of ribbon, all come under his jurisdiction, and the *Nachbarvater* is himself subject to punishment if he neglect to report a culprit, or show himself too lenient in the dictation of punishment.

It is by the rigid observance of many such rules that the Transylvanian Saxons have now become a curious remnant of the Middle Ages—a living anachronism in the nineteenth century, for such as these people wandered forth from the far West to seek a home in a strange land seven centuries ago, such we find them again to-day, like a corpse frozen in a glacier, which comes to light unchanged after a long lapse of years.

There has been of late years so much learned discussion about the origin of the Roumanians that it were presumption to advance any independent opinion on the subject. German writers—more especially Saxon ones—have been strenuous in deriding all claim to Roman extraction, contending that whatever Roman elements remained over after the evacuation of this territory, must long since have been swallowed up in the great rush of successive nations which passed over the land in the early part of the Middle Ages. Roumanian writers, on the contrary, are fond of laying great stress on the direct Roman lineage which it is their pride to believe in, sometimes, however, injuring their own cause by over-anxiety to claim too much, and laying too little stress on the admixture of Slav blood which is as surely a fundamental ingredient of the race. One of the more impartial Roumanian writers, Joan Slavici, states the case with greater fairness when he writes as follows —



"If we simply were to deny the crossing of Roman with Slav blood, then the whole question of Roumanian origin loses its significance, if, however, we admit the Roumanians, though undoubtedly descended from the Romans, to be a people more nearly related to the Slav than to the Teutonic race, it must be conceded that such fusion could only have taken place where a Slav race already existed previous to the advent of the Roman conquerors. That people, therefore, whose progressive development have produced the present Roumanian race, did not exist before this fusion took place, and thereto its origin is distinctly to be traced. The ethnographical importance of the Roumanians, therefore, does not lie in the fact of their being descendants of the ancient Romans, nor in that of their connection to the long-vanished Dacians, but simply and entirely therein that this people, placed between two sharply contrasting races, form an important connecting link in the chain of Europe in tribes."

The classical type of feature, so often met with among Roumanian peasants, pleads strongly for the theory of Roman extraction, and if just now I compared the Saxon peasants to Noah's ark figures rudely carved out of the coarsest wood, the Roumanians as often remind me of a type of face chiefly to be seen on cameo ornaments, or ancient signet rings. Take at random a score of individuals from any Roumanian village, and, like a handful of antique gems which have been strewn broadcast over the land, you will there surely find a goodly choice of classical profiles worthy to be immortalized on agate onyx, or jasper.

An air of plaintive melancholy generally characterizes the Roumanian peasant. It is the melancholy of a long-subjected and oppressed race, but spite of his degradation the Roumanian not unfrequently possesses a grace and inherent dignity of deportment totally wanting in his Saxon neighbour. There is a wealth of unraised treasure, of ability in the raw block, and of uncultured talent lying dormant in this ignorant peasantry, who seem only lately to have begun to understand that they need not always bend their neck beneath the yoke of other nations, and that slavery and humiliation are not inevitable conditions of their existence. Devoid of all artistic training, and until quite lately possessing no sort of national literature of their own, there are here to be found the elements of both poet and painter. The Roumanian folk-songs betray alike pathos and imagination, the pictures adorning each village church are wanting neither in harmony of colour nor of design. Encouragement and training alone are required to mature these gifts to the highest pitch demanded by culture.

In order to understand the Roumanian we must first of all begin by understanding his religion, which alone gives us the clue to the curiously contrasting shades of his complicated character. A French writer, speaking of the Wallachians (as they were then called) some forty years ago, says —

"Aujourd'hui leur seul mobile est la religion, si on peut donner ce

nom à l'ensemble de leurs pratiques superstitieuses", and another author remarks, with equal justice, that the whole life of a Wallachian is taken up in devising talismans against the devil

It is supposed that the Roumanians were very early converted to Christianity—probably in the third century. Old chronicles of the thirteenth century, however, make mention of them as a people, "which, though professing the Christian faith, is yet nevertheless given to the practice of manifold Pagan rites and customs, wholly at variance with Christianity," and even to-day the Roumanians are best described by the paradoxical definition of Christian-Pagans, or Pagan-Christians

True, the Roumanian peasant will never fail to uncover his head whenever he pass by a wayside cross, but his salutation to the rising sun will be at least equally profound, and though he goes to church and abstains from work on the Lords Day, it is by no means certain whether he does not regard the Friday (Vineri) dedicated to Paraschiva (Venus) as the holier day of the two. The list of the other un-Christian festivals is lengthy, and still lengthier that of Christian festivals, in whose celebration Pagan rites and customs may still be traced

Whoever buries his dead without placing a coin in the hand of the corpse is regarded as a Pagan by the orthodox Roumanian. *Au i de legea noastra* ("he is not of our law"), he says of such a one, meaning, "he is not of our religion," and whosoever lives outside the Roumanian religion, be he Christian, Pagan, Jew, or Mahomedan, is regarded as unclean, and, consequently, whatever comes in contact with any such individual is unclean likewise

The Roumanian language has a special word to define this uncleanness—*spurcat*, which somewhat corresponds to the *koscher* and *unkoscher* of the Jews. If, for instance, any animal fall into a well of drinking water, then the well forthwith becomes *spurcat*, and *spurcat* likewise whosoever drinks of this water. If it is a large animal, such as a calf or goat, which has fallen in, then the whole water must be baled out, and should this fail to satisfy the conscience of any ultra-orthodox proprietor, then the Popa must be called in to read a mass over the spot where perchance a donkey has found a watery grave, but when it is a man who has been drowned there, no further rehabilitation is possible for the unlucky well, which must therefore be filled up and discarded as quite too hopelessly *spurcat*

Every orthodox Roumanian household possesses three different classes of cooking and eating utensils—unclean, clean for the meat days, and the cleanest of all for fast days. The cleansing of a vessel, which through some accident has become *spurcat*, is only conceded in the case of very large and expensive articles, such as barrels and tubs, copious ablutions of holy water, besides much scouring,

scraping, and rubbing, being resorted to in such cases. All other utensils which do not come under this denomination must be simply thrown away, or at best employed for feeding the domestic animals. The Roumanian who does not strictly observe all these regulations is himself *spurcat*, this same measure being applied to all individuals, who are therefore considered to be clean or unclean, according to their observance of these rules. The uncleanness, however, is not supposed to be in the individual but in his laws, which fail to enforce cleanliness, therefore it is the law which is unclean, *legé spurcat*, which for the Roumanian is synonymous with un-Christian. For instance, a man who eats horse-flesh, is necessarily a Pagan in his eyes.

This recognition of the uncleanness of most of his fellow creatures is, however, wholly free from either hatred or contempt on the part of the Roumanian. On the contrary, he shows much interest in foreign countries and habits, and when desirous of affirming the high character of any stranger, he says of him that he is a man who keeps his own law, *tinc la legea lui*, spite of which eulogium the Roumanian will refuse to wear the coat, or eat off the plate of this honourable stranger.

The idea so strongly rooted in the Roumanian mind, that they alone are Christians, and that consequently no man can be a Christian without also being a Roumanian, seems to imply that there was a time when the two words were absolutely identical, and that surrounded for long by Pagan nations, with whom they could hold no sort of community, they lacked all knowledge of other existing Christian races.

On the other hand, these people are curiously liberal towards strangers in the matter of religion, allowing each one, whatever be his confession, to enter their churches and receive their sacraments, nor is it allowed for a Popa to refuse the administration of a sacrament to whosoever apply to him, be he Catholic, Protestant, Turk, or Jew, provided the applicant submit to receive it in the manner prescribed by the Oriental church.

The position occupied by the Roumanian clergyman towards his flock is such a peculiar one that it deserves a few words of notice. Though his influence over the people is unlimited, it is no wise dependent on his personal character. It is quite superfluous for the Popa to present in his person a model of the virtues he is in the habit of describing from the altar, and he may for his part be drunken, dishonest, ignorant and profligate to his heart's content, without losing one whit of his prestige or spiritual head. His official character is absolutely intangible, and not to be shaken by any private misdemeanour, and the Roumanian proverb which says, "*Face sice Popa de mine face el*," that is, "*Do as the Popa tells you, but do not act as he does*," defines his attitude with perfect accuracy. Only

the Popa has the privilege of wearing a beard, as he alone is privileged to indulge in certain pet vices which it is his mission officially to condemn, and, like the goodly virtue of charity, this beard must often be said to cover a very great multitude of sins

Of recent years no doubt—thanks chiefly to the enlightened efforts of the late Archbishop Schaguna—much has been done to raise the moral standard of the Roumanian clergy in Transylvania, but there remains still much to do before the prevailing coarseness, ignorance and hypocrisy too often characterizing this class can be removed. At present the average village Popa is simply a peasant with a beard, who on week-days goes about his agricultural duties like any other villager, digging his potatoes or going behind the plough, his wife is a simple peasant woman, and his children run about as dirty and dishevelled as any other brats in the village

A distinguishing quality of the Roumanian race is the touching family affection which mostly unites all relations. Unlike the Saxon, who seeks to limit the number of his offspring, the poor Roumanian, even when plunged in the direst poverty, welcomes each new-born child as another gift of God, while to be a childless wife is regarded as the greatest of misfortunes. Perhaps it is because the Roumanian has himself so few wants, that he feels no anxiety about the future of his children, and therefore the rapid increase of his family occasions him no sort of uneasiness. Having next to no personal property, he is a stranger to the cares which accompany their possession, and the whole programme of his life of admirable simplicity may be thus summed up

In early infancy the Roumanian babe is more or less treated as a bundle, often slung on its mother's back, packed in a little oval wooden box, and thus carried about wherever she goes, if to work in the field she attaches the box to the branch of a tree, and when sitting at market it may be stowed away on the ground between a basket of eggs and a pair of cackling fowls, or a squeaking sucking-pig. When, after a very few months, the baby outgrows the box and crawls out of its cocoon, it begins to share its parent's food (mostly consisting in maize flour boiled in water or in milk), and soon learns to manage for itself. When it has reached a reasonable age, which in this case means five or six, it is old enough to assist its parents in gaining an honest livelihood, which, as generally understood by the Roumanians, means helping them to steal wood in the forest. Later on the boy is bound over as swine or cowherd to some Saxon landowner for a period of several years, on quitting whose service after the appointed term, he is entitled to the gift of a calf or pig. Once in possession of a calf the Roumanian lad considers himself a made man for life. He has no ground of his own, but such petty considerations not affecting

him, he proceeds to build wherever best suits his purpose. Stone or brick hardly ever enters into the fabrication of his building, the framework is roughly put together of wooden beams, and the walls composed of wattled willow twigs plastered with clay, while the roof is covered with thatch of reeds, or wooden shingles, according as he happens to live nearest to a marsh or a forest.

The inside of a Roumanian's hut is, however, far less miserable looking than its outward appearance would lead us to suppose. The walls are all hung with a profusion of holy pictures, mostly painted on glass, and the furniture brightly adorned in rough but not in-artistic designs—the Roumanian's passion for thus ornamenting all his woodwork leading him to paint even the yoke of his oxen and the handles of his tools.

There is usually a new-born baby swinging in a basket suspended from the rafters, and always a weaving-loom set up at one end of the room. The produce of this loom—gay-looking stuff striped in effective Oriental patterns of blue, scarlet, and white, often with gold or silver threads introduced in the weaving—are suspended from ropes, or displayed along the walls. Each village has its own set of colours and patterns, according to its particular costume, and every Roumanian woman spins, dyes, and weaves as a matter of course. In some places you never see a Roumanian woman without her distaff, she even takes it with her on the way to market, and may frequently be seen trudging along the road, a distance of several miles twirling the spindle as she goes.

The men do not seem to share this love of labour, but have, on the contrary, much of the Italian *lazzarone* in their composition, not taking to any sort of manual labour unless driven to it by necessity. The life of a shepherd is the only calling which the Roumanian really embraces *con amore*, and his love for his sheep may truly be likened to the Arab's love of his horse. A real Roumanian shepherd, bred and brought up to the life, has so completely identified himself with his calling, that everything about him, food and dress, mind and matter, has, so to say, become completely sheepified. Sheep's milk and cheese form the staple of his nourishment, his dress principally consist of sheepskin, four sheep furnishing him with a coat which lasts through life, one new-born lamb giving him the cap he wears, and when he dies a tuft of snowy wool is attached to the wooden cross which marks his last resting-place. His mental faculties are entirely concentrated on the study of his sheep, and so sharpened have become his perceptions on this one point, that the shepherd is able to divine and foretell to a nicety every change of the weather merely from observing the demeanour of his flock. The idyllic bond between shepherd and sheep has formed the subject of many quaintly <sup>brat</sup>ul Roumanian folk-songs, which want of space forbids me here from noting.

Forests have no charm for the Roumanian shepherd, who regards each tree as an enemy depriving his sheep of their rightful nourishment, and he covertly seeks to increase his pastures by setting fire to the woods whenever he can hope to do so with impunity. Whole tracts of noble forests in Transylvania have thus been laid waste, and it is much to be feared that fifty years hence the country will present a bleak and desolate appearance, unless energetic measures are taken to do away with this abuse.

The Roumanian is very obstinate in character, and is hard to convince. He does nothing without reflection, and often he reflects so long that the time for action has passed. This slowness has become proverbial, the Saxon saying, "God give me the light which the Roumanian always gets too late." In the same proportion as the Roumanian is slow to make up his mind, he is also slow to change it. Frankness is not regarded as a virtue, and the Roumanian language has no word which directly expresses this quality. Hungarians, on the contrary, regard frankness and truth-speaking as a duty, and are, therefore, laughed at by the Roumanians, who consider as a fool any man who injures himself by speaking the truth. Of pride, also, the Roumanian has little notion, he has been too long treated as a degraded and scurf-like being, and what he understands by that word would rather seem to express the child-like vanity of a handsome man who sees himself admired. Revenge is cultivated as a virtue, and whoever would be considered a respectable man must keep in mind the injuries done to him, and show resentment thereof on fitting occasions. Reconciliation is regarded as opprobrious, and forgiveness of wrongs degrading. But the Roumanian's rage is stealthy and disguised, and while the Hungarian lets his anger openly explode, the Roumanian will dissemble, and mutter between his teeth, *tine mente* ("thou shalt remember"), and his memory is good, for he does not suffer himself to forget. When an injury has been done to him, henceforward it becomes his sacred duty to brood over his vengeance. He may not say a good word more to his enemy, nor do him a service, but must strive to injure him to the best of his ability, with, however, this nice distinction, that he himself do not profit by the injury done. Thus it would not be consistent with the Roumanian's code of honour were he to steal the horse or ox of his enemy, but there can be no objection to his inducing another man to do so. Such behaviour is considered only right and just, and by acting in this manner he will only be fulfilling his duty as an honest and honourable man.

Much of the spirit of the ancient Spartans lies in the Roumanian conception of virtue and vice. Stealing and drunkenness are not considered to be intrinsically wrong, only the publicity which may attend these proceedings conveying any sense of shame to the offender. Thus, a man is not yet a thief because he has stolen, and whoever

becomes accidentally aware of the theft should, if he have no personal interest in the matter, hold his peace. Even the injured party whose property has been abstracted is advised, if possible, to reckon alone with the thief, without drawing general attention to his fault.

Neither is drunkenness necessarily degrading, on the contrary, every decent man should get drunk on fitting occasions, such as weddings, christenings, &c, and then go quietly to a barn or loft and sleep off his tipsiness. *Bea-cat vrei apoi te culcu si dormi* ("Drink thy fill and then lie down and sleep") says their proverb, but any man who has been seen reeling drunk in the open street, hooted by children and barked at by dogs, and were it only once, is henceforward branded as a drunkard. It is therefore the duty of each Roumanian who sees a drunken man, to conduct him quietly to the nearest barn.

Another curious side of the Roumanian's morality is the point of view from which he regards personal property, such as grain and fruit. In general whatever grows plentifully in the fields, or as he terms it, "whatever God has given," may be taken with impunity by whoever passes that way, but with the restriction that he may only take so much as he can consume at the moment. The proprietor who makes complaint at having his vineyard or his plum trees rifled in this manner only exposes himself to ridicule.

Whoever carries away of the grain or fruits with him is a thief, but strictly speaking only then when he sells the stolen goods, not when he quietly shares it with his own family.

The Roumanian looks only at deeds and results, motives being absolutely indifferent to him. So the word "passion" he translates as *pâtima*, which really expresses weakness. Whatever is bad is weak. Thus an *om pâtimă*, a weak man, may either mean a consumptive invalid, a love sick youth, or a furious ruffian. Passion of all kind is a misfortune which should excite compassion but not resentment, and whoever commits a bad action is above all foolish because it is sure to be found out sooner or later.

Mr Patterson in his very interesting work on Hungary and Transylvania, gives an anecdote which aptly characterizes the nature of the Roumanian's morality. "Three Roumanian peasants waylaid and murdered a traveller, dividing his possessions between them. Among these they discovered a cold roast fowl, which they did not eat, however, but gave to the dog, as being a fast-day they feared to commit sin by tasting flesh. This was related by the murderers themselves when captured and driven to confess their crime before Justice."

While on the subject of fasts I may as well mention that those prescribed by the Greek Church are numerous and severe, and it is a well-ascertained fact that the largest average of crimes committed

by Roumanians occur during the season of Lent, when the people are in a feverish and over-excited state from the unnatural deprivation of food. In the same way the Saxon peasants are most quarrelsome and vindictive immediately after the vintage, when the cellars are full of new wine and cider, and most connubial quarrels terminating in divorce originate at that time.

The inhabitants of each Roumanian village are divided into three classes

First, the distinguished villagers—front men, called *fruntasi* or *oameni de frunta*

Secondly, the middle men, *mylocasi* or *oameni de mana adona*—men of second-hand

Third, the hind-men, or *codas*

Each villager according to his personal gifts, family and fortune, is ranged into one or other of these three classes, each having their respective customs, rights and privileges, which no member of another class dare infringe upon. Thus the *codas* may do much which would not be proper for the other two classes. The *mylocasi* have, on the whole, the most difficult position of the three, and are judged most severely, being alternately accused of presumption in imitating the manners of the *fruntas*, and blamed for demeaning themselves by copying the irregular habits of the *codas*.

Nor is the position of the front men entirely an easy one. Each of these has his party of hangers-on, friends, and admirers, who profess a blind faith and admiration for him, endorsing his opinion on all occasions, and recognizing his authority in matters of dispute. His dress, his words, his actions, must all be strictly regulated on the axiom *Noblesse oblige*, but woe to him if he be caught erring, for only in the case of the Popa is it allowable for practice to differ from preaching.

Each village has its own costume as regards colours and details, though all partake of the same general character, which, in the case of the women, is chiefly represented by a long alb-like under-garment reaching to the feet, and above it two straight-cut Roman aprons front and back. The subject of Roumanian female costume offers a most bewildering field for description, as the *nuances* and varieties to be found would lead us on *ad infinitum* were we to attempt to enumerate all those we have come across. Thus in one village the costume is all black and white, the cut and make of an almost conventual simplicity forming a piquant contrast to the blooming faces and seductive glances of the beautiful wearers, who give the impression of being a band of light-hearted maidens masquerading in nun's attire. In other hamlets, blue or scarlet are the prevailing colours, and a few steps over the Roumanian frontier will show us glittering costumes all covered with embroidery and spangles, rich



and gaudy as the robes of some Oriental princess, stepping straight out of the "Arabian Nights"

The head-dress also varies with the different localities, it is sometimes a brightly coloured shawl or handkerchief, oftener a filmy veil embroidered or spangled, and worn with ever-varying effect. It may either be wound round the head turban fashion, or else twisted up into Satanella-like horns, now floating down the back like a Spanish mantilla, or again coquettishly drawn forward, and concealing the lower part of the face.

Whatever is tight or constrained looking is considered to be unbeautiful, the folds must always flow downwards in easy lines, the sleeves should be full and bulging, the skirt long enough to conceal the feet, so that in dancing only the toes are visible.

The men have also much variety in their dress for state occasions, but for ordinary wear they confine themselves to a plain coarse linen shirt, which hangs out over the trousers like a workman's blouse, confined to the waist by a gigantically broad leather belt, red or black in colour, and with various receptacles for holding money, firearms, knife and fork, &c &c. The trousers, which fit rather tightly to the leg, are in summer of linen, in winter of a rough sort of white cloth.

Both sexes wear on the feet a sort of leather sandal, called *Opintschen*, beneath which the feet are swaddled and protected by wrappings of linen and woollen rags.

To be consistent with the Roumanian's notion of cleanliness, his clothes should by rights be spun, dyed, woven, and made at home. He may be occasionally obliged to purchase some article of a stranger, but in such cases he is always careful to select a dealer of his own nationality.

The marriageable girls sometimes wear a headdress richly embroidered with pearls and coins. This is a sign that her trousseau is ready, and that she only waits for a suitor.

In some districts it is customary for the young man who is seeking a girl in marriage, to go straight at the painted wooden chest containing her dowry, and only if satisfied by the appearance of its contents, of the skill and industry of his intended, does he proceed to the formal demand of her hand. If, on the contrary, the coffer proves to be ill-supplied, he is at liberty to beat a retreat, and back out of the affair. In one village the matter has been still further simplified, for there, during the Carnival time, the parents of each marriageable daughter are in the habit of organizing a sort of standing exhibition of the maiden's effects in the dwelling-rooms, each article displayed to the best advantage, hung against the walls, or spread out upon the benches. The would-be suitor is thus enabled to review the situation by merely pushing the door ajar, and

need not even cross the threshold if the show fall short of his expectations

An orthodox Roumanian wedding should last seven days and seven nights, neither more nor less, but as there are many who cannot afford this sacrifice of time, they circumvent the difficulty by interrupting the festivities after the first day and taking them up again on the seventh

In some districts a pretty little piece of acting is still kept up on the wedding morning. The bridegroom, surrounded by his friends, arrives on horseback at full gallop before the house of his intended, and roughly calls upon the father to give him his daughter. The old man denies having any daughter, but after some mock wrangling he goes into the house and leads out a toothless old woman, who is received with shouts and clamour, then after a little more fencing he goes in again, and returns this time leading the true bride dressed in her best clothes, and with his blessing gives her over to the bridegroom

Elsewhere I have alluded to some of the Roumanian customs attending death and burial, such as the lighted candle, without which no one should be allowed to expire, and the funeral banquets (*pomanas*) held at intervals in memory of the departed. When the corpse has been laid out for burial, duly washed and equipped for his long journey, and supplied with the money supposed to be necessary for clearing the ferries on the way to Paradise, then the wailing and mourning begins. Women alone are allowed to take part in these lamentations (called *borcete*), and all women related to the deceased by ties of blood and friendship are bound to assist as mourners, also all such whose families have been on unfriendly terms with the dead, should now appear to ask his forgiveness

The corpse remains exposed a full day and night in the chamber of death, and during that time must never be left alone, nor must the lamentations be allowed to cease for a single minute. It is therefore usual to have hired women to act the part of mourners, by relieving each other at intervals in singing the mourning songs

The men related to the deceased also spend the night in the house, keeping watch over the corpse. This is called the *prucghia*, which, however, has not necessarily a mournful character, as they pass the time with various games, or else seated at table with wine and food before them. The mass for the departed soul should, if possible, be said in the open air, and when the coffin is lowered into the grave the vessel containing the water in which the corpse has been washed must be shattered to atoms on the spot

Whoever dies unmarried must never be carried by married bearers to the grave, a married man or woman is carried by married men, a youth by other youths, while a maiden is carried by maidens with

hanging dishevelled hair In every case the rank of the bearers must correspond to that of the deceased, and a *fruntas* can as little be carried by *mylocas*, as the bearers of a *codas* may be higher than himself in rank During six weeks after the funeral, the women of the family let their hair hang unplaited in sign of mourning It is, moreover, not uncommon to hear of people who have vowed themselves to perpetual mourning, in memory of some beloved deceased one, as was the case with an old peasant in one of the Transylvanian villages, who was pointed out to me as having worn no head-covering, summer and winter, for over forty years, in memory of his only son

In the case of a man who has died a violent death, and in general of all such as have expired without a light, none of these ceremonies take place Such a man has neither right to *bocete*, *prueggia*, mass, nor *pomana*, nor is his body laid in consecrated ground He is buried wherever the body is found—on the mountain or in the heart of the forest, where he met with his death—his last resting-place only marked by a heap of dry branches, which each passer by is expected to add to by throwing a bundle of twigs—a handful of thorns, as they express it—on the spot This is the only mark of attention to which such deceased may lay claim, and consequently to the Roumanian's mind no thought is so dreadful as that of dying deprived of light

The Roumanian does not seem to be courageous by nature, or to love warfare for its own sake, as does the Hungarian, neither does courage exactly take rank as a virtue in his estimation, for courage implies a certain recklessness of consequences, and, according to his way of thinking, every action should be circumscribed and only performed after due deliberation When, however, driven to it by circumstances, and brought to recognize the necessity, he can fight bravely and is a good soldier

The Roumanians have often been called slavish and cringing, but is it not impossible that they should be otherwise, if we consider their past history, oppressed and trampled on, persecuted and treated as vermin by the surrounding races? Little more than a century ago it was illegal for any Roumanian child to frequent a German or Hungarian school, while at the same period the Roumanian clergy were compelled to carry the Calvinistic bishop on their shoulders to and from his church whenever he chose to exact their service Among the many inhuman laws framed against them, was one which continued in force up to the seventeenth century, ordering that each Wallachian out of the district of Poplaka, in the neighbourhood of Hermanstadt, who injured a tree, if only by peeling off the bark, was to be forthwith hung up to the self-same tree "Should, however, the culprit remain undiscovered," prescribes the law, "then shall the community of Poplaka be bound to deliver up for execution some other Wallachian in his place"

The faults of the Roumanians are the faults of all slaves, they are lazy, not being yet accustomed to work for themselves nor caring to work for a master, and have acquired cunning and deceit as the only weapons wherewith to meet tyranny and cruelty. Occasionally they have cast off their yoke and taken cruel revenge on their real or imaginary oppressors, as in 1848, when, instigated and stirred up by Austrian agents, they rose against their masters, the Hungarian noblemen, whom they put to death with many torturing devices, crucifying some and burying others up to the neck, cutting off tongues and plucking out eyes as a diabolical fury suggested. Such acts of cruelty of which the Roumanians were guilty at this period, have deprived them of much of the sympathy to which they might have laid claim as a suffering and oppressed race, but those people who have a thorough knowledge of the Roumanian character, and are able to estimate correctly all the influences brought to bear upon them at that time, do not hesitate to affirm that these people were far more sinned against than sinning, and cannot really be held responsible for the atrocities they perpetrated. Even Hungarian nobles, themselves the greatest sufferers by all that happened, are wont to speak of them with a sort of pitying commiseration, as of poor misguided creatures led astray by unscrupulous agents, and quite unable to understand the heinousness of their behaviour.

Perhaps no other race possesses in such marked degree the blind and immovable sense of nationality which characterizes the Roumanians. They hardly ever mingle with the surrounding races, far less adopt manners and customs foreign to their own. This singular tenacity of the Roumanians to their own dress, manners and customs is probably due to the influence of their religion, which teaches that any divergence from their own established rules is sinful. In some districts where attempt was made (in the time of Maria Theresa) to replace the Greek Popas by other clergymen belonging to the united faith, the people did not rebel, but simply absented themselves from all church attendance. Cases are known of villages whose churches remained closed over thirty years because the people could not be brought to accept the change.

It is a remarkable fact that even in cases of intermarriage, the seemingly stronger-minded and more vigorous Hungarians are absolutely powerless to influence the Roumanians. Thus the Hungarian woman who weds a Roumanian husband will necessarily adopt the dress and manners of his people, and her children will be as good Roumanians as though they had no drop of Magyar blood in their veins, while the Magyar who takes a Roumanian girl for his wife, not only utterly fails to convert her to his ideas, but himself, subdued by her influence, will imperceptibly begin to lose something of his nationality. This is a fact well known, and much lamented by the Transylvanian Hungarians, who live in anticipated apprehensions of seeing their

people ultimately dissolving into Roumanians, and this fear it is which makes the present Hungarian Government devote such iron energy to the task of Magyarizing all people within the frontier—a task which the opposition of Croats, Serbs, and Slovacks, the stubborn conservatism of the Saxons, and the eager aspirations of the Roumanians, bids fair to render little short of herculean. It is not easy to foresee the end of this portentous struggle, which is a question of no less than life or death on either side. Given a quarter century of peace for Hungary, it is just possible that the Government may accomplish the object pursued with such relentless persistency, but does any one believe in such peace just now when the Eastern Question daily becomes more ominously interrogative? And how is it possible to doubt that the war, which, in some shape or other, must come before long, is the opportunity many await for slipping off unwelcome chains?

For the dwindling handful of Saxons indeed no resurrection seems possible, for are they not doomed to moulder away in their self-spun cobwebs? But for the Roumanians, in virtue of their rapidly increasing population, of the thirst for knowledge, and the powerful spirit of progress which have arisen among them of late years, it is scarcely hazardous to prophesy that the future has much in store, and that a day will come when other nations, having degenerated and spent their strength, these descendants of the ancient Romans, rising phoenix-like from their ashes, will step forward with a whole fund of latent power and virgin material, to rule as masters where formerly they have crouched as slaves.

E GERARD

## THE RADICAL PROGRAMME

IT is not only unavoidable, but good in itself, that each of the main divisions of political parties should comprehend, under a common name, varieties and different tendencies of opinion. Were it otherwise, the evils of party government would be intensified, and valuable safeguards for the maintenance, among active politicians, of that self-respect, independence of mind, and sincerity of purpose, which are essential for the common welfare, would be lost. But there must be some limits to that comprehension.

On the Liberal side, there have always been differences corresponding with those between the "Left Centre" and the "Extreme Left" of our French neighbours. Our "Extreme Left" (more powerful, perhaps, now than at any former time) has been accustomed to call itself Radical, and its opponents, of the Tory or Conservative party, have done their best (whether with that intention or not) to promote its power and influence, by confounding all Liberals under that designation.

This confusion is the more easy, because the word "Radical" is not really, in its proper meaning, more definite than "Liberal". It is capable of a good sense, which has caused it to be accepted by many, who (whether their political judgment has been generally sound or not) have had in view practical objects, good, or so seeming to them, and not revolution. If we look back over a considerable tract of time, we may observe many differences of character and opinion among those who have described themselves by that name, and the views of many of them have been modified and mitigated by increased experience and maturity of judgment, or by the responsibilities of a share in the conduct of affairs. No one need question the sincerity of the early Radicalism of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir

John Cam Hobhouse, of Sir William Molesworth or of Mr Roebuck. But one of those men in his later years became, not less sincerely, a Conservative, and of the others, two died Liberals of the "Centre," while the fourth co-operated, loyally and harmoniously, with a Cabinet of that complexion. I prefer not to speak of living men but Mr Forster also called himself Radical. No man knew better than Mr Forster when to withstand, or was more determined in withstanding, movements and impulses which to his judgment and conscience appeared inconsistent with the authority of Government and the maintenance of social order.

It is a serious objection to the word "Radical," that it is capable of a bad and unreasonable, as well as of a good and reasonable sense. Pulling things up "by the roots" is good or bad, according to its practical application. To pull ill weeds up "by the roots," to "eradicate" abuses of all sorts, to go "to the root" of the matter when reforming anything which needs reform, is good. All that is wholesome in the body politic will expand, and increase, and thrive, and do its proper work the better for that process. But to pull up plants merely because they are growing in the soil, under the notion that something else might possibly grow better, or to cut down trees merely because they are stately and flourishing, and were planted centuries ago, would be in the natural world folly—in the political world it may be wickedness or madness. The word "Radical" fails to distinguish between these things. If a party name which signifies mere conservatism, without reference to the nature or quality of that which is to be preserved, is unsatisfactory, much more one which signifies mere destruction, without reference to the nature or quality of the things to be destroyed.

Jacobins, Socialists, Communists, Nihilists, adversaries of all religion and all government, are able to take such a denomination as this to themselves, with as much right (as far as the mere meaning of the word goes) as the soundest constitutional reformer. And, practically, they do so—not without the consent of some, to whom it would be uncharitable not to give credit for differing "radically" from them. The "umbrella" of the new "Liberal and Radical" Unions is, apparently, *meant* to be comprehensive of all these. Such comprehension must be founded, not on common principles, but on indifference to (if not the negation of) all principle in politics. Its necessary consequence is public demoralization, of which it is itself a sign, and which is otherwise making itself felt in unexpected quarters—not, I fear, without some responsibility for it on the part of those whose influence might have been most confidently reckoned upon to counteract it.

It is curious, but true, that Pessimism and Optimism sometimes lead men equally towards destructive politics. To the former, 'what-

is, is wrong" They look upon those things in the social order and constitution of their country, which to men of more happily balanced minds seem worthy of reverence and admiration, much as Hamlet, in his speech to Polonius, professed to look on the natural world — "It goes so heavily with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most excellent canopy, the air, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire,—why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours" There are Optimists, on the other hand, full of confidence, enthusiasm, and emotion, who act as if all men were as much enamoured of ideal perfection as themselves, and as if there were no evils in the world which it is beyond their skill to cure To them, as well as to the Pessimist, "the world is (at present) out of joint," they are "born," first to pull it to pieces, and then "to set it right," they have no misgivings at all as to the success of any experiments which they may make for that purpose, if one fails, they are so much the readier for another In the field of destructive politics, both extremes meet

Practical reform, on constitutional lines, has long had free course in this country We have been, practically, under a succession of Liberal Governments for more than fifty years Between reform of this sort, and sensational measures which feed party cries and platform agitation, there is a wide difference, a difference like that between the ordinary wholesome diet of the body and stimulants which unnaturally excite it In a state of disease, and to keep up the strength under some abnormal curative process, stimulants may be necessary, at other times they are sources of danger, and a perpetual craving for them is itself a disease, in the end often fatal The responsibility of statesmen, who apply moral stimulants to newly enfranchised multitudes, well-disposed indeed and honest, but for the most part imperfectly educated, capable of being deceived, and entirely without political experience, is not less than that of a physician who recommends opiates or intoxicating liquors to young persons or women unaccustomed to self-control Nations always stand in need of steady progressive improvement in their laws and administration, the time can never come at which there will be nothing more of that kind to be done This is the natural diet of a well-ordered State But there can be no more dangerous symptom of decline in a nation than an insatiable demand for a constant succession of organic changes If any lesson is to be learned from history, it is that the greatest nations may fall into decay and lose their greatness, that there is to States, as to individuals, a downward as well as an upward path The very phrase used by the ancient Romans to signify political revolution marked their feeling, that there was no surer or more rapid road to national decay than the excitement, for personal or party objects, of an unreasonable



appetite for organic change It must be obvious to every man's common sense that there is, in the nature of things, a point beyond which such excitement and its gratification will be mischievous and deteriorating, and when party leaders and platform orators make the great institutions of a State the counters with which they gamble and bid against each other for popular favour, they are too likely to exemplify Lord Bacon's saying — "There will be found a great many who can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, as their gift lieth the other way,—to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay "

I am ready to give credit for sincerity to those who, after a serious and independent consideration of great social and political problems, have become dissatisfied with the condition of society and the form of government under which they live, and think they see a way (though it be the way of revolution) to improve the general condition of their fellow-men But, if I myself have an opposite belief, and am convinced that such courses, instead of making the nation stronger, or the people happier, wiser, more prosperous, or more free, would have the very contrary effects,—it is impossible that I can be justified in lending myself to them for the sake of party objects or personal ambition, or even to purchase or reward services to what I may esteem a good cause

There is a phrase, frequently used by a leading statesman of this day, about particular questions being "out of the range of practical politics"—a dangerous phrase, if it puts men to sleep while those questions are "in the air," as if they were adjourned to some future time, remote as well as indefinite There may be some who do not know, or who do not recollect, that the same statesman once defined "practical politics" as meaning the "*politics of the coming Session*" As nobody can know how soon, in that sense, any particular question may become "practical," I do not think it superfluous, or merely academical, to refer to the ideas which were placed before the newly enfranchised electors in the summer of 1885, in what then claimed for itself the character of "the Radical," and was called by others 'the unauthorized,' programme I do not believe that all who call themselves Radicals accepted, or now accept, that "programme," and of those who might do so, it is very likely that many were not, in purpose, revolutionists But I must, nevertheless, avow my conviction that the Radicalism of that "programme" is, on the whole, very revolutionary, and not Liberal, that national greatness, good government, prosperity, freedom, and happiness, would suffer, and not gain, by its realization, and therefore, that those who are really Liberal, and who have a rational and intelligent regard for the good of their fellow countrymen, ought steadily to refuse to assist in realizing it

Of one of the measures there advocated—the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in England—I have elsewhere spoken at large, and need not do so here. I will refer to certain suggestions as to (1) taxation, expenditure, and administration, and (2) organic constitutional change. And I will do so, as far as I conveniently can, in the words of the “Programme”

I As to taxation. After making “a reasonable allowance for the necessities of existence” (so as to “tax only the surplus of earnings and accumulations”), it is proposed that “realized property” (*i.e.*, capital) in some cases, and incomes in others, should be taxed *according to a graduated scale*. “*A direct progressive tax*” (it is added) “*on income and property is the lever to which we shall have to look for the social reforms of the future*”

II As to expenditure. The “school of economists, whose views are expressed in the invariable formula ‘reduction of the estimates,’” is dismissed with a sneer. The State must get for all that it spends “a substantial return in labour, talent, service, or materials,” if this is secured, “*taxation, on equitable principles, for objects which the nation approves, cannot be on too liberal a scale*” It is to be carried, apparently, up to (but not beyond) the point at which its increase “would destroy the incentive to exertion.” “An income-tax of 10 per cent has been levied in England, and might be levied again, without the result, so often prophesied but never realized, of driving capital out of the country.” “Wherever the State can spend money for the public advantage better than individuals” (with, or without, a “direct pecuniary return”), “the power of taxation may be legitimately exercised”

III As to administration. This is to be according to the “evident tendency of modern legislation to give Government more, rather than less, to do,” in other words, to hand over, more and more, the control of what has hitherto been the field of private liberty and enterprise to an official class. “The objections to State undertakings and interference become of diminished force, *when the Government is by the whole people*”—(as if that could ever be possible)—“and when *every citizen is a partner in the affairs of the State*” (Truly, a limited “partnership,” but a very unlimited liability). “There are many operations which have to be conducted on an extensive scale, which a Government, by reason of its resources and comprehensive powers, can undertake much more economically than individuals or private associations. It would be better for the State, either through Parliament or municipal authorities, to assume these functions more often than it does, rather than to encourage the creation of large private interests and monopolies, which are always fighting and combating for their own hands against the community”

This “Programme” disclaims “Communism,” but it says,

frankly enough, "*If it be said that it*" [*i.e.*, the legislation which it contemplates] "*is of a Socialistic tendency, the impeachment may readily be admitted*"

The prospect thus held out may strike different minds differently. It strikes mine as one of enormous jobbery, unequal and oppressive taxation, boundless public extravagance, wholesale violation of economical laws, property depreciated and insecure, capital driven away, private enterprise discouraged, diminished means of employment for honest labour, ever-increasing impoverishment and distress, and, in the end, national bankruptcy.

These ideas do not stand alone. To be fully understood and appreciated, they must also be considered in connection with the ideas of the same "programme" as to constitutional questions.

IV. Manhood suffrage, and payment of members, stand in the immediate foreground. In the middle distance, the abolition of the House of Lords, without the substitution of any other Second Legislative Chamber, is not obscurely implied, in the background (under the decent veil of a professed willingness to endure the form of monarchy until anything happens to make it unpopular), Republicanism.

"The last thing which any Radical would desire, or would dream of doing, is to reform the House of Lords in any way. *The popular impatience of a Second Chamber is only held in check* by the knowledge that, at the worst, it can but arrest the process of legislation." And,

"So long as the functions of royalty are recognized as being ornamental and consultative, the Throne has nothing to fear from Radicalism. *Radicals have something else to do than to break butterflies on wheels*."

The reserve (such as it is) of this "Programme," as to "a Second Chamber," has (as everybody knows) been openly laid aside by Radicals who sympathize with its views, in many of their public speeches. The question of "Single Chamber" government is therefore one which it is not superfluous or premature for practical politicians to look in the face. The history of nations has hitherto afforded but few examples of anything of that kind, there is, perhaps, one (or something like one) in ancient times—that of the Athenian democracy, and there is also one modern example—that of the National Convention in France. As to the former, it is not necessary to dwell upon the distinction between the direct government of the whole body of free citizens in a very small territory, and the government of a large and populous country under the system of representation, because the Athenian people, flattered, caajoled, and corrupted by their popular orators and party leaders, travelled very rapidly down the road to ruin, and have left behind them, in spite of the brilliancy

of their genius and the glory of some of their achievements, a warning, rather than an example, for other nations and later times

The case of the French National Assembly ought to be a warning too. Is there any sane Englishman who would really wish to see a House of Commons—paid members or unpaid, elected by manhood, or (as now) by household, suffrage—who would be able, under the impulse of heated oratory or revolutionary passion, to repeal old laws and enact new ones by wholesale at a single sitting, without any external check whatever on its action—as the French National Assembly did in 1789 to alter all or any constitutional laws at a moment's notice, or without notice at all to prolong its own existence, or to prevent its own dissolution, at pleasure to abolish the monarchy by a vote, and to make itself, or any idol or tyrant of the hour, in form as well as substance supreme? It is to be remembered, that a single Assembly, concentrating in itself the whole legislative power, must of necessity be absolute master of all the other powers in the State the Crown, according to such a scheme, being merely ornamental, and tolerated only on the condition of giving no trouble. No self imposed restraints, no Sessional or Standing Orders, no authority of a Speaker, could be binding on such an Assembly longer than it might choose to submit to them. The efficacy of those checks, and of all others which our present Constitution supplies, depends upon the necessity for the concurrence of a Second Chamber, legally independent of and co-ordinate with the popular Chamber, in all legislation. There may be some who think that everything which was done by the French National Assembly on the celebrated 4th of August, 1789, was good, and worthy of imitation. But do they think so of the sequel?—of the Reign of Terror, and of the military Government which followed? Revolutionists may initiate, but they cannot stop, the march of Revolution. The same uncontrolled absolutism which can take away privileges and confiscate property, at its mere will and pleasure, can also proscribe opponents, make independent thought or disaffection to the ruling powers a crime, deluge a country with blood, and establish an oligarchy, or the personal government of a single despot.

Some people may say, Those things would never happen in England. Perhaps not nobody knows what might or might not happen, but it is very far from clear that there are not now forms of political fanaticism and of unscrupulous self-seeking, even in England, which (if they could find the opportunity) might tend to, and might produce, such results. It is our business—the business of every one who has an intelligent care for his country, and for its freedom and good government—to see that the existing securities against the possibility of such things happening among us, are not diminished or impaired. To the true lover of liberty, democratic tyranny is not

less odious than monarchical, nor indeed could there be any worse tyranny (according to such experience as the world has yet had) than that of an uncontrolled popular Assembly, it is not restrained (until a violent counter-revolution suppresses it) even by those fears which might moderate the unscrupulousness of an individual tyrant. Every true Englishman ought to be resolutely determined that neither a democratic nor any other tyranny shall ever be set up in this country. Upon this point, at least, we may learn a lesson from the United States, whose Federal system has not only vested the legislative power in two Chambers, but has made the Senate a far more real and effective balance to the House of Representatives than the House of Lords is to the House of Commons in the United Kingdom.

If anything could add to the dangers of this "Single-Chamber" scheme, it would be the present degeneracy of the House of Commons, and the tendency (already apparent) to transfer the centre of political gravity from the Legislature to the "Caucus" and the platform. It is possible that a single Assembly, if really independent, might listen to honest and prudent, rather than violent or dishonest, men. The strongest men, whether good or bad, would naturally bear rule in it, it might sometimes be led by a Pericles or a Demosthenes, not always by an Alcibiades or a Cleon. The "Caucus" and the platform tend to destroy that independence, and to place the mainsprings of power, under such a system, in obscure and irresponsible hands—those of unscrupulous party managers, or of men whose trade and habitual occupation it is to flatter the weaknesses, to offer bribes to the selfishness, and to excite the emotions and passions of the multitude, instead of appealing to individual reason or conscience. If there had been no Jacobin or other such Clubs, the course even of the French National Assembly might have been very different from what it was.

All these considerations point to one conclusion—that the time has come when, if this country is to be preserved from serious perils, honest men must inquire, not what any one with whom they are invited to co-operate may call himself, but what he is, and what the political objects are, for which he would use power, if he had it.

SILBORNE

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REMEDIES FOR FLUCTUATIONS OF  
GENERAL PRICES

THE purpose of this paper is to inquire whether the greater part of the fluctuations of general prices are not of such a nature as to be incapable of being materially diminished by the adoption of two metals instead of one as the basis of our currency. I shall argue that they are, that the only effective remedy for them is to be sought in relieving the currency of the duty, which it is not fitted to perform, of acting as a standard of value, and by establishing, in accordance with a plan which has long been familiar to economists, an authoritative standard of purchasing power independent of the currency. While admitting that it would be better to base our currency on two metals than on one, I contend that the scheme of opening the mints to gold and silver at a fixed ratio, though commonly called Bimetalism, has no strict title to that name, and that it has not yet established its claim to be the best scheme for attaining those particular ends at which it aims.

I am not an advocate of hurried change. The strong popular prejudice against anything that looks like tampering with the monetary foundations of our business is, on the whole, a healthy prejudice. But the greater the evils of change, the more important it is to inquire thoroughly whether any proposed scheme is the best possible, whether it would attain and sustain the good results which it promises, whether there is any considerable chance that it would have to be abandoned ere long. The evils of our present monetary system are great. A compact body of energetic men advocating a new plan, and proving that it would be, in some respects, an improvement on our present plan, are in a position of advantage. The question they raise is—Shall we continue to endure our present evils, or shall we adopt their plan? But the right issue is not

whether their plan would be on the whole better than our present, but whether it is the best of all conceivable plans, account being taken both of the evils of change and of the benefits which will ultimately accrue from it. That is the inquiry on which I start. It is no answer to me to say that change is an evil, and the people are not very likely to submit to a change. For it is certain that one proposal for change has gained an attentive hearing which a few years ago would have been thought impossible. And it is, therefore, high time to inquire—*If change is to come*, what change will give the greatest surplus of good over evil?

#### I.—THE EVILS OF A FLUCTUATING STANDARD OF VALUE

The chief functions of money fall under two heads. Money is, firstly, a *medium of exchange* for bargains that are completed almost as soon as they are begun, it is a "currency," it is a material thing carried in purses, and "current" from hand to hand, because its value can be read at a glance. This first function of money is admirably discharged by gold and silver and paper based on them.

The second function of money is to act as a *standard of value*, or *standard for deferred payments*—that is, to indicate the amount of general purchasing power, the payment of which is sufficient to discharge a contract, or other commercial obligation, that extends over a considerable period of time. For this purpose stability of value is the one essential condition.

Much of the importance of having a good standard of deferred payments is peculiar to modern times. In early stages of civilization business arrangements seldom looked far ahead, contracts to make definite payments at distant times were rare and unimportant. But a great deal of our modern business life is made up of such contracts. Much of the income of the nation goes to its ultimate recipients in the form of fixed money payments on Government bonds, on the debentures of private companies, on mortgages and on long leases. Another large part consists of salaries and wages, any change in the nominal value of which involves great friction, so that as a rule the nominal rate remains unchanged, while the real rate is constantly fluctuating with every change in the purchasing power of money.

And, lastly, the complex nature of modern trade and industry puts the management of business into the hands of a comparatively small number of men with special ability for it, and most people lend the greater part of their wealth to others instead of using it themselves. It is therefore a great evil that whenever a man borrows money to be invested in his business, he speculates doubly. In the first place he runs the risk that the things which he

handles will fall in value relatively to others—this risk is inevitable, it must be endured. But in addition he runs the risk that the standard in which he has to pay back what he has borrowed will be a different one from that by which his borrowing was measured.

We are vaguely conscious that an element of speculation is thus unnecessarily introduced into life, but few of us, perhaps, realize how great it is. We often talk of borrowing or lending on good security, at say, 5 per cent. If we had a real standard of value that could be done, but, as things are, it is a feat which no one performs except by accident. Suppose, for instance, a man borrows £100 under contract to pay back £105 at the end of the year. If the purchasing power of money has meanwhile risen 10 per cent (or, which is the same thing, general prices have fallen in the ratio of ten to eleven), he cannot get the £105 which he has to pay back without selling one-tenth more commodities than would have been sufficient for the purpose at the beginning of the year. Assuming, that is, that the things which he handles have not changed in value relatively to things in general, he must sell commodities which would have then cost him £115 10s in order to pay back with interest his loan of £100, he has lost ground unless the commodities have increased under his hands  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. While nominally paying 5 per cent for the use of his money, he has really been paying  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

On the other hand, if prices had risen so much that the purchasing power of money had fallen 10 per cent during the year, so that he could get £10 for things which cost him £9 at the beginning of the year—that is, £105 for things which cost him £94 10s at the beginning of the year, then, instead of paying 5 per cent for the loan, he would really be paid  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for taking charge of the money.

The consequence of this uncertainty is that when prices are likely to rise, people rush to borrow money and buy goods, and thus help prices to rise, business is inflated, it is managed recklessly and wastefully, those working on borrowed capital pay back less real value than they borrowed, and enrich themselves at the expense of the community.

Salaries and wages, unless when governed by a sliding scale, generally retain their nominal value more or less fixed in spite of trade fluctuations, they can seldom be changed without much friction and worry and loss of time. And for the very reason that their nominal or money value is fixed, their real value varies, and varies in the wrong direction. It falls when prices are rising, and the purchasing power of money is falling, so that the employer pays smaller real salaries and wages than usual at the very time when his profits are largest in other ways, and is thus prompted to



over-estimate his strength, and engage in ventures which he will not be able to pull through after the tide begins to turn

When afterwards credit is shaken and prices begin to fall, every one wants to get rid of commodities and get hold of money which is rapidly rising in value, this makes prices fall all the faster, and the further fall makes credit shrink even more, and thus for a long time prices fall because prices have fallen. At such a time employers cease their production because they fear that when they come to sell their finished product general prices will be even lower than when they buy their materials, and at such times it would often be well for both sides and for the community at large that the employ  s should take rather less real wages than in times of prosperity. But in fact since wages and salaries are reckoned in money which is rising in value, the employer pays higher real wages than usual at such a time unless he can get money wages reduced. This is a difficult task, partly because the employ  s, not altogether unreasonably, fear that when nominal wages are once let down they will not be easily raised. So they are inclined to stop work rather than accept a nominal reduction even though it would not be a real one. The employer, on his part, finds a stoppage his easiest course, at all events, by diminishing production he will help to improve the market for his own goods. He may not happen to remember that every stoppage of work in any one trade diminishes the demand for the work of others, and that if all trades tried to improve the market by stopping their work together, the only result would be that every one would have less of everything to consume. He may even think that there is a fear of general over-production, not because he is prepared to say that we could have too much of any thing at once, but because he knows that when a long period of peace and invention has increased production in every trade, the volume of goods rises relatively to that of money, prices fall, and borrowers, that is, men of business, generally lose.

Thus the want of a proper standard of purchasing power is the chief cause of the survival of the monstrous fallacy that there can be too much produced of everything. The fluctuations in the value of what we use as our standard are ever either flurrying up business activity into unwholesome fever, or else closing factories and workshops by the thousand in businesses that have nothing radically wrong with them, but in which whoever buys raw material and hires labour, is likely to sell when general prices have further fallen. Perhaps the bad habits of mind and temper engendered by the periods of business fever do more real harm than the periods of idleness, but it is less conspicuous and less easily traced. In times of stagnation he who runs may read in waste and gaunt faces a degradation of physique and a weakening of energy which often tells its tale throughout the

whole of the rest of the lives of the men, women, and children who have suffered from it

## II.—THE PRECIOUS METALS CANNOT AFFORD A GOOD STANDARD OF VALUE

A distinction must be made between fluctuation of general prices which come and go quickly and those whose period is long. Short-period fluctuations practically efface themselves when we compare the mean prices of successive decades, but are conspicuous when we compare prices in successive years. Long-period fluctuations do not show themselves clearly from year to year, but stand out prominently when the mean prices of one decade are contrasted with those of other decades. They are chiefly caused by changes in the amounts of the precious metals relatively to the business which has to be transacted by them, allowance being of course made for changes in the extent to which the precious metals are able at any time to delegate their functions to bank-notes, cheques, bills of exchange, and other substitutes. And they would certainly be much mitigated if each decade's supply of the metallic basis of our currency could be made uniform—*i e.*, to grow proportionately to our commercial wants. Bimetallism would tend somewhat in this direction, but it would not go very far, for at best it would substitute the mean between two fluctuating supplies in place of one fluctuating supply.

In old times a disputed frontage used to be measured by the judge stepping heel-to-toe over it. Variations in "the length of the judge's foot" caused great uncertainties, which would have been diminished if two judges had stepped the distance, and the mean of their measurements had been taken. But the improvement would have been small, unless there had been some security that if one were a short man the other would be a tall one. And there is no security that the yield of the silver mines will be great when that of the gold mines is small. History shows that the probability is the other way\*. For indeed, when a new country is prospected, silver mines are often found in one part and gold in another, while some mines produce both gold and silver.

But, after all, the fluctuations in prices from decade to decade are small in the aggregate as compared with those from year to year, and contribute but a very small share to those uncertainties of business which are the cause of so large a share of human suffering and degradation. No remedy for long-period fluctuations, however perfect it might be, would go any considerable way towards freeing us from

\* In the ratio of 3 to 2. For although a period of maximum production of gold has never exactly coincided with one of silver, the production of gold has been changing in the opposite direction to that of silver only during about 160 out of the last 400 years, during the remaining 240 the two productions have been either increasing together or diminishing together.

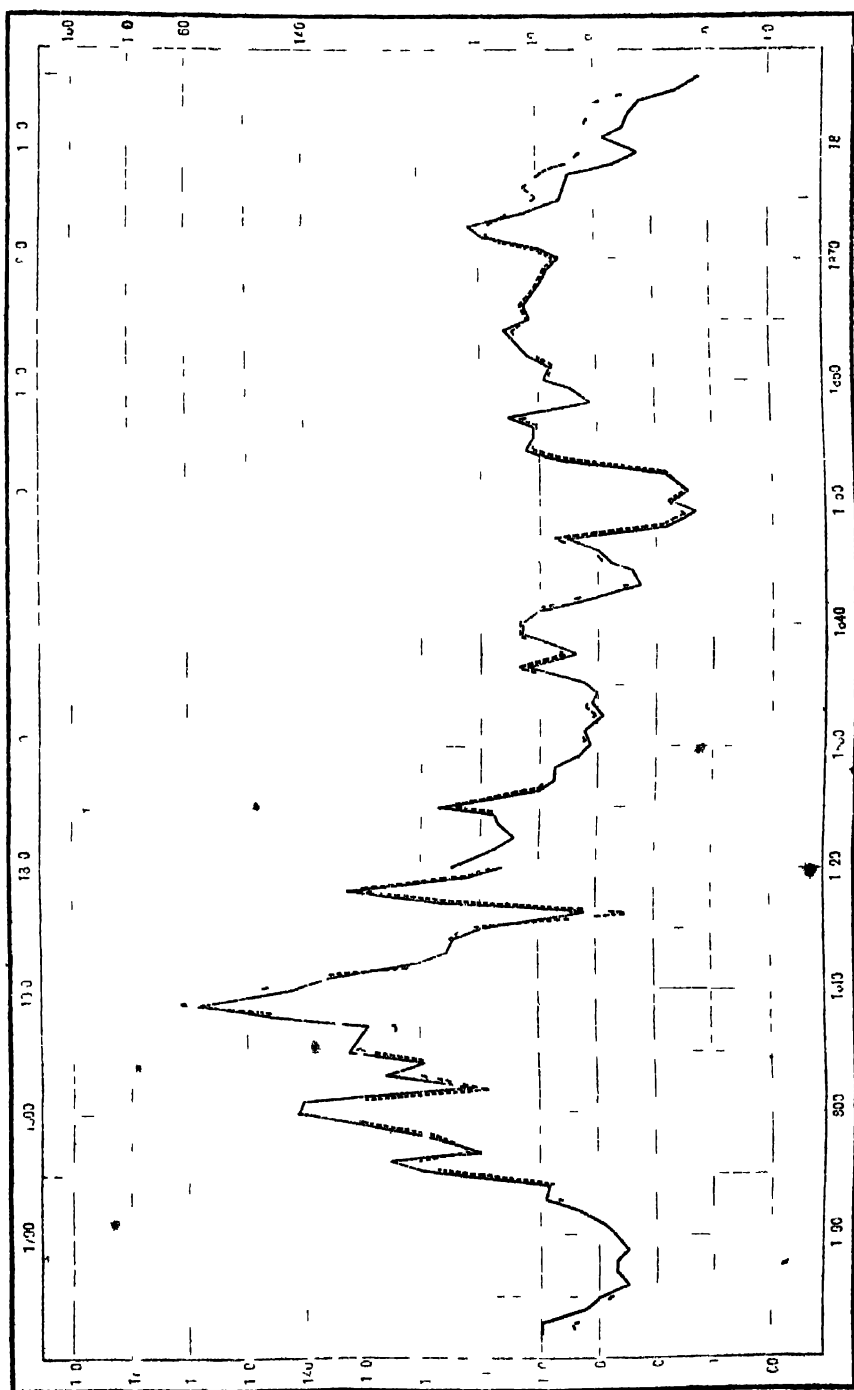
these great evils, unless it at the same time greatly diminished the rapid fluctuations of general prices from year to year. These rapid fluctuations are but to a very slight extent caused by variations in the production of gold and silver, for never, not even in 1852, has the increased annual production of gold exceeded a hundredth part of the existing stock, and the annual variations of production have seldom amounted to a thousandth part of the existing stock. So slight is the influence of changes in the apparent fertility of mines on variation of general prices from year to year, that the purchasing power of gold has sometimes risen when its production has been increasing, and fallen when its production has been diminishing. Whatever be the metallic standard of our currency, inflations and contractions of credit and prices will always be caused by wars and rumours of wars, by good and bad harvests, and by the alternate opening out of promising new enterprises, and the collapse of many of the hopes founded on them.

A striking evidence of the fact that these causes have been far more influential in determining the movements of prices than any fluctuations in the supplies and relative values of the precious metals is to be seen in the accompanying diagram. The dark curve shows the variations of the index number, which represents the average prices of the leading wholesale commodities during the last hundred years, estimated in gold alone, while the dotted curve shows the same index number estimated in terms of the two metals, gold and silver in equal shares. On comparing these, we find that the fluctuations shown by the second curve are not very much less than those shown by the first, and, what is of even more significance, that the fluctuations in the index number during the period when the gold value of silver was nearly stationary, are greater than they have been since 1873, when its value has been much disturbed.\*

Since 1873 there has been a great fall of gold prices—not, indeed, so great as that between 1809 and 1816, or even that between 1818 and 1832. But, while in the earlier instances silver prices fell as fast as gold prices, or faster, in this latest fall silver prices have had but little share. And this fact is one of the chief arguments urged by Mr. Barbour and others in favour of bimetallism. But when examined closely, the argument appears to be weak. The comparative steadiness of silver prices during the last thirteen years is due to a coincidence which has never happened before and may never happen again.

In 1873 there set in one group of causes tending to raise the value of both gold and silver. During the two preceding decades

\* The gold prices from 1782 to 1820 are Jevons', those from 1820 to 1885 are Mr. Sauerbeck's. The bimetallic prices are the mean between the gold and the silver prices, the latter being found from the gold value of silver given by Mr. Del Mar for the years 1782 to 1820, and by Mr. Sauerbeck for the remaining years.



exhaustive wars in America and Europe had held in check the tendency of modern invention and modern habits of saving to increase the production of commodities. The wars had taken men away from the workshops, had killed some, and unfitted others for their work, they had diverted industries to supply the materials of warfare, and had destroyed vast quantities of commodities of all kinds. Since then invention has gone faster than ever, the habits of saving are stronger than ever, and commodities have increased by leaps and bounds. Meanwhile, the use of bank-notes and of bills of exchange had not kept pace with the growth of business, and the confident expectations that were cherished before 1873 of the extension of the English cheque system in Austria and elsewhere have been signally disappointed. These and minor causes have tended to raise the values of both gold and silver.

But, by a strange accident, there happened at the same time another group of causes which tended further to raise the value of gold, not to lower the value of silver. The production of gold diminished, and that of silver increased. Nations ran a race to see which could most quickly substitute gold for silver as the staple of their currency, and, partly as a consequence of these changes, war ministers, Indian peasants, and American negroes began to hoard gold and showed indifference to silver. The recent comparative steadiness of the value of silver is due to the coincidence of these two sets of causes, of about equal force and acting in opposite directions. The diagram shows that no such coincidence is hinted at by the statistics of the past: reason forbids us to expect it in the future.

I maintain, then, that there is no reason to believe that a bimetallic standard would give us in the long run much more stable prices than we have now. No doubt it would do some good, and if no other course were open to us, it would be worth while to go through a great deal in order to gain even the small additional steadiness that would result from a stable bimetallicism. But I contend that, before taking so great a step as entering into treaties with other nations for the establishment of a new currency, we ought to inquire whether our standard of value ought not to be altogether independent of our currency.

The industrial arts generally have progressed by substituting several specialized instruments for one that used to be applied for many purposes. The chisel and the plane, the hammer and the saw, are all developments of the primeval tomahawk; they do their work well, because none of them is expected to cover a wide range of work. And so, if we have one thing as a medium of exchange, and another as a standard of value, each may be able to perform its share of the work thoroughly well, because it is specially fitted for

it The currency will retain a material form, so that it may "run" from hand to hand as a medium of exchange, while the amount of the currency which is required to discharge a contract for deferred payment will be regulated neither by weight nor measure, but by an authoritative table of figures issued from time to time by a Government department

### III — A STANDARD OF VALUE INDEPENDENT OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Leaving some difficulties of detail to be discussed at the end of the article, let us suppose that (as was suggested long ago by Joseph Lowe, Poulett Scrope and others\*) a Government Department extends to all commodities the action taken by the Commissioners of Tithes with regard to wheat, barley and oats. As they, having ascertained the average prices of grain at any time, state how much money is required to purchase as much wheat, barley and oats as would have cost £100 at certain standard prices, so this Department, having ascertained the prices of all important commodities, would publish from time to time the amount of money required to give the same general purchasing power as, say, £1 had at the beginning of 1887. The prices used by it would be the latest attainable, not, as in the case of tithes, the mean of the prices for the last seven years. This standard unit of purchasing power might be called for shortness simply THE UNIT.

From time to time, at the beginning of each year or oftener, the Department would declare how much of the currency had the same purchasing power as £1 had at the beginning of 1887. If, for instance, it declared in 1890 that 18s had this purchasing power, then a contract to pay a unit in 1890 would be discharged by paying 18s. If it declared in 1892 that 23s had only the same purchasing power as £1 had in 1887, or 18s in 1890, then any contract to pay a unit in 1892 would require for its settlement the delivery of 23s.

When a loan was made, it could, at the option of those concerned, be made in terms of currency, or in terms of units. In the latter case the lender would know that whatever change there might be in the value of money, he would receive when the debt was repaid just the same amount of real wealth, just the same command over the necessaries, comforts and luxuries of life as he had lent away. If he bargained for 5 per cent interest, he would each year receive money equal in value to one-twentieth of the units which he had lent, and however prices might have changed, these would contribute a certain and definite amount to his real means of expenditure. The borrower would not be at one time impatient to start

\* Some account of their suggestions is given in the chapter on "A Tabular Standard of Value," in Jevons' "Money."

all considered enterprises in order to gain by the expected rise in general prices, and at another afraid of borrowing for legitimate business for fear of being caught by a general fall in prices

Of course every trade would still have its own dangers due to causes peculiar to itself, but by the use of the unit it might avoid those heavy risks which are caused by a rise or fall in general prices. Salaries and wages, where not determined by special sliding scales, could be fixed in units, their real value would then no longer fluctuate constantly in the wrong direction, tending upwards just when, if it changed at all, it should fall, and tending downwards just when, if it changed at all, it should rise \*

Ground-rents also should be fixed in general units, though for agricultural rents it would be best to have a special unit based chiefly on the prices of farm produce. The reckoning of mortgages and marriage settlements in terms of units of purchasing power, instead of gold, would remove one great source of uncertainty from the affairs of private life, while a similar change as to debentures and Government bonds would give the holders of them what they want—a really constant income. The ordinary shareholders in a public company would no longer be led to take an over-sanguine estimate of their position by a period of prosperity, which, besides enriching them directly, diminished the real payments which they have to make to debenture holders and perhaps to preference stock holders. And, on the other hand, they would not be oppressed by the extra weight of having to pay more than their real value on account of these fixed charges when prices were low and business drooping.

The standard unit of purchasing power being published, the Law Courts should, I think, give every facility to contracts, wills, and other documents made in terms of the unit, and Government itself might gradually feel its way towards assessing rates and taxes (except, of course, such things as payments for postage stamps) in terms of the unit, and also towards reckoning the salaries, pensions, and, when possible, the wages of its employes at so many units instead of so much currency. It should, I think, begin by offering, as soon as the unit was made, to pay for each £100 of Consols a really uniform interest of three units, instead of a nominally uniform but really fluctuating interest of £3. The public, though at first regarding the new notion as uncanny, would, I believe, take to it rapidly as soon as they got to see its substantial advantages. Their dislike of it even at first would be less than was their dislike of

\* Sliding scales, admirable as is their general effect, perhaps even by being too simple. A sliding scale in the iron trade, for instance, should, I think, take account not only of the price of the finished iron but also, on the one hand, of the price of iron ore, coal, and other expenses of the employer, and, on the other, of the prices of the things chiefly consumed by the workmen. Trades in which sliding scales are possible could arrange special units for themselves, by aid of the statistics on which Government would base its general unit.

coal-fires, of railways, and of gas Ere long the currency would, I believe, be restricted to the functions for which it is well fitted, of measuring and settling transactions that are completed shortly after they are begun I think we ought, without delay, to set about preparing for voluntary use an authoritative unit, being voluntary it would be introduced tentatively, and would be a powerful remedy for a great evil This plan would not cause any forced disturbance of existing contracts, such as would result from a change of our currency It would give a better standard for deferred payments than could possibly be given by a currency (as ordinarily understood), and therefore would diminish the temptation to hurry on impetuously a change of our currency with the object of making its value a little more stable, and it could be worked equally well with any currency

#### IV — IS FIXED RATIO-MINTAGE A STABLE BIMETALLISM?

But next, assuming that our currency must be based on one or both of the precious metals, because these two metals alone are sufficiently durable, rare and generally useful to be fitted for being handled by bankers and for being the balances of international trade, assuming also that gold and silver give a more stable basis, though perhaps only a very little more stable one than gold alone, I propose to investigate the best way of basing a currency on them I desire, not to advocate any immediate change in our currency, but only to inquire in what direction it would be best to move, if we had decided that the time had come for a fundamental change

Firstly, is so called bimetallism really bimetallism? Would the opening the mints of the leading commercial countries of the world to gold and silver at a fixed ratio ensure that the value of our currency would be permanently based on the combined values of gold and silver?

I believe there is not, and has not been for a long time, any great difference of opinion on fundamental economic doctrines between the ablest monometallists and the ablest bimetallists A statement of the broad conditions of the problem may, I think, be taken almost equally well from such a monometallist as Jevons, or such a bimetallist as Professor Walker or Mr Hucks Gibbs Both sides are agreed that if the leading commercial nations were to open their mints freely to the coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 15½, or 18 or 20, the relative values of the metals would be fixed thereby for a long time at all events, and that meanwhile the fluctuations in the general purchasing power of money and in the exchanges with the East would be somewhat less than they are now There is some difference as to the extent of this last benefit, but the main point at issue is the probable length of time during which the system would sustain itself There is agreement as to the *qualities* or general



tendencies of the causes under discussion, but not as to the relative quantities of these tendencies

I do not urge, as some have done, that fixed-ratio-mintage is an attempt to substitute an artificial for a natural level of the gold price of silver. For I agree with Mr Hucks Gibbs that, as things are, gold and silver have no natural value. They are so durable that the year's supply is never more than a small part of the total stock, and therefore their values do not conform closely to their costs of production. And in so far as their values are regulated by the relations between the demands for them and the existing stocks of them, their value is artificial, because the demand for them as currency is itself artificial. I think, however, that cost of production acts on the values of the precious metals more rapidly now than it used to, because the mining finance of the whole world is now the common property of the whole world, and a fall in the cost of production of silver lowers its value almost at once by diminishing the demand for it. The belief that the cost of production of silver is falling relatively to that of gold has spread all over the world. Not only sharp business men but ignorant peasants are ridding themselves of their stocks of silver and buying gold instead. India itself is absorbing as much gold as silver. Mr Norman has shown some *prima facie* case for believing that, at all events when proper machinery and methods are used in the South American mines, the cost of production of an ounce of silver will be very much less than a twentieth—he says a fiftieth—part of that of an ounce of gold. The question is fairly under discussion, if the general opinion should go any considerable way in Mr Norman's direction, silver hoarding will almost cease.

Next, the consumption of gold for purposes of the arts and for hoarding is increasing at an unprecedented rate. In the West gold watch chains are superseding silver watch chains, and in the East gold bangles are superseding silver bangles. The causes of this increase are likely to continue, because they are based on the modern tendency to the accumulation and diffusion of wealth, which themselves are sure to continue, in spite of the occasional retrogressions caused by great wars, because they are founded on that progress and diffusion of knowledge which cannot go backwards.

I conclude, then, that the consumption of gold for the arts, which is already quite half the total production,\* is likely very soon to exceed the total production, unless its value rises so as to induce

\* Dr Soetbeer calculates that out of a total production of gold of about £20,000,000 annually, more than £12,000,000 are used in the arts, and more than £3,000,000 go to India, leaving less than £5,000,000 for the needs of the currency. M Ottomar Haupt's estimates are nearly the same. Professor Nicholson, in his able argument in favour of the stability of fixed ratio mintage, seems to me to overlook its tendency to increase silver mining at the expense of gold mining, and to make insufficient allowance for the many causes which are increasing the demand for gold.

much additional capital and labour to go into gold mining. But it is this very rise in the value of gold which the fixed-ratio-mintage scheme aims at checking, by coining  $15\frac{1}{2}$  or 18, or even 20 ounces of silver into money which has the same legal value as an ounce of gold. Under that scheme, if Mr Norman's estimate is anywhere near the truth, capital and labour would migrate as fast as they could from gold to silver mining. For the miner wants a high value for his produce straight away, the promise of a rise when the bimetallic convention had broken up would not weigh with him. But the hoarders, whether peasants or those responsible for bank reserves and army chests, would look forward to the ultimate rise in the value of gold, and would between them absorb many millions a year.

If these forecasts should in any considerable measure be borne out by the event, the gold coinage would very soon be insufficient for the chief business of the civilized world. The six or seven hundred millions that are now available for the purpose would soon perceptibly diminish. No doubt the system of payment by cheques is increasing, but the habit of buying things for cash is increasing also. People all over the world are getting into the habit of carrying about with them a greater amount of purchasing power, but not into a habit of carrying about heavy purses. So the new silver could not be added to our effective currency, it could only be the basis of some sort of paper currency. I anticipate, therefore, that the fixed-ratio-mintage scheme would result in the almost immediate issue in England of £1 notes, and I think it is not very improbable that after a few years more, either the international mintage convention would be dissolved, or gold would disappear from circulation. In the latter case the currency would thereafter fluctuate with the supplies, not of the two metals combined, but of silver alone, we should be landed in a paper currency on a silver basis.

It is not necessary for my argument to assume that this forecast has a balance of probability on its side. If there is a chance of one in three of its turning out to be anywhere near the truth, it would, I submit, be most unwise to rush precipitately into so violent a change without having carefully examined every possible alternative. And that has not yet been done, because the belief that the popular feeling was set against any change of our currency had caused the question of new currency systems to be neglected until the able and determined advocates of the fixed-ratio-mintage scheme obtained possession of the popular ear.

\*But really there is no urgent cause for haste. No doubt the persistent fall of prices is a great evil, but if it is indeed the duty of Governments to alter the currency to prevent creditors from

getting too much from their debtors, they can issue more convertible paper money, the issue of £1 notes in England alone would have a considerable effect. If, in order to pay sufficient salaries to its officials, or for other purposes, the English Government wants to get more taxes from the Indian people, it can surely have the honesty to say so. An ounce of silver is worth now more commodities, whether in India or in England, than it has been on the average of the last hundred years, and if it is necessary that we should take for the purposes of government a larger part of the wealth which has come to them under our rule, we may do it openly. It is not necessary to change our currency in a hurry in order that we may pretend that we are not doing what we are doing.

Before very long our foreign trade will, I hope, be simplified by the adoption of some kind of international currency. But I make bold to say that economic science shows no justification whatever for the doctrine that the permanent fall in the gold value of the rupee causes a permanent dislocation of trade with the East. The fluctuations of the exchanges are no doubt a serious evil, they afford a strong argument for reconsidering calmly the basis of our currency, but not for adopting hurriedly a new currency without giving ourselves time to make sure that it will not falsify the hopes founded on it.

Fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver are only one of many causes of fluctuations in the rate of exchange between England and India, as is proved by the fact that the annual variations were as great before 1873 (even omitting the disturbed period of the Mutiny) as they have been since 1873, when the gold value of silver has no longer been stationary. The disturbing influence of changes in the gold value of silver has not been too great to be overborne by the steadying influences of the telegraph, steam, the Suez Canal, &c (See the adjoining diagram).<sup>\*</sup>

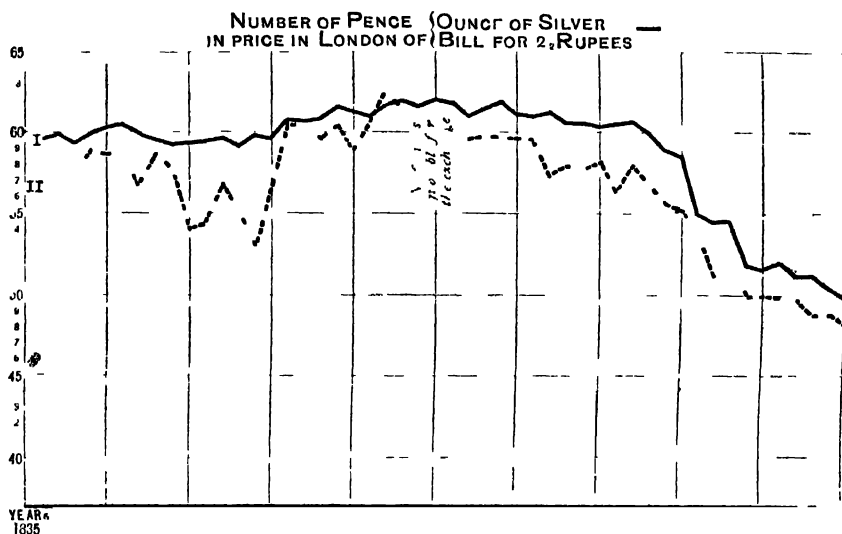
#### IV—A PROPOSAL FOR A STABLE BIMETALLISM

It is with great diffidence that I suggest an alternative bimetallic scheme. I am not sanguine enough to hope that I have found the best possible solution of the difficulty, but my plan, whatever its faults may be, seems to have this claim for consideration—that it would be a genuine and stable bimetallicism. It would therefore give a slightly better standard of purchasing power than our present currency, and, what is more important, it would form a basis of international currency. An international gold coinage would

<sup>\*</sup> The diagram is based on the figures supplied by the India Office, and published in Mr. Palgrave's important Memorandum appended to the third Report of the Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry.

disturb trade by causing a violent fall of prices an international silver coinage would have even greater evils. But a system of currency based on both gold and silver could become international, and that is, to my mind, the chief reason why it is worth while to inquire what is the best possible form of bimetallism.

Ricardo suggested that we should use a paper currency resting on a basis, not of coin, but of stamped gold bars weighing twenty ounces each. If, he argued, the currency were in excess and showed signs of falling below its gold value, it would be taken to the Mint, and exchanged for gold bars for exportation, if it were deficient, gold bars would be brought to the Mint and currency demanded. Within the country the paper would be a perfect medium of exchange, while for the payment of the balances of foreign trade, stamped gold bars are better suited than coins.



The currency scheme which I wish to submit for consideration differs from his only by being bimetallic instead of monometallic. I propose that currency should be exchangeable at the Mint or Issue Department not for gold, but for gold and silver, at the rate of not £1 for 113 grains of gold, but £1 for 56½ grains of gold, together with, say, twenty times as many grains of silver. I would make up the gold and silver bars in gramme weights, so as to be useful for international trade. A gold bar of 100 grammes, together with a silver bar, say, twenty \* times as heavy, would be exchangeable at the Issue Department for an amount of the currency which

\* This number twenty or whatever it might be, would be fixed on arbitrarily once for all. If we wished the value of the currency to be regulated chiefly by gold we should have only a small bar of silver, if chiefly by silver we should have perhaps fifty or one hundred times as heavy a bar of silver as that of gold. But if we wished the two metals to have about equal influence, we should, taking account of the existing stocks of the two metals, probably choose our silver bar about twenty times as heavy as that of gold.

would be calculated and fixed once for all when the scheme was introduced (It would be about £28, or £30 according to the basis of calculation)

Any one who wanted to buy or sell gold or silver alone in exchange for currency could get what he wanted by exchanging gold for silver, or silver for gold, at the market rate. Government fixing its own rates from day to day, so as to keep its reserves of the two metals in about the right proportion, might safely undertake this exchange itself, and then any one could buy or sell either gold or silver for currency in one operation.

To insure convertibility the currency would not be allowed to exceed, say, three times the bullion reserve in the Issue Department\*. The country would save so much on the cost of its currency that it could well afford to keep, as a normal reserve, bullion worth, say, £30,000,000 in excess of this limit, and thus prevent the sudden stringencies which we now suffer whenever there is even a small foreign drain of bullion†. There would be, as now, token coins of silver and bronze, but none of gold, because even a small percentage on the value of a gold coin is sufficient to pay the illicit coin.

Ricardo's proposal was made at a time when the mismanagement of paper issues at home and abroad had made the notion of a paper currency repugnant to all prudent people. But now there is a greater tendency to discriminate between paper money, which has no sound basis, and which may fairly be called soft money, and paper whose convertibility into hard metal is properly secured. The strangeness of the scheme will make many refuse to examine it closely, but those who can overcome their natural repugnance to the use of paper money will, I think, find that it has the following advantages — (1) It would be economical and secure, (2) Though economical, the largeness of its reserve would obviate the sharp twinges there now frequently occur in the money market, (3) It would vary in value with the mean of the values of gold and silver, (4) As it would in no way attempt to control the relative values of gold and silver, and would not be affected even if an ounce of gold became worth fifty ounces of silver, it could be begun at once and without risk by any one nation, (5) If adopted by several nations it would constitute at once a perfect international basis of currency.

\* \* Except in times of emergency, when the minimum rate of discount was, say, 10 per cent, and then the rule might be broken, either, as now, by the authority of the Government, or, which I think would be better, by a self-acting rule.

† Thus, if the currency consisted of notes for £120,000,000 besides silver and bronze token coins, the normal reserve would be £70,000,000. The management of the reserves might be entrusted to the Bank of England, or a Government Bank, which would act directly, as now, on the rate of discount, so as to keep the supply of gold and silver at about the right level, or a Government Department with no general banking functions might exercise an indirect pressure on the rate of discount by selling Consols for currency when the reserve was getting too low, and buying them in again so as to let out the currency when the reserve was getting too large.

and prices, \* (6) Lastly, it has, in my eyes, an advantage which may appear fanciful, and on which I do not wish to lay any great stress—viz, that it is a movement in the direction in which we want to go of a tabular standard for deferred payments. If there should ever exist any other commodities besides gold and silver, which, like them, are imperishable, which have great value in small bulk, and are in universal demand, and which are thus suitable for paying the balances of foreign trade, then they could be added to gold and silver as the basis of the currency.

It has the one great disadvantage of being a paper currency, but this is, I contend, shared to a great extent by the fixed-ratio-mintage scheme, for under that paper would probably have to begin to take the place of gold almost at once, and before long would be very likely to extrude it altogether †

#### V—HOW TO ESTIMATE A UNIT OF PURCHASING POWER

Before concluding it will be well to consider how a unit of purchasing power should be estimated. If we demand an ideally perfect unit we are met by the preliminary difficulty that the effective purchasing power of money to each individual depends partly on the

\* France could, if it chose, still reckon in francs, England in pounds, and America in dollars, but every twenty franc note would state on its face how many francs were exchangeable for a standard pur of bars of 100 grammes of gold and 200 grammes of silver and therefore the equivalent in £ s d of 100 francs would be settled once for all. There would be nothing to be allowed as now for seignorage or for wear and tear of coins. Francs, pounds, or dollars would alike give a definite command over bars of gold and silver, which would form a perfect medium for international payments.

† M. Walrus has proposed to steady the value of gold by issuing or withdrawing token silver coins according as gold rose or fell in value. His scheme is able and ingenious. But, as he admits it would, like any other scheme for regulating the value of gold and silver, require an international agreement. And I do not see how this could be managed, because to say nothing of minor difficulties, there cannot be a common unit of purchasing power for all countries. Every plan for regulating the supply of the currency, so that its value shall be constant, must, I think, be national and not international.

I will indicate briefly two such plans, though I do not advocate either of them. On the first plan the currency would be inconvertible. An automatic Government Department would buy Consols for currency whenever £1 was worth more than a unit, and would sell Consols for currency whenever it was worth less (the ordinary issue and withdrawal of Consols which takes place when the Government wants to borrow or to pay off its debts would be arranged independently, perhaps, by another Department which had no power to issue or cancel currency). Those who had to pay balances to foreign countries would buy gold or silver in the open market, they would be certain of getting in exchange for this money gold and silver that had a fixed purchasing power in England. The researches of Mr. Palgrave and Dr. Soetbeer show that a unit of fixed purchasing power in England would give a more nearly uniform purchasing power in any other civilized country than would an ounce of gold or an ounce of silver. On the whole, this currency would, I believe, give more stability to our foreign trade than our present one.

The other plan is that of a convertible currency, each £1 note giving the right to demand at a Government Office as much gold as at that time had the value of half a unit, together with as much silver as had the value of half a unit. The necessary provisions for keeping a proper reserve of gold and silver would be a little intricate, but would involve no great practical difficulty. Under either of those plans contracts for deferred payments might be made fairly well in terms of the currency. But they are complex, and they would hinder rather than help the adoption of an international currency.

nature of his wants. A rise in the price of meat, accompanied by an equivalent fall in that of bread, adds to the purchasing power of the wages of those who are unable to buy much meat in any case. To a well-to-do bachelor the price of the necessaries of life is of very little importance, while if with the same income he had to find food and clothing for a large family he might regard a fall in the price of luxuries, accompanied by even a small rise in that of necessaries, as a diminution in the purchasing power of money. It is chiefly for this reason that an absolutely perfect standard of purchasing power is not only unattainable but even unthinkable. What we mean by a unit of purchasing power for, say, the United Kingdom, is that which will give a uniform means of satisfying his wants to the average consumer, that is, to a person who consumes a 37,000,000th part of the total of every commodity that is consumed by the 37,000,000 inhabitants of the country.\*

This, then, is the unit that we are in search of. But for the present we must be content with very rough methods, and improve them gradually as our Statistical Departments get their work into shape. It is enough that even in its simplest and most easily workable form the unit gives a tenfold better standard of value than that afforded by the precious metals.

This simplest plan is to select a number of representative whole sale articles and to add together their prices at different times †. The next step in advance is to estimate the importance of each commodity by the mean of the amount spent on it at the different periods under investigation. This importance or *weight* is then multiplied into the change in price of the commodity. For instance, if the value of the pepper consumed in an average year in England is £500,000, and that of the tea is £11,000,000, then a rise in the price of tea by 1 per cent counts for as much as a rise in the price of pepper by 22 per cent ‡. If the weight of pepper is taken as equal to 1, that of tea must be 22.

The next step is to allow in the weights of particular commodities for the values of things whose prices are governed in the main by

\* But perhaps with a view to increase the steadiness of business we should count in all the products of British industry, even though these are exported. This would lead us to regard the annual supply of cotton manufactures as worth about £110,000,000, though about £90,000,000 worth of this are exported.

† This method was followed by Jevons and the earlier workers and is still used by the *Economist* newspaper and by Mr Sauerbeck and others, in conjunction with more advanced methods.

‡ This method has been adopted by Mr Giffen with regard to our imports and exports, by Mr Palgrave, and, as he has pointed out, by the French Commission Permanente des Valeurs, by Mr Sauerbeck and by Mr Mulhall. The notion of aiming at ascertaining what may be called the movements of the centre of gravity of prices is so obviously just, that though there is great room for improvement in detail, the principle may be regarded as thoroughly established. Jevons proposed to take the mean of the logarithms of the changes, but I venture to regard this as a mathematical error, the one flaw in his unrivalled contributions to the theory of money and prices. The weights of the commodities would be estimated not oftener than once a year, even if, as is very likely, it should be found best to alter the unit itself once a month.

the same causes, but which change in character so that there can be no continuous record of their prices. Thus, for instance, the weight allowed for cloth of a standard quality might well include the values of many woollen and worsted manufactures, which change their forms with every breath of fashion. Or, on another plan, we might count the wool instead of the things made of it (for of course we ought not to count both), and take the change in the cost of weaving a yard of standard cloth as typical of changes in the cost of other branches of the manufacture.

The next step is to take account of the price of personal services which are not already reckoned for. It has already been noted that we count in either the price of our cloth, or the price of our wool together with that of manufacturing it. On the same principle, if we count the value of our bread we must not count the cost of baking it, but if we count in only the price of the flour, we ought to allow separately for the cost of baking it, whether done by a baker or by a domestic servant. However, since personal services are the most important group of things which are rising in price relatively to the average of commodities, it is perhaps best that they should continue to be omitted until we are ready to take some account of those subtle refinements in manufacture which are ever changing their form, while with every change their real price is falling fast relatively to the average.

This brings us to consider the great problem how to modify our unit so as to allow for the invention of new commodities. The difficulty is insuperable if we compare two distant periods without access to the detailed statistics of intermediate times, but it can be got over fairly well by systematic statistics. A new commodity almost always appears at first at something like a scarcity price, and its gradual fall in price can be made to enter year by year into readjustments of the unit of purchasing power, and to represent fairly well the increased power of satisfying our wants which we derive from the new commodity.\*

This difficulty has been commonly recognized, but there is another closely connected with it, which seems to have escaped notice. It is that of a thing which is supplied at a time of the year at which it used not to be available. The best plan seems to be to regard it as a new commodity when it first appears out of its old season. Suppose that at one time strawberries were to be had only in June, their

\* No notice of the new commodity would be taken in fixing the unit on the first occasion of its appearance in the price list. Suppose this to be on the first of January, 1890, then the unit for 1890 would be made up so as to give the same purchasing power of commodities, other than the new one, at these prices as the last unit did at the prices of a year ago. But before making up the unit for 1891, the weights in the unit for 1890 would be shifted a little, so as to allow for the new commodity, and then the unit for 1891 would be made to give the same purchasing power of all commodities, including the new one, as did that for 1890.



average price being 6*d* Suppose better knowledge enables us to get them in June at 3*d*, in May and July at 6*d*, and during the rest of the year at prices from 1*s* up to 10*s* Their average price for the year, if made up on the plan followed in some price lists, would be about 5*s* as against 6*d* in the olden times, whereas, in fact, the change would have more than doubled the purchasing power of money in the matter of strawberries This class of consideration is of much more importance than at first sight appears, for a great part of modern agricultural and transport industries are devoted to increasing the periods of time during which different kinds of food are available Neglect of this has, in my opinion, vitiated the statistics of the purchasing power of money in mediæval times with regard to nearly all kinds of food except corn, even the well-to-do would hardly get so simple a thing as fresh meat in winter And, again, in backward civilizations, even when things are in season, the supply of them is fitful\* Those who have kept fowls for their own eating, find that they often have more than they want at one time and less at another In many cases it is better to pay 3*s* for a fowl to a modern middleman, who, drawing his supplies from a wide area, can furnish any number that may be ordered at a short notice, than 2*s* 6*d* or even 2*s* to one whose resources are smaller The dealer who makes the supply accommodate itself to our wants really sells a superior commodity, and his price, though nominally higher, may really be lower, just as a coat which fits well and costs £4 may be cheaper than a similar coat that fits badly and costs only £3

The above difficulty relates to an increase in the time during which a thing is procurable, there is a similar difficulty with regard to place When fresh sea fish could be had only at the seaside its average price was low Now that the railways enable it to be sold inland, its average retail price includes much higher charges for distribution than it used to do The simplest plan for dealing with this difficulty is to take, as a rule, the wholesale price of a thing at its place of production, and to allow full weight to the cheapening of the transport of goods, of persons and of news as separate and most weighty items

For many reasons it would be better to take retail than wholesale prices, but that would often be impracticable, because the retail price corresponds to different kinds of services at different times and places The greengrocer who has to keep a large and varied stock of vegetables, to send out once for orders, and a second time with a cabbage, may very likely lose on the transaction, though he sells for 2*d* what he bought for a farthing The poor woman who pays ½*d* for the cabbage which she fetches home herself may be really a more profitable customer Thus retail prices among advanced peoples, and especially among the wealthier portions of them, include the prices of many personal services which in a more primitive state the consumer dispenses with

The next point is to allow for changes in things which at first sight appear to have remained unchanged. An ox or sheep weighs now more than twice as much as it used to, of that weight a larger percentage is meat, of the meat a larger percentage is prime meat, and of all the meat a larger percentage is solid food, and a smaller percentage is water. Again, an average ten-roomed house is, perhaps, twice as large in volume as it used to be, and a great part of its cost goes for water, gas, and other appliances which were not in the older house. For these reasons we ought, I think, to strike off a very great deal from the ordinary estimates of the purchasing power of money in backward countries, and in the earlier history of our own country.

But ought we also to allow anything for the increased requirements of society? For instance, 10,000 rupees give the retired Indian officer more power of purchasing the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life, whether in India or in England, than it would when he entered the service, and yet he finds himself pinched because his income is worth less than the £1000 of his English brother officer, which he used to regard as its equivalent. I think there is no doubt that this consideration must be entirely ignored in estimating our unit of purchasing power. We want to use our unit for measuring payments of material wealth. If any class of people, whether postmen, or clerks, or Indian officials, have not shared in the general increase of real income, that is a reason for reconsidering their payments. If the Government has so worded its contracts with its officials as really to promise that every ten rupees of their pay shall be always equivalent to £1, it must fulfil the contract, but that can be done without changing our currency.

It is true, then, that we cannot hope to get a standard of purchasing power which is free from great imperfections. But it is equally true that a perfect standard of length baffles all the resources of science, and though the best standard of value that we can get is not nearly so good for its purposes as an ordinary yard measure is for its purposes, yet it is an advance on using as our standard the value of gold, or even the mean between the values of gold and silver, of the same kind, though not nearly as great, as the advance of substituting a yard measure for the length of the foot of one judge, or for the mean between the lengths of the feet of two.

ALFRED MARSHALL

## THE OLD TESTAMENT ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND MODERN CRITICS

**I**N seeking Truth we ought to be ready to give up every cherished illusion and every dead tradition, if so be that we may thereby see her better. But before we accept the new light it is quite as important that we should feel certain that it is better than the old, for the new is not true because it is new, but only when it is found to rest more firmly on fact.

This no doubt applies to the study of the Bible as much as to any other branch of research, and when we are asked to accept the results of exegesis and of free criticism, we are bound first to make sure that the methods are such as to lead to the finding of truth, and the results such as accord with undisputed facts. The voluminous literature which is grouped round the names most commonly known, such as those of Ewald, Colenso, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, demands so much time and attention from the reader that we may well shrink from the task of attempting to master it before we are convinced that its final results are certainly sound and useful. We first want to be assured that our modern teachers have thoroughly mastered their subject, and the cautious attitude of the majority in face of the critical teaching is not of necessity due either to prejudice or to indifference, for it may spring from want of confidence in the teachers themselves.

Now it will be admitted that, among the chief requisites for a thorough understanding of the Bible, it is important that the critic, in addition to linguistic and literary knowledge, should possess a deep acquaintance with Eastern antiquities and a sympathetic appreciation of Eastern manners and thought. It is equally important that his results should be founded on accurate study of his literature, and free from assertions resting only on his own specula-

tions If he confines himself simply to recasting a literature, the accuracy and reliability of which he denies, in accordance with views which he has founded on that literature only, and which are uncontrolled by independent knowledge of Oriental history, antiquity, and thought, he stands in the position of the man noticed by De Morgan, whose problem for squaring the circle resolved itself, when stripped of all its verbiage, into the postulate that the circle he squared had a diameter equal to a third of its circumference In other words, the critic cannot hunt with the hounds and run with the hare, for, if he discredits the authority of the Old Testament writers, he must rest on some other authority, and this cannot be allowed to be his own It must be the authority of documents or monuments which cannot be discredited

In order to judge how far the modern critical schools fulfil such requirements, it is necessary to select a leading example The name of Julius Wellhausen at once occurs to us, for, as Professor Robertson Smith tells us, he, perhaps, more than any other critic, has by his writings revived an interest in the scientific study of the Old Testament literature His results, with perhaps one exception, are not indeed new, nor does he claim that they are The views of the German exegetical writers were long ago presented to the English public by Colenso, and, save with regard to part of the narrative in Genesis, it is rather in the method of treatment than in the outcome that Wellhausen differs from his predecessors

But, before speaking of the reliability of those results, we may be excused for attempting to examine in detail how far the assertions of Wellhausen agree with the facts of Oriental antiquity, and how far he has succeeded in imbuing himself with a thoroughly sympathetic understanding of the Oriental genius Purely literary study of the Hebrew Scriptures is a very narrow line of research, and it may be that the critic has formed views from such study which do not accord with the results of the study of monuments and of manners in the East

And first, as regards the purely antiquarian assertions of Wellhausen's work on the history of Israel, the following notes suggest themselves in reading To begin with a very important question—namely, the origin of the sacred name of Jehovah, and the diffusion of His worship—our critic informs us that "Jehovah is to be regarded as the family or tribal God of the family to which Moses belonged, or of the tribe of Joseph," and in another passage we gather that His name was confined to Palestine alone It is true that the Bible says otherwise it tells us that Balaam, from Pethor on the Euphrates, adored Jehovah, that Uriah the Hittite had a name suggesting his worship of the same God, nay, in one of the latest prophets we have a striking passage to the same effect as it stands in the Revised Version

"For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every shrine incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith Jehovah Sabaoth" (Mal 1 11) But then we may not quote the Bible against Wellhausen. We may, however, be allowed to ask how he explains the recent discovery of Mr. Pinches, that the Holy Name appears on the cuneiform inscriptions as early as 900 B.C. how he accounts for its forming part of the royal names of the Kings of Hamath before the captivity of Israel? why it so frequently appears on Phœnician gems, not only in Syria or in Cyprus, but even in Malta and other Mediterranean islands? The testimony of the monuments accords with the words of Malachi, and shows us that almost as early as the days of Solomon the name of Jehovah was adored by Semitic peoples from Nineveh to Sidon, and from Pethor to Jerusalem. Surely it is difficult to believe that the tribal God of a small Israelite family could so rapidly have become sacred to the various races of Western Asia, and it is easier to reconcile what is now a proved archaeological fact with the words of Genesis (iv 26), which accord a high antiquity to the Holy Name. When Wellhausen tells us that Amos was the first in history to raise his voice against popular superstition, we can only surmise that he is unacquainted with the majestic language of Egyptian hymns, as old at least as the fourteenth century B.C., in which "The One," who manifests Himself in every God, is hailed as having neither temple nor image. When, on the other hand, we find the critic convinced that the worship of Jehovah began only in the days of Josiah to be corrupted by the practice of human sacrifice as an "innovation," we must recall the fact that at least in 1500 B.C. the sacrifice of the firstborn was a recognized rite in Assyria. In fact, Wellhausen does not seem to recognize that gross superstition and exalted religious thought are certainly known to have existed side by side in Asia from a period even earlier than the days of Moses. It is a question of class, just as it is in the East in our own times, and the Prophet of Jehovah stood high above the benighted peasant who feared Moloch, just as the worshipper of the One God stands high above the fellah who sets an offering for the *Jân* beside the spring or the tree.

The critical school of Graf do not believe that any tabernacle (*Ohel*) existed in the wilderness. Here also the monuments give us hints not to be neglected. In Phœnician inscriptions the word *Ohel* occasionally occurs, and among the spoils taken by Thothmes III. at Megiddo were "seven poles of the pavilion of the enemy plated with silver." Thus we know for certain that not only were arks and altars borne, both in Assyria and in Egypt, before the army, but that tents with plated pillars, not unlike the *Ohel* of the Pentateuch, were used in the field as early as the time of Moses. When again

Wellhausen regards the use of incense, and the Table of Shewbread, as evidences of a late period of writing, we must remember that incense was brought by the Syrians to Thothmes III, and that censers, and a table piled with loaves like the shewbread, are shown on very early Egyptian pictures.

Wellhausen's speculations as to the Hebrew year also need to be controlled by monumental evidence. He regards the old Hebrew year apparently as solar, and the observation of the moon as an innovation during the captivity. Monumental evidence shows us, however, that the Phœnician year was lunar, and there is no trace of any solar year among the older Semitic peoples. His theory finally lands him in the assertion that the year used, in the times of the Kings, to begin in autumn on the "tenth day of the seventh month"—a palpable absurdity, which a study of the Mishnah (*Rosh-hash Shannah*) would have enabled him to avoid, while the meaning of the names of the old Hebrew and Phœnician (as distinguished from the Assyrian) months shows us that Abib must always have been a spring month, and it is generally acknowledged that the lunar year in Western Asia always began at the Vernal Equinox, when once this year had been made roughly to agree with the solar seasons by the use of an intercalary month, which was very early adopted at all events at Nineveh.

Again, as regards money, Wellhausen seems to suppose that the Hebrews had a coinage before the Captivity. It is, however, one of the striking points of Old Testament criticism, that coins are not mentioned till the time of Ezra; thus, the expression "to fill the hand," used with regard to the priests (*2 Chron. xiii. 9*), does not refer to money, nor is coinage noticed at all in another passage (*Deut. xviii. 8*) to which the critic refers, and where its mention would be very significant. Weights and rings were used as currency as early as the time of Moses, but the earliest known coins do not appear before about the sixth century B.C., and the daric was used in Babylon apparently only a short time before the conquest by Cyrus.

When Wellhausen complains that Pul and Tiglath Pileser are "hardly distinguished" by the book of Chronicles, we see that he is unaware of the recent discovery of a long-suspected fact—namely, that Pul and Tiglath Pileser were the same person, yet this is now made certain by Assyriology. Wellhausen seems to hold the discoveries of cuneiform research in light esteem, he says that Assyriologists have quite failed to explain the alliance of Judah and Syria against Assyria, and that the Izdubar tablets have little value for purposes of comparison with Genesis, yet, surely, when endeavouring to construct a scheme of chronology, the critic might have found it useful to compare the dates derived from cuneiform records, to

which he does not refer, preferring simply to assert that certain numbers are "impossible"

In another passage we note the survival of an old error as regards the worship of Baal. Jezebel is said, indeed, to have persecuted the prophets of Jehovah, but she cannot have been the first to propagate Baal worship in Israel, for we know that the name of Baal was in use before the time of Moses, throughout Syria to the very south. It occurs in the town names of the Karnak lists, and even in Egypt Baal was adored in the time of the Hyksos kings. It is an error to suppose that Baal was a purely Phœnician deity, for he was worshipped from a remote antiquity by all the Semitic peoples from Assyria to Egypt. Again, the derivation of the word cherub as connected with the Greek *gryps*, shows us that Wellhausen is far behind his age. Kirub in Assyria has been shown to be the name of the great man-bulls of Nineveh, and in Greece it appears in the name Korybas, which has nothing in common with *gryps*, apparently an Aryan word.

The question of the antiquity of the Genesis narratives is, however, more important than the preceding details. Wellhausen assumes generally that, when a Hebrew narrative or expression recalls Assyria or Babylon, it is to be referred to the period of the Babylonian domination. He cannot apparently believe that such similarities may arise because indigenous belief or custom had an ancient common origin with the customs and beliefs of Babylonia, he regards all such as being "imported," and makes Genesis the echo of teachings which he supposes the Hebrews to have received from their tyrants in Babylon or in Jerusalem. "The Hebrews probably derived the legend in the last instance from Babylon" he affirms, and supposes that in its very earliest form it cannot "have been imported before the time of Solomon." The conclusions of an antiquarian would be perhaps just the opposite. There is a close connection between the early story of Genesis and the Izdubar legend, but there is no identity. Had there been any direct borrowing, the student of traditions is well aware that the resemblances would have been much more exact. The names of Noah and Adam do not occur in the Assyrian, Akkadian, Babylonian, or Phœnician versions of the narratives, the actors and the actions alike are often very different from those of the early chapters of Genesis. These differences are clear evidence (to the comparative student) that there was no such "borrowing" as Wellhausen supposes, but that the Hebrew narrative is rather to be considered an indigenous product, and the Phœnician and Assyrian stories to be regarded as parallel but distinct growths from an originally common tradition.

Another curious point concerns the notice of Ur in Genesis. Wellhausen sees in this name a later tradition of Hebrew migration

He supposes the earlier belief to have been that the Hebrews came from a certain Haran in Syria. While, however, the Bible certainly places Haran east of the Euphrates, it is worthy of notice that Ur is probably an Akkadian or Turanian word, and its occurrence in Genesis might be considered a mark of antiquity. Ur means "the city," and is perhaps to be identified with Ur-uk, "the great city," once a seaport on the Euphrates. A little later on Wellhausen is obliged to account as best he can for the Biblical statements which represent Israel as closely akin to the Arameans. No explanation is, however, really needed. Language shows us beyond dispute that the Semitic immigrants in Syria were, at a remote period, of the same original stock with those who spread over Mesopotamia. It is only because the critic refuses to place confidence in the account of Abraham's migration from Ur, and neglects to trace the Hebrews any further than from the lands east of the Jordan, that any difficulty arises.

In the same way, modern critics have declined, for no very clear reason, to believe that the Phœnicians came also from the Persian Gulf. There is nothing known which tends to show that the original seat of the Semitic race was on the shores of the Mediterranean, and there are, indeed, indications that it is rather to be sought (as far as history and language can carry us back) in Arabia. But if in Arabia, then only by the path which Abraham is said in the Bible to have followed could Israel ever have reached Western Palestine. To cross the Syrian desert has always been impossible for all races. It is a most insurmountable natural barrier, and, save from the west shores of Arabia, Syria has always been reached by following the river Euphrates far north to the point where the Syrian desert narrows and finally ends.

The linguistic arguments of Wellhausen are not among his strongest. He makes no allusion to the archaic forms which have been observed in Genesis, or to the Egyptian words and names in Exodus, which are indications at least worth a passing reference, nor does he notice the labours of F. Dehtsch, which establish a new connection between Hebrew and the language of Mesopotamia, and thus serve to show us that so-called Aramaisms are not of necessity marks of late date—as, indeed, the critic himself half allows. There is, indeed, much yet to be learned concerning the connection between Hebrew, Phœnician, and Assyrian, and the grammatical views founded on a study of the later Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic will probably have to undergo a considerable revision in face of the new knowledge derived from Phœnician and Assyrian inscriptions while derivations, even from the old non-Semitic Akkadian, are beginning to establish themselves, which serve to show the use in Hebrew of words which may have been learned by the family of Abraham while dwelling in the midst of Akkadian populations.



In fact Wellhausen's theory of a "Hebrew Group" including Hebrews, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, rests neither on the Bible nor on modern science. In Genesis we find many other tribes said to have had a common origin with Israel, such as the sons of Ishmael and those of Keturah. To say that the Hebrews "adopted the language of the Canaanites" is also to adhere to ideas now becoming obsolete. Wellhausen must explain what he means by the word Canaanite, which is not an *ethnic*, but purely a geographical term. The Phœnicians were Canaanites, but yet Semitic, they dwelt in the "Canaan" or low plain country. The Hittites are called Canaanites in the Bible, but they were not a Semitic people. Presumably Wellhausen means that the language of the Semitic agriculturists of Palestine differed from that of the original nomadic Hebrews, and was adopted by them, but this is by no means clear, either from the Bible or from science. Hebrew, Phœnician, and Moabite, when first we know them monumentally, differ only as dialects from each other, but we only know these dialects from monuments about 900 or 700 B.C., and, as far as the names of towns in Syria can teach us, it would appear that the Semitic Canaanites, before their conquest by Joshua's host, spoke a language very closely resembling Hebrew. We have, however, no real information as to the peculiarities of the dialects spoken by the Hebrews in the time of Abraham, although we may gather from Genesis that it was not the same as Aramaic. The common origin, however, of all these tongues is beyond dispute, and the expression "language of Canaan" (Isaiah xiv. 18) evidently means a West Semitic tongue in general as distinguished from the Egyptian language. The use of the word Canaanite by Wellhausen is incorrect, for Canaan was inhabited by more than one race. In this connection it may also be noted that the difficulties raised by Socin and other writers as to the notice of the Hittites in Genesis are purely creations of their own fancy, because, although the Hittites—a non-Semitic people—only appear on the monuments in Northern Syria, and not in Hebron, we have yet no monuments as old as the supposed date of Abraham, and we have, on the other hand, town names in Southern Palestine which seem to be derived from the name Heth, and tend to prove that the Hittite tribes once extended even to the borders of Egypt. It would seem that when in the Bible the word Canaanite is used ethnically it is to the non-Semitic tribes that it applies, and it is certain that in this sense the Hebrews never adopted the "language of the Canaanites."

Wellhausen allows himself to take various liberties with the Hebrew tribes. In one passage he speaks of twelve, but only enumerates eleven, omitting Levi, which, according to another enumeration, he inserts. In the second case, however, he leaves out

Gad, without any reference to the fact that the "men of Gad" are mentioned about 900 B.C. on the Moabite stone. It is astonishing also to learn that the Moabites were monotheists, in any sense, because they worshipped Chemosh, since it appears from the Moabite Stone that they also adored Ashtoreth, but the critic's views as to the idolatry of Palestine are throughout very peculiar, for he speaks of Baal ("the master") as representing "the female principle"! Another instance connected with ethnical questions may also be noted, in which he refuses to credit the Bible account of the Syrian terror of the Hittites, supposing that we should read Assyrians instead, whereas monumental history shows us that the Hittites were exactly the people of whom the Syrians of Damascus were very likely at this period to have been most afraid. The gratuitous assertion that the "archers" in the Blessing of Jacob must needs, on account of their weapons, be Assyrians, is also disproved, not only by other Bible passages, but also by the pictures which show the early use of the bow among the tribes of Canaan.

Another favourite statement concerning Hebrew religion is repeated by Wellhausen, who says that it "dispensed with conceptions of Heaven and Hell." If this were so then the Hebrews differed indeed from their contemporaries, for it is proved by Assyrian research that from an early time—long before the days of Moses—the Semitic peoples believed in future reward and punishment—in an Elysium, where the just rested in peace "under a silver sky," and in a place of torment, where the wicked mourned and despaired. It is true that the idea of a future return to a happy existence on the earth does not find expression in ancient Hebrew literature, but it is not true that the Hebrews expected no future reward or punishment, and the idea of a Hell for the wicked is traced in the very earliest records of Assyria and of Egypt alike. The assertion, on another page of Wellhausen's work, that the Pharisees first invented the idea of future reward, is in direct contradiction with the results of modern research, which show us that the *Rephaim*, or shades of the dead, were held to expiate the deeds or to enjoy the fruits of the conduct of their mortal life. What the Pharisees did teach that was new was the theory of a glorified earthly existence in the future, but this even they did not probably invent, for we can trace back such a belief in Persia almost to the time of Cyrus, and there can be no real doubt that the Day of Judgment is noticed by Joel (iii 2) long before the Pharisaic dogma was elaborated in Judea.

A few details of archæological import may be added. The assertion that Jehovah was "associated with a queen of heaven" in the time of Manasseh shows an imperfect knowledge of the old Semitic Pantheon. The Queen of Heaven was the consort of Baal Shemim, "the lord of heaven," and the name was one of the titles

of Ashtoreth It was no new creation of the fancy of Manasseh, but a well-known title of the goddess of Syria and of Palestine, nor have we any monument, or gem, or tablet in existence, on which the name of Jehovah has as yet been found connected with that of a goddess

When Wellhausen makes use of the word Chaldean, it may be in deference to the popular ignorance on the subject He knows, of course, that the word so rendered does not occur in the Hebrew, where the term *Casdim* or "conquerors" has been so rendered by translators Of the Caldei, or Chaldeans, we know little, and they appear on monuments in the early days of Mesopotamian anarchy Yet even this term as used by Wellhausen seems to suggest imperfect conceptions as to Mesopotamian history

It is remarkable again that he should fix on the Sabbath and on circumcision as distinctive of Judaism after the Captivity The Sabbath was very early observed in Mesopotamia, while circumcision was not by any means distinctive of the Jews, since it was a custom common to the Phœnicians, the Arabs, the Egyptians, and to certain tribes of Asia Minor, as well as to the Kaffirs and Hottentots On their return to Jerusalem, the Jews certainly found circumcision customary among the "people of the land," and the rite is probably traceable to remote antiquity The Greeks and Romans were the "uncircumcised" races of the later Jewish period In passing, it may be finally noted that the word Karaites is found in writings older than the eighth century, that the Cabbala did not originate among the Jews of Palestine, but is traceable to the Akkadians, and that the account which Wellhausen gives of the Jewish dispersion might be materially improved by a reference to their inscriptions in Russia and in Italy, &c

The preceding considerations may, perhaps suffice to show that many of the results at which Wellhausen arrives by his exegesis are not supported by the discoveries due to modern research In some cases they are, indeed, directly opposite to the most certain facts of archæology, and in many others they are at least doubtful The critic has, in short, much yet to learn before he can teach, and this is equally clear when we turn to questions of Oriental life and thought

In ancient Israel, Wellhausen tells us, polygamy was rare, monogamy the rule The assertion is surprising, and the truth is probably to be sought in a study of existing conditions Polygamy is still rare in the East, because the poor can only afford to maintain one wife It is hardly, however, correct to make so general a statement, since from the days of Jacob downwards a plurality of wives has been the rule among the higher classes in Semitic countries

It is equally irreconcilable with Oriental custom to speak of "large estates" and "small peasant proprietors" in the days of Solomon. The land laws contemplated in the Bible are of a very different character. In primitive Oriental society property in land has always been on the village or communal system, which still survives in Palestine, in Russia, in India, and among the Kaffir races. Individual property is confined to houses, gardens, and similar holdings. Agricultural lands are the common property of the village, and so also are the pastures. The picture which Wellhausen draws savours of modern European politics rather than of ancient Hebrew life. The best sources of information—the agreements, for instance, of the Egibi family deciphered by the Assyriologists—are not noticed at all by our critic in discussing the Hebrew land laws.

Frequent allusions to a "religious tone" as marking lateness of date in a narrative occur throughout the work of which we are speaking. This, also, seems to argue a want of sympathy with Oriental life and literature. Where, indeed, can we find in the East any history from which such a tone is absent? \* Ramses speaks of his victories as due to the favour of Ra. Mesha thanks Chemosh for the deliverance of Moab. Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar boast of the graciousness of Asshur and of Bel. Passages might be quoted from the monuments to prove the pious and reverent spirit in which—often with great beauty—men used to speak of the Divine guidance, and the same tone is found both in Moslem literature and in the common conversation of modern Orientals. To regard such a "religious tone" as showing a *tendency* in Old Testament writings, and as evidence of late sacerdotal authorship, is to evince a very imperfect acquaintance with Oriental antiquity and character.

Another forced contrast is that which Wellhausen draws between the Nebi, or "prophet," and the Roeh, or "seer." In Samuel the two words are said to be synonymous, Roeh being an archaic term. In Deuteronomy the prophet is described as resembling in character the seer Samuel, a "dreamer of dreams," in communion with Jehovah. The fact is that the character of a prophet and his position with respect both to the priest and to the king are only very imperfectly understood by the critic. It is, perhaps, only after long residence in the East, where the dervish, supposed to be divinely inspired, still holds a social position not unlike that of the seers of old, that it becomes possible to appreciate how such an influence can be allowed to mingle with the ordinary current of administrative government and with the ordinary ritual of the national religion. Yet in the case of the Soudanese Mahdi, of the dervishes who surround the Sultan, and of those to whom Arabi Pasha used to defer, we have seen such an influence in recent times playing a part even in European politics.

Still more curious is the distinction between priests, scribes, and Pharisees, and between the written and unwritten Torah, on which Wellhausen insists. He appears to think that when once the law had been put "in black and white," as he calls it, the people became independent of the oral teaching of the priests, and, like his predecessors, he makes of the scribes a body distinct from the priests, and politically opposed to their influence. These assumptions also savour of the West rather than of the East, as a moment's reflection will show. Dr Robertson Smith once suggested that Isaiah's prophecies first appeared as "broadsheets" distributed among the people. Now, in England, where nearly every man can read his Bible, and can decipher the tract, religious or political, placed in his hands, such independence of oral teaching is possible, but when one has lived in the East and seen how few, save the commercial class in the cities and the religious class in the mosques, are able even to write their names, it becomes certain that the Torah can never have been in circulation among the masses. Whatever was the literature of the Hebrews, it is certain that it was stored in the Temple, and in a late age in the synagogues, and at no time in their history as a people can the populace have become independent of the teachings of their priests. This is indeed one reason for the great power of the dervish, because he appeals to an unlettered folk, not through books or on the authority of the priesthood, but as a direct representative of the spoken will of God.

When, again, Wellhausen sees difficulties and contradictions in the various accounts of rebellions, and of constantly changing relations between the Syrian States, he seems rather to found his views on the stability of Western institutions as contrasted with the precarious tenure of authority in the East. When Oriental monarchs subjugate a country they can never expect that their authority will be acknowledged without intermission. The King's writ only runs where it is enforced, the Sultan or the Emir only collects taxes by aid of an expedition. The various rebellions mentioned in the chronicles of the Hebrews are illustrated both from Egyptian and from Assyrian history by the records of annual expeditions made by the kings to re-assert their authority throughout their dominions.

Another critical axiom, generally accepted, yet open to grave suspicion, is that which regards repetitions in a narrative as evidence of plurality of authorship. In Oriental narrative this argument has very little force. It would be possible for the critic to take to pieces on this ground the narratives of Assyrian tablets, and to argue an editor when in reality the repetition is but part of the Oriental style, and indeed in all ancient narratives—as, for instance, in the Aryan folk tales—this tendency to repetition is found. The

axiom has therefore no such force in Hebrew literature as it would possess in modern European writings

It is scarcely worth while to allude to minor slips, such as placing Beth Maachah in Gilead, or supposing Zerah's army to have been defeated at Gath. If Wellhausen had visited the site of Sela-ham-Mahlekoth he would not have described the encounter between Saul and David as "a good natured joke, telling how the two played hide and seek round a hill." He regards the fixation of Levitical limits as impossible in a mountain country, yet, in our own days, the Jews, in the steep Safed hills, fix the Sabbath limit in a somewhat similar fashion, for it is by no means certain that a square figure is intended as the boundary of the Levitical suburbs.

More important than such objections is the question of the reliability of certain deductions which Wellhausen does not stop to prove, and that of the supposed "interpolations" which he continually suggests. Where in the Old Testament does he find it stated that there were steps to Solomon's altar that the priests of Jehovah were slain by Jehu that Obed Edom was a Philistine, or that Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistine host? In the blessing of Jacob he asserts that Joseph is represented as "crowned" among his brethren. This is not the rendering which English students give to the passage, but it is important to note how, while endeavouring to show that Joseph rather than Judah is here made the chief tribe, Wellhausen never refers to the words "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come." It seems, indeed, in many of these passages that a desire to astonish by originality has got the better of the critic's judgment, but all such groundless assertions tend rather to weaken the confidence with which we may regard his scholarship.

The question of "interpolation" is one of primary importance. In one place we read of a "worthless anachronistic anecdote," in another of an "interpolation in an interpolation," and again of a "gloss," or that a passage is "not genuine." The words "King's weight" are said to be a gloss, because referring, says Wellhausen, to the King of Assyria, though no reason is given why the King of Israel should not also have a royal standard of weight. Any mention of the *Ohel Moed* before the Captivity is an interpolation, because other terms are more usually employed. A passage in Samuel is "hopelessly corrupt" because it mentions the Levites, and again, Wellhausen says generally, with respect to favourable notices of David and of Judah in Hosea and Amos "I consider all such references to be interpolations." In hardly a single case is there any reference to the authority of versions, while any argument from context will generally be found on reading the passage to be inadmissible. The question is then, are we to be content that the critic

should first formulate a theory and should then answer all objections to his theory by supposing the text to be corrupt? It is of course well known that variations and omissions occur in the ancient versions, which are worthy of the closest study. The Samaritans did not scruple to tone down the Pentateuch in accordance with their own opinions, where the alteration of a word, or a letter, or even of a phrase would serve their purpose, but such alteration cannot be allowed in the nineteenth century merely on the *ipse dixit* of the critic. He is bound to show cause why the passage is to be suspected beyond the requirements of his critical theory. If the Bible will not square with the theory, so much the worse for the latter.

Equally arbitrary appears to be Wellhausen's supposition that the early chapters of Joshua and of Judges represent independent accounts of the Hebrew conquest of Palestine. The narrative in Judges professes to refer to the deeds of the second generation, and it is quite possible that the towns destroyed by Joshua may have risen from their ashes and have again defied Israel in the times of Othniel and his contemporaries. The Canaanite population was never quite rooted out, and the position of the Israelites among the settled agricultural population long continued to resemble that of Omar's tribesmen in face of the Græco-Syrian populations—a caste of dominant conquerors who had not yet entirely abandoned the nomadic life of the desert, and who ruled a populace more civilized in some respects, though less warlike, than themselves. When, again, Wellhausen supposes the attack of Levi and Simeon on Shechem to be a reminiscence of some incident of the conquest, we may be permitted to protest against his thus mixing up in hopeless confusion the story of Jacob and that of the later conquest. If such transferences are allowed the early history of Israel is made impossible. The story must stand as it is recorded, or else must be altogether abandoned.

With a stroke of the pen the critic transfers all the Psalms to a period subsequent to the Captivity, but any student who has considered the archaic imagery of some of these Hebrew hymns, and who has compared them with the sacred songs of Egypt and of Assyria, cannot fail to regard this view as a very hasty and uncritical estimate, although few would now argue that Psalms which clearly refer to the Babylonian captivity are likely to have been written by David. The whole of that exegetical labour which divides the Elohistic and Jehovistic Psalms is swept away by Wellhausen in this passing reference.

The fact is that exegetical study is an extremely narrow basis on which to found a scientific estimate of Hebrew antiquity. To Wellhausen Graf is more important than Sennacherib, and the views

of Vatke more instructive than the researches of Layard. The school to which he belongs takes to pieces the Bible and builds up a new puzzle of its own from the fragments. The pieces do not always fit into the new plan, so they are broken off and inserted into the gaps. This somewhat rickety structure is presented to us as a firm basis on which to build, and the authority of the critic is very often the only foundation on which we are asked to rely.

In addition to this, there is throughout an attribution of tendency and motive to the ancient writers, which is very foreign to the real spirit of early human literature. We are asked to start with the assumption that these writings are not honest or genuine expressions of their authors' beliefs, but crafty representations of facts due to religious or political motives. Those who know the simplicity and the picty of Eastern thought will always find it hard to believe that the vivid and graphic narratives of the Bible are to be regarded as cunningly coloured political essays.

What we want, indeed, is not a new theory as to the Elohist, or a new refutation of the errors of some obscure critic, but a new spirit of comparative study and an independent comparison of the Bible with monumental history. We want, in fact, to take our critic out of his study, and to set him on a camel in the wilderness, to surround him with human beings in all their primitive conditions of society and of thought, to humanize and to Orientalize the student, and to show him what men think and do in lands where they still swear by the "Living God" and still say in their daily life "It is from the Lord." We are not ungrateful to the students of the Old Testament for all their manifold labours. They have destroyed the errors of the older ignorant exegesis, and have cleared away many difficulties due to unintelligent Bible criticism. But their method reacts on itself, it has begun to devour its own children, and, just as the conclusions of the Tübingen school of New Testament criticism have resulted of late in a general retreat, so also the conclusions deemed most certain half a century ago are called in question by Wellhausen, with the result that the general reader must become convinced that the arguments used have not the force which they were once held to possess.

The Law and the Prophets have been superseded in the critic's eye by the documents E, J, O S, D, and L L, and these again are made to give place to D, J E, and Q, and any one who fails to believe that the main narrative of Genesis was written in or about the days of Ezra, that Deuteronomy was falsely imposed as a forgery on the subjects of Josiah, that the story of the Flood was imported from Babylon shortly before the Captivity, that Moses' blessing is "an independent document of the Northern Kingdom," is to be regarded as a person ignorant of the scientific progress of the age. If, however, the reader will carefully summarize the arguments whereby Well-



hausen strives to prove his views as to the Elohist document, he can hardly fail to conclude that they are extremely weak, and our knowledge of the civilization of Palestine in the days of the Hebrew kingdoms shows us that there is no archaeological improbability in the plain statement of the Book of Kings that an ancient Torah or teaching—a scroll forgotten during the troublous times preceding Josiah's reign—was found stored in the Temple archives, and brought forth to be read to the King. In such an age the statement is far more probable than is the assertion of the critics, that this discovery was no discovery, but a political plot imposing a newly written forgery on the nation as the sacred volume of the days of their forefathers.

It may, however, be objected by the critics that, in thus treating of details and endeavouring to undermine their position on particular points, we are really avoiding the main question as to whether their general results are reliable. It is therefore necessary in conclusion to offer a few suggestions as to the credibility of their theory of "documents" which lies at the bottom of their whole system.

According to the ordinary documentary theory it is supposed that independent narratives have been combined together by an editor that his work was subjected to revision by a later editor, and that in the original form the narratives existed as separate documents. It is true that this process is supposed by Wellhausen to be much more complex than the earliest analysts believed, and the logical pursuit of the process by which he makes even the Jehovistic document to consist of many elements would lead us in the end to consider every statement, and almost every verse, as standing alone, and as giving no evidence of the date of any other verse.

This theory in fact supposes that the Book of Genesis, as we now have it, resembled the scissor-and-paste production of a modern book maker, who, by cutting off a heading here and adding a few words there, welds together his borrowed materials, and connects them by a thread of narrative which he himself supplies, as Wellhausen believes the latest editor to have supplied the continuous narrative of Genesis.

Now, it is not too much to say that if the Book of Genesis were constructed by such a process it is a phenomenon without parallel in Oriental literature. We know by what methods the great collections of the Egyptian ritual, of the Zendavesta, the Vedas, the Talmud, the Targums, the Samaritan chronicles were composed. We know how carefully the tablets in the royal libraries of Nineveh and Babylon were catalogued and copied. We can show with what reverence ancient documents were preserved, not only by Jews or Hebrews, but by other ancient nations of the East as well, but we have no instance in which arbitrary editing has occurred, for the pious scribe, while ready to expand his text by a commentary of his own, seems never to have dared to alter or suppress more than a word or a phrase here

and there The priestly chronicle of the Samaritans has long been continued by each high priest in succession, recording the most striking events of his tenure of power, and in the Talmud the Gemara is still printed round the original text of the Mishnah in a manner which shows how it must originally have come into existence in the form of notes on the broad margins of a scroll, although in one instance at least the commentary of the older Jerusalem Talmud has been included in the Mishnah or text of the later Babylonian edition

This same process of commentary and addition of cognate statements is traceable also in the Zend, or Commentary on the old Avesta or Median Law, and the Pazend or additional explanation forms a third element in some cases when even the Zend had become too ancient to be commonly understood But the oldest example of the growth of an archaic literature is to be found in the Egyptian ritual, which has received such careful study from the hands of Le Page Rénouf The text of this most ancient work is very corrupt, and different readings are found in different copies In some cases alternative readings are introduced with the words "otherwise said" in explanation, and rubrics from the margin have slipped into the text The order of the chapters differs in different copies, and some variations are of immense antiquity, dating back to the eleventh dynasty, and due to the difficulty experienced by later scribes in understanding the meaning of the original, but, in spite of all these confusions, and in spite of the continual addition of chapters in the later copies, there is evidence throughout of the reverence with which the copyists treated their authority, and of the desire to preserve every letter of the older text to the best of their ability Now, in Hebrew literature, it is clear from the evidence of the versions that much greater pains has been bestowed, even from an early period, in preserving the original than was the case in Egypt The survival of archaic grammatical forms in Genesis is evidence that later copyists did not tamper with the spelling of their original, and although there are differences of order and variations and omissions in the oldest versions which are worthy of the closest attention, there is yet a general accord which shows us how great must have been the reverential care bestowed on the preservation of the sacred books To edit, and in arbitrary fashion to curtail, summarise, or mutilate older documents, was not only never the practice of the ancient scribes, but it would have appeared in their eyes to have been little short of sacrilege, in dealing with works which were probably regarded with the same awe which makes the modern Samaritan shrink from allowing Gentile eyes even to rest on the ancient scroll of the synagogue It is by the light of a knowledge of such custom and of such a method of growth that we must study the

gradual development of the Hebrew sacred literature, from the first roll preserved in the Temple down to the full collection of the various books received in the Herodian age. Any light which can be thrown on the subject by critical comparison of the versions, and of the oldest unpunctuated Hebrew MSS, is of the greatest value and importance, but the arbitrary re-arrangement, whereby, with the help of hypothetical interpolations, the critic claims to restore the text, cannot be regarded as representing the final conclusions of modern science, and it seems probable that in the end students will agree that the Jehovistic passages in Genesis can never have existed, as a distinct work, apart from the main thread of Elohist narrative with which they are interwoven.

The critics of the Old Testament might well take example by the tone of that band of scholars which Max Muller has collected round him in the study of the Sacred Books of the East. The Hebrew Sacred Books deserve at least to be treated with the same modesty and moderation which students observe in writing of Persian or of Indian literature. The new dogmatism which condemns this and that passage as a "worthless anachronism," is more intolerant and odious than the older dogmatism of the Rabbis, it equally assumes that the later critic knows better than the author, who was, perhaps, nearly contemporary with the period of which he treats, and by shutting their eyes to the work of those who have striven to understand the East by means of monumental records, and by means of living custom, the critic becomes a blind leader of the blind into the dogmatic ditch.

Such considerations seem, perhaps, to show that the distrust of the statements on which the modern exegesis insists as indisputable results of scientific study, is not altogether due to prejudice, nor altogether unwarranted by the difficulties and contradictions in which the contending critics have involved themselves. We have very much still to learn before we can say that we have thoroughly understood the Hebrew Scriptures, and many a fashionable theory is doomed to find its way into the lumber-room of forgotten controversies. A new school is fast growing up—a school of independent historical research, basing its claims on severe study of monumental records. The exegetical student, if he would not be left behind his time, must fully recognize the importance of these new sources of knowledge, and the assertions which were possible, when there was nothing outside the Bible to study save later Jewish literature, will now ever more and more be subjected to severe scrutiny from a totally independent standpoint.

In taking leave of our critic, a word may be ventured on the subject of style. It is true that difficult questions of detail may require a lengthy exposition, but a clear, concise, and simple style is

always thought to show a clear understanding and a thorough mastery of subject. Absurd and ignorant as was much of Voltaire's criticism, we yet sadly miss in the pages of Wellhausen the terse, epigrammatic language which is one of the sure marks of genius. The use of Greek terms, the absence of Oriental colour, the "isms" and the "ocracies," the technical words and phrases, which abound on every page, must greatly discourage and confuse the ordinary reader. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" that is a statement we may hope to understand, but it is more difficult to grasp the meaning of such a phrase as that which occurs on the last page of Wellhausen's "Prolegomena to the History of Israel," where we are informed that "in the Mosaic theocracy the cultus became a pedagogic instrument of discipline"—words which could never have issued from Hebrew lips, and which convey ideas entirely foreign to the Hebrew genius.

C R CONDER

## THE DECLINE AND FALL OF DR. FAUSTUS

NOT long ago a Saturday Reviewer commented upon the new popularity given to "Faust" by Mr Irving, stating that since the first performance of the play at the Lyceum hundreds and thousands of copies of the English translation of Goethe's poem have been sold. Faust is again as well known by name as he was in the sixteenth century. For years remembered only by scholars and men and women of supposed culture, he has now been taken back by the common people, from whom ages ago he had birth.

To borrow ideas and legends from past generations is no new thing. Savages and barbarians alone have any claims to originality as creators. But in the unconscious process of borrowing, beliefs and legends are modified and changed, thus reflecting the mental and moral characteristics of the borrowers. Adaptations are usually of no less, and often of more, importance than the original. The beautiful and terrible and indecent myths of Greeks and Romans hold as indispensable a place in the history of the world's faiths as primitive animism. The accordions and tambourines of the Salvation Army are as significant outcomes of emotional religion as the timbrels of Miriam or the music of the Mænads. Unfortunately, as the world grows older, men not only lose the power of creating, but become less vigorous in adapting. Instead of breathing new life into old forms, they give them but a show of animation, such as the puppet manager gives to his Punch and Judy. This very lifelessness, however, is not without vital meaning. Negative as well as positive qualities have their value.

While it is interesting to know that Mr Irving's "Faust" has met with so much appreciation that the Lyceum is crowded night after night, that the play is widely read, as it may safely be said it never

was before, that the general public has received the old hero with a cordiality undreamed of by the *Saturday Reviewer*, it is even more interesting to do that which I do not believe has yet been done—to pause a moment, and consider what has been made of the old legend in modern England, whether Faust and Mephistopheles have really come forth alive at Mr Irving's summons, whether, in a word, Englishmen of the nineteenth century have seriously accepted the old legend and adapted it to the new conditions of life, as, for example, Greeks and Romans did those of their Aryan forefathers. In the present age of shams this question is not easily or at once answered. When the illusion is clever puppets may be mistaken for men. But, before deciding what Faust is now, it would be better to remember what he was. The subject has been enlarged upon so often before that the merest reminder of his origin and growth is necessary.

It would not be a difficult task to trace his descent from animistic ancestors, and to find for him as many cousins in India, Greece, and Rome as Goethe's Mephistopheles met in the Pharsalian Fields. But his genealogy is a study apart. The point here is not whence he sprang, but what he was when he achieved distinct individuality as Faust. Nor is it worth while to prove or disprove the actual existence of a man of this name, though the discussion is as dear to the specialist as the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. Just as the merit of the plays would be the same if Stratford-on-Avon ceased to be a place of pilgrimage, so the importance of the chap book and puppet-stage hero would not be lessened were it definitely known that a real Dr Faustus never took liberties with the Pope, or went about the world accompanied by a dog which was the devil. As has often happened, the creature of the imagination has lived, while the creature of real life has been all but forgotten. Of the former it is certain that it was in the sixteenth century he first appeared under that name, and with modifications of character which gave him a personality apart from that of his immediate predecessors.

If the age of the Reformation accomplished anything, it was the confirmation of Satan's power as an article of belief. In the sixteenth century the devil seemed no less real and visible an evil than the Pope in Rome or the reformers in Germany and England. Men were then as sure of his existence as of that of their next-door neighbours, and much more conscious of it. If their knowledge was not born of their own experience, it was the result of that of their nearest relations and dearest friends. If they themselves had not attended the revels on the Brocken, or in the little church of North Berwick, or under the tree of Benevento, their wives and children perhaps had there met Satan face to face and been burnt for it at the stake. Moreover, they were as convinced of his power as of his presence,

since not only did he enable common folk who had sold their souls to him to fly through the air on broomsticks, bewitch cattle, and raise storms, but he increased the knowledge of scholars who had made the same compact, until they, like him, ruled all the elements and defied the limitations of space. The worst of it was that in this state of affairs men could never answer for their own spiritual safety. If others had succumbed to the tempter, might not they too be prevailed upon to barter their eternal inheritance for a hellish mess of pottage? No danger was so great, and hence no danger was so continually in their minds.

As stories of English outlaws gradually gathered about the name of Robin Hood, so in the sixteenth century those of compacts between Satan and scholars eventually evolved Dr Faustus as their popular hero. All the wild rumours then abroad were collected and recorded in his career. The belief of the people made his story possible in the first instance, and their acceptance of him as a type ensured its survival. His name in Germany and England at least became a household word. He figured in romance, and walked the puppet stage. To record and analyze all the early versions of his story given by the romancer and the dramatist would be to compile a bibliography and write a book. However, if they differed in detail, the many versions agreed in the chief facts and the moral to be drawn from them. Of this sixteenth-century Faustus, Marlowe's may be taken as a fair representative. Idealized and dignified as he was by the passionate strength and fervour of the English poet's verse, the conception of his character and the incidents of his life were precisely those of the German tale published by Johannes Spiess, and of the English "*Damnable Life and Distressed Death of Dr Faustus*," books which were then the principal authorities. He was the scholar "swol'n with cunning of a self-conceit," who tired of logic, medicine, divinity, not because they had taught him how little he knew, but because he had mastered them completely, and longed for still greater power and pleasure than they could yield. He made his choice, not because he found the world's Good and Better cheats and snares, but because Evil was sweet to him. He was no despairing sceptic, willing to lay a wager with the devil that the moment to which he would cry "*Stay!*" would never come, but a man full of faith in the pleasures of the world. The thought of them cheered his soul. He was in all haste to

"Conjure in some lusty grove,  
And have these joys in full possession"

He would have answered a hearty *Yes* to the favourite question of Mr Mallock and the pessimists of to-day. He believed in gold and triumph, and wine and women, and power to work wonders, and

twenty-four years of delight in these things seemed so well worth living that his soul was not too high a price to pay for them

This was a Faustus the people of the sixteenth century could understand. Equally within their comprehension were his adventures. They saw no reason to doubt that a man assisted by the devil could change horses into straw, steal gold from bishops and plate from popes, and have the spirit of a fair woman of the olden time for his paramour. Was not Satan for ever giving proof of his power? Had not Tannhäuser lived for long years with Dame Venus on the Horselberg? But men in those days could not keep hell long out of their minds, and Faustus, even while he reaped the rich harvest of his infernal sowing, was tormented by hideous relentless devils, and given a glimpse of Lucifer's kingdom awful as Dante's "Inferno." Mephistopheles the tempter, though he, like many a jolly mediæval demon and buffoon of the miracle plays, could relish practical jokes, was never out of hell. With the Reformation, religion and the things of religion had grown more serious. If one minute Satan made men laugh, the next he silenced and subdued them as quickly. Nor was he any longer to be easily cheated. At the end of the twenty-four years he claimed the soul of Faustus to be "damn'd perpetually." In an age when an earthly judge gave no chance to witches, it was not likely a devil would be more kind. Marlowe's moral, as well as his argument, was that of the popular story. Magic and unlawful things in the present will be punished by death and destruction in the future. The warning was clear. The story needed no explanation.

The Faust legend of the sixteenth century was as terribly real in form as Lewes says Goethe's "Faust" is in spirit. Faustus, the arch-conjurer, was essentially the property of the people. It was just as they were ready to give him up altogether that Goethe transformed him into the Faust we know best. Almost dead as a hero of every-day reality, he was made to live anew in a world of allegory and symbolism. It was the only life now possible for him. The days of that old Northern phantom, the devil, were over. Gone were horns and tail and claws. As Walpurgis night came round, year by year was the Brocken more desolate. And Satan, in the new order of things, played no longer with the bodies, but with the souls of men. The old blood-signed compacts had gone out of fashion. Indeed, the new Gospel, understood as yet only by the few, was doing away entirely with "an incarnate, fiend-like devil," substituting for him "a power that always wills evil and works good." If a man stumbled it was not because of a tempter always at his heels, but that he might be stimulated to further striving. The Faust story, from being a literal record of every-day events, was by Goethe made a parable, whose sole virtue was the meaning to be derived from it. Faust was raised to



a higher sphere, and this not because he ceased to be real, but because the truths he now, symbolically, expressed were higher. One by one he tested the pleasures that had satisfied the old Faustus, and one by one they were proved wanting. Woman's love, the wine cup, hellish jugglery, could not bring the perfect good he sought. From the narrow sphere of his own passions he was launched by Mephistopheles, according to their bargain, into the great world of action—the world of political struggles, of art, of arms, into which the mere selfish sensualist seldom, if ever, ventures. Yet even here peace was not, until Faust turned from all these things to find in industrial toil for men the only true "freedom and existence." Marlowe's—that is, the sixteenth-century hero, with no thoughts beyond his own body and this life—chose Evil since it could satisfy his very definite desires. Goethe's, or the modern hero, oppressed with unknown needs, full of vague yearnings, all his own experience and studies having but proved to him that life is unblest and nothing can be known, leagued himself with Evil—his last hope—that through it he might, perhaps, attain the good that nothing else could give. The ambitions of the first were low and of the earth earthy. The aspirations of the second touched Heaven in their flight. The old moral taught that a man must not seek happiness in evil, for if he does he will be damned for it, the new, that he must find happiness in working for his fellow-men, for therein is his only salvation. It is the difference between the worship of the devil of egoism and the love of humanity. Faustus was a child of the old faith, Faust a man of the new.

"High climbers catch the greatest fall," says the historian of the "Damnable Life of Dr Faustus." It was certainly a high climb when the arch-conjurer stepped forth upon the world-stage as the lover of men, when his history, instead of being a simple warning against unlawful things, became as a mirror reflecting "the eternal problem of our intellectual existence, and, beside it, the varied lineament of our social existence." In this greatness might have been found a sign of his future downfall. That it has come is a fact beyond dispute. But pages would again have to be filled were all the modern versions of his story named and analyzed, were his progress downward given in detail. As in Marlowe's poetry he took his first step upward from the people, so in Mr Irving's art as stage manager he may be said to have taken the last on his way back to them—that is to say in England, with which country alone we are here concerned.

It is certainly due to Mr Irving that Faust has once more become a popular character, while it is as certain that in the Lyceum he has bidden a long farewell to his Goethe-given greatness. Nor is this fact to be attributed to shortcomings critics have

pointed out in Mr Irving and his company. They might all be Garricks and Rachels, and the result would be the same. The fault lies in the arrangement of the play which Mr Wills and Mr Irving have been pleased to present to the public, and which, judged by Goethe's conception, is simply meaningless. Severely criticized and little read as is the second part of *Faust*, without it the first part is incomplete. It has been said so often that it seems almost useless to say again that not until Faust sees the great world of universal action as well as the little world of personal experience, and finds in activity for others the happiness self-indulgence could not bring, not until in reclaiming the waste marshy plain for the millions, he cries to the flying moment,

"Ah still delay—thou art so far!"

that his compact with Mephistopheles is fulfilled and the story carried to its legitimate ending. The meeting with Margaret and the subsequent scenes form but one of many episodes to explain the course of his development. To reproduce the whole poem on the stage would doubtless be impossible. On the other hand, to give one of its least important parts and make of it a whole is unquestionably to degrade its meaning. This is what Mr Irving has done. Mr Wills' translation from the German may be very literal, but the construction of his play as a whole is that of Gounod's opera rather than of Goethe's poem. In it Faust never gets beyond the little world, while the mighty spirit that denies, "willing evil and working good," becomes again a mere personal devil, but one whose functions, in an age of little or no faith in him, are limited when compared with those of the original Mephistopheles. The old magician, though not to be ranked with his later successor, was not without a greatness of his own. His bargain with the devil was on a grand scale. If he sold his soul it was for all the world's pleasure and more than human power. He was a giant of evil. But it must be confessed there is something of the pigmy about this latter-day Faust. The shadow of power he gains is out of all proportion to the substantial price he pays for it. His sin, great as it is, is not greater unfortunately than that of many men, even of the sixteenth century, who in its commission would have scorned the personal intervention of the devil. To Dr Faustus, with his countless paramours and visits to the Sultan's harem, and these the least results of his compact, the new Faust would have seemed the veriest weakling trying to play the blackguard. And indeed this is the impression given by the play. It is wretchedly feeble when measured by Goethe's symbolism or Marlowe's realism. If Charles Lamb wanted to know what Margaret had to do with Goethe's Faust, it might as reasonably be asked what has Mephistopheles to do with Mr Irving's Faust? Why all this thunder and lightning and giving of youth and signing

of compacts with blood, to accomplish that which, so long as human nature is what it is, will but too often be wrought by men for themselves without direct supernatural influence? As Muller sets forth in his version of "Faust"—to quote Lewes—"nowadays, a woman deceives her husband, a lover seduces a girl, luxury enters into every house, runs in every vein, and men sin and damn themselves without the devil's aid." It may be said that, with Mr Irving's play as with Goethe's poem, the facts are nothing, the meaning everything. But the latter sought to give a solution to the problem of life, the lesson of the former at the best is but that of a Sunday-school tale for grown up children. The story, because of its moral, may have its value in these days of *Pall Mall* exposures and divorce-court scandals. But to Goethe's poem it stands in much the same relation that a temperance tract bears to Thomas à Kempis.

Before the representation of "Faust" at the Lyceum, where there was one man who knew his Goethe there were hundreds who knew their Gounod. The opera led many to believe the Margaret episode the whole instead of the part, the performance at the Lyceum could but have confirmed them in this belief. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that without the opera the play would not have been so clearly understood, Mr Irving, like the manager in Goethe's *Prelude*, apparently thinking—at least in this case—that

"If you see a piece, why, just in pieces give it."

It is therefore to be hoped that the many thousand copies of "Faust" lately sold contain the second part of the poem, and that they have been read by the many thousand purchasers. Among these are to be counted few of the regular pit and gallery frequenters, and yet it is really through the latter that Mr Irving has given Faust back to the people. How it has fared with him in their hands is now to be shown. Completely missing even the very simple meaning of Mr Irving's version of the legend, so much so that some have left his theatre rejoicing that Faust and Margaret were happily married in the end, it is not surprising that their interpretation has dragged Faust to the lowest depths of degradation.

That the people have attempted to interpret the story for themselves I discovered by chance. I had always wanted to see a Penny Gaff\* since I first read my Dickens and looked at Dorc's drawing in Jerrold's "London," of a dark cavern-like place, where a man, with a bag over his head, walked the tight-rope in the gloom. But Penny Gaffs are not to be found for the asking. They are not mentioned by Bædeker, neither are they advertised in the daily papers, nor

\* There are Penny Gaffs and Penny Gaffs. When I speak of them I mean the Penny Theatre, and nothing else. I know from my own experience how difficult they are to find. In an article on "Penny Gaffs" in *Chambers' Magazine* for February, the writer merely describes what I should call penny peep, or rather freak, shows, never once mentioning the Penny Theatre.

does Partington dare you to pull down their posters It was not until last winter that I found a guide to those on the Surrey side of the river, where, in his time, Shakespeare played I consider my visit to them worth recording, since without it I could not have realized the full extent of the modern popularization of "Faust" If it be said, as most probably it will, that a Penny Gaff performance is great nonsense, unworthy the serious attention of men of education, it must be remembered that even nonsense has its relative value According to our ideals there is little but nonsense in the "History of the Damnable Life and Distressed Death of Dr Faustus," with its monstrous and grotesque descriptions of demons, and its record of Mephistopheles' practical jokes And yet to the study of the sixteenth century familiarity with it is as necessary as knowledge of the archives of State The men and women who now go to Penny Gaffs are not any lower in the social scale than those who once went to the mysteries, moralities, and puppet-plays, in which our interest is so great that scholars have devoted years to studying and editing them Unfortunately, when we concern ourselves with the affairs of the people of to-day, as is just now the fashion, we are too much taken up with what they and their pleasures ought to be, to try to find out what they really are We may not, but the men who come after us will regret that the present age could boast of but one Dickens, one Anstey Posterity may feel about Penny Gaffs and similar places of amusement much as we do now about the mysteries and moralities, when we wish there had been shorthand reporters in every audience

At the first Penny Gaff to which I came in the London Road, there was the usual crowd of working people and unemployed who are soon to be civilized and elevated to a private theatricals standard by Beaumont trustees, and according to Mr Besant, but who as yet have not risen above the Penny Gaff level Talking to them from steps that served as a platform was a Mephistopheles, who, like Mr Irving, had borrowed the red dress, cock's feather, and sword from the puppet costumer, and, unlike him, but perhaps more sensibly, had retained the moustache and forked beard of the operatic Mephisto As in the old drama, Mephistopheles laid a wager in the Court of Heaven before the real play began, so his Penny Gaff successor bargained with the people before the curtain was drawn "What'll you see insoide, gen'lemen?" he cried, "people suspended in mid-air! Yes, gen'lemen At other places a guinea's charged, and people's wisely supported by one stick But 'ere all sticks is taken away and I'm only chargin' you a pinny We don't ask a shillin', gen'lemen, but only a pinny What I promises outsoide, I performs in My show is sciointifik and respectable, and a ten minutes' respectable and sciointifik show's better'n a hour's rot,

which is all you gets in some of your guinea theatres Your own consciences 'll prompt you to recommen' my show ! ”

I give his patter, since it points out what he considered to be the principal feature of his performance It misled me, I thought the Mephistopheles costume a mere accident But that it was not was demonstrated by the play This, to students of the history of the Faust legend, is not without its significance A short account of it, therefore, will not be out of place The first scene represented a room that might have been a study, and in which Faust in duty blue and white satin stood alone

“ I loves a statute,” he began, going on with a disregard to periods, commas, and semicolons peculiar to Penny Gaff delivery, “ this love 'ants me day'n night wats to be dun I knows I onst made a compac' with the Demon of Darkness by my German studies I 'ave learned to summon 'im lords of bugs and flies I summons you ”

Mephistopheles—but such an abject Mephistopheles!—with arms folded, and stooping because he was too tall to fit into the stage, appeared in the doorway

“ Wouldst 'elp me give life to the statute? ” cried the modern Faust

“ I wouldst,” was the answer “ Take this ring put it on 'er finger it'll give life to the statute but until I gets it back you're mine ! ” and he vanished, and in less time than I can write it the *statute* stood in his place

This change, together with the series of transformations that followed, was managed by the well-known arrangement of mirrors popular a few years ago among the Houdins of the time I mention the fact, trivial as it may seem, because to these transformations and the apparition of a boy, suspended in mid-air without *visible support*, that served as after-piece, the actors looked for the success of their performance, of which the words of the play were the least important part But the Devil, and consequently Faust, were an excellent excuse for magical interference

When the *statute*—a large woman enveloped in many sheets—first appeared, her right hand was extended, the first finger, thanks to the sculptor's forethought, pointing upward On it the ring was put without difficulty Belvederer—for so Faust in an aside told us he had named her—opened her eyes, winked several times, looked about her, discovered the ring, admired it, played with it, held it up to the light

“ Be mine, Belvederer ! ” said Faust

Belvederer shook her head The magic ring had given her life, but not the power of speech The plot now thickened This obstinate, passionless *statute* refused to give him, not only her love, but the Demon's ring The latter she quickly pocketed, and at once disappeared

The Demon of Darkness returned immediately to claim his property. He had only lent it, it seemed, that he might have the speedy pleasure of asking for it again. There followed several scenes in which Faust declared his passion, and begged for the ring, Belvederer continuing as indifferent to his prayers as an implacable Aphrodite. At last Faust gave up all hope.

"I'm lost!" he announced, "I can't get back the ring the Demon of Darkness 'll soon be 'ere the Demon of Darkness is 'ere Demon of Darkness gimme back my freedom."

"No!" shrieked the Demon, red calcium lights suddenly enveloping them both in a hellish glare, "the Hour 'as come'n thou hart mine!"

Perhaps, for the same reason that only an Englishman knows America as it is, so only an American hears *the English as she is spoke*. To believe modern Englishmen and *Daily News* leaders, irritated by *Atlantic Monthly* articles, stories of the misplaced letter h are as purely mythical as the tales of gods and goddesses, equally misunderstood by comparative mythologists. Still, I cannot think my American ear was wholly responsible for the recklessness of the Demon of Darkness where that letter was concerned, nor for the fact that he was the only man I have ever heard misplace his v's and w's in true Cockney fashion.

"Everything in this world," says Mr Shandy, "is big with jest, and has wit in it and instruction too—if we can but find it out." I had found the jest for myself better than Faust could have discovered it for me. But he now pointed out the instruction where I should least have expected it. "Ladies and gen'lemen," he said, walking up to the footlights, "let me be a varun' and let all 'ere see as they 'as nothin' to do with lood women which they've brought me to the Demon of Darkness and destruction!" He was translating Mr Irving's moral as he understood it, though, his troubles being the result of *having to do with a statute*, it did not seem appropriate.

The final scene was bewildering. It showed a woman in white drapery reaching to her ankles, and displaying a broad expanse of heavy laced black boots, and two children seemingly hung on the wall. They waved their arms as if trying to swim through the air, and it may be they were modelled on the flight of angels at the Lyceum, and had come for the *statute*. Or, perhaps, like many another thing of beauty, the scene had no particular meaning, and was merely a concession to the æsthetic tastes of the audience. However that may be, it was a great success, and the curtain went down in the midst of universal applause.

I should be the first to think a mountain had been made of a molehill, were my assertion that the Faust legend has been taken back by the people based upon one visit to a Penny Gaff. The per-

formance I have just described was but one of many I have already seen. In its utter but unconscious senselessness it is a fair type of the class to which it belongs. There is not space, even did I think it desirable, to analyze the others in detail, but a few words will be sufficient to show how truly it may be said that Faust has again become a popular character. The very evening I saw the scientific and respectable show, I went to a second Penny Gaff in the New Cut. Here was another red Mephistopheles, this time figuring as a Storm Fiend, and another Margaret, who masqueraded as the fair Hevaleen, a fine figure of a woman, as Joe Gargery would say, in shabby satin and paste jewels. The play, if play it can be called, was another distorted reflection of the Lyceum "Faust." Again there was the compact between the demon and the man who had learned to summon him, of which the immediate object was that the latter might gain Hevaleen's love, and the end, the triumph of the demon over his victim both disappearing to a hell of red calcium lights. And again the magic mirror was looked to for the strongest effects of the tragedy.

But it was in York that I felt most keenly the degradation of a story made great by the terrible reality of the belief that gave birth to it, by the poetry of Marlowe and Goethe, made beautiful by Gounod's music and Mr Irving's stage pictures. The principal attraction of York Martin's Fair this year was, to judge by the number of its patrons, Wall's Phantasmagoria. Without, on the great gilded walls, was an announcement of "ghosts, visions, and vampires," within was a performance of "Faust," pathetic in its absurdity to all who have read the poem and heard the opera. The performers were more faithful to their Lyceum model than Penny Gaff actors, though they, too, sought to impress their audience by the spectres of the mirror, and though they had borrowed from the libretto. It was not only that the Mephistopheles was, in his own way, as conscientious as Mr Dixey in his imitation of Mr Irving. There was an unmistakable effort to reproduce Lyceum scenes. Faust was in the first act transformed from an old to a young man, Margaret—but a Margaret whose hair was short and crimped and parted on one side, and who wore flat silver earrings—had her spinning-wheel, Martha appeared in the garden scene. But the meaning was still as vague as in the London Road and New Cut versions. There was a suggestion of rivalry between Faust and Siebel, who on this stage became as prominent as in the opera. When the latter placed his flowers on the spinning-wheel, Mephistopheles brought the jewels, remarking, "Vegetable against mineral, I backs the minerals every time." But immediately the scene changed, Faust declared his hour had come, and Mephistopheles carried him off in the inevitable red light. To me, knowing as I did upon what the play was based, it

was quite unintelligible That it was equally so to many of the lookers-on, who had never heard of Goethe, Gounod, or Mr Irving, I was fortunate enough to learn A woman, sitting next to me, who had already seen the performance, and whose interest inspired her to friendliness, explained the plot, or rather her interpretation of it The aged Faust, to whom Margaret in the vision kissed her hand, was Margaret's father, the young Faust was her husband, Siebel was her "young man," Mephistopheles—"him they reckon to be the red devil"—was trying to get her for himself with the jewels! The faith of the masses has indeed changed since the days when this same demon robbed the Bishop of Salzburg's cellars, fooled the Pope, and gave substance to the spirits of the dead The men of the sixteenth century would have scorned such a devil As Helena left but her robe and veil with Faust, so of the old Mephistopheles only his costume and name remain with the people

This arrangement of "Faust" is not peculiar to Wall's Phantasmagoria In Durham, at a country theatre, where the seats, as in York, were threepence, I saw it performed by an entirely different company of actors But on this occasion the magic mirror was dispensed with It was as a slight compensation, I suppose, that the plot was more elaborated, and Mephistopheles, as in the old puppet-shows, relieved the serious action by throwing squibs and playing jokes The rivalry between Faust and Siebel was more fully emphasized To get the latter out of the way, Mephistopheles now turned him into a tree, now dropped him in a well The result was also less vaguely set forth Siebel wished to run away with Margaret, Mephistopheles interfered to such good purpose that Faust captured Margaret while Siebel took Martha by mistake However, to the audience it may have seemed that he had the best of it, for another friendly neighbour explained to me that Margaret was Martha's mother, as indeed, reasoning from appearances, she might well have been The performers belonged to a cheap burlesque company But they were thoroughly in earnest in the love scenes and the tragic parts Here they had no thought of burlesquing, and for this very reason the parody was more complete than at Mr Toole's Theatre Old habits are strong, and even in the garden Miss Rose Edwin and her fellow actors burst into comic song To them it was as little out of place in tragedy as to the men of the Middle Ages was jocular blasphemy in the miracle plays The old "Faust" drama of the puppet stage had its share of comedy Though people no longer laughed at the devil in real life, they could treat him as a clown in the theatre The comedy with them only intensified the tragedy But in the Durham "Faust" the concert-hall fun could but lower the already sadly degraded legend

That the mutilated story of Faust is as wide-spread as was its



great original is more than probable Penny Gaffs have a dozen audiences every night, Wall's Phantasmagoria travels from one end of England to the other When it went from York it was on its way to the great fair in Hull, and so, through North and South Country and Midlands, it carries its ghosts, visions, and vampires \* The deductions to be made from the study of this modern popular dramatization of "Faust" are negative and not positive, but they are on that account none the less important The old legend is logical in its folly, given its premises, its conclusions are inevitable Its latest interpretation is not even illogical, it is as utterly senseless in the beginning as in the end If the former be a proof of the belief of the sixteenth century in a personal devil and his power to work miracles, the latter shows that this belief exists no longer It shows, moreover, that though the legends that spring from the people are honest reflections of their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs, and therefore often of more relative importance than the artificial productions of educated men, on the other hand the people, in borrowing themes, which they do not understand, from the educated classes, are almost sure to lower them both in spirit and form The fall of Dr Faustus is a curious instance of this, since he originally rose from the people But they have long since forgotten him as he was represented on their stage and in their literature, and the modern conception of his character is beyond their mental grasp When they first told the story it was real to them, and the very sincerity of the faith upon which it was founded gave it dignity and vitality, so that, despite its childishness of form and expression, it could inspire a Goethe, now, when they attempt to tell it again, they cannot impart to it the least semblance of reality, and the Demon of Darkness and the Storm Fiend are the result

The devil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries survives but as a spiritual agent, and among those who believe in him in this capacity there is a tendency to think "the devil not so black as they used to paint him, nor hell so hot as the people say" When supernatural beings were constantly appearing in visible form it was not difficult to accept the personality of purely symbolical characters Vices and Virtues could talk and laugh in the moralities, and the lesson they were intended to teach was understood without difficulty But we have changed all that Nowadays allegory has lost something of its old realistic force, and, if human shape be given to angels and devils in tale or drama, the improbability is so great that even the moral their actions are intended to convey is missed by the uninitiated The Penny Gaff and the Phantasmagoria actors had without doubt been to the Lyceum There they grasped the fact of

\* Since writing this I have seen the same version given in the World's Fair, held in the Agricultural Hall, Islington

the compact between Faust and Mephistopheles. They saw that upon it, though how they could not understand, depended the scenes between Faust and Margaret. But the principal lesson they learned was that strange spectres and red lights are indispensable when the devil walks upon earth. Many intelligent critics in the stalls have thought Mr Irving's "Faust" but a higher development of Drury Lane spectacle. It is not therefore strange that, looked at from the gallery, flames and apparitions seemed the chief end of the play. On the Penny Gaff stage they have become so without disguise. Mr Irving advertises the "Witches' Kitchen," his present chief spectacular attraction, in the papers. His humble imitators should not be taken to task for themselves announcing their marvels from doorsteps, this being their only method of advertisement. It is natural that to the audience, in turn, these marvels seem the only reason for the performance, which is consequently measured by their merits. It is true that the managers of mysteries, moralities, and marionettes appealed to their patrons by elaborate scenery and many squibs. On the puppet stage and in the chap-books, every few minutes and pages it "thundered and lightened as if the world had been at an end." But scenery and squibs were in keeping with the play. Now the play is in keeping with squibs and spectres. Characters and dialogue are received as wonders bearing no more meaning or applicability to everyday life than the glare of the calcium lights or the reflections from the mirrors. Not Faust, but his distorted shadow, has been restored to the people.

ELIZABETH ROBINS PLNNELL

## THE NATIONAL CHURCH AS A FEDERAL UNION

FROM different quarters, two opposite complaints are brought against the Church of England of her insisting on too rigid a uniformity, and of her admitting too wide a latitude, of doctrinal belief and ritual usage. The facts on which these charges respectively rest, though seemingly incompatible, are really related as cause and effect. The articles, the creeds, the services, to which assent is required, contain many hundreds of propositions unverifiable in experience, and precariously inferred from inconclusive texts, propositions dealing with matters so abstruse and transcendent that concurrent acceptance of them by even a hundred persons would be possible only by giving them no thought. The enormous demand may not be too much for dependent natures accustomed to take things on trust, but less docile minds, that are under a necessity of seeing for themselves, rise against it, and either put their own meaning into the words before agreeing to them, or shelter themselves by some mental reservation. The very tightness of the bond provokes the effort and the ingenuities of relaxation. The literal sense of a formulary once abandoned, the possible substitutes deviate in all directions, a slight swerve this way or that, given at the outset to some indeterminate conception, will carry it home to a rationalistic, or a spiritual, or a sacramentarian result. Hence the homogeneous stratum of passive acquiescence is intersected and modified by veins of active thought, injected and crossing at various angles, with the practical effect of dividing the whole mass into sections, specimens from which no one could suspect of being all quarried from the same bed. It is a highly significant fact that this issue, which attests the failure of uniformity, is by no means regarded as a scandal, except in the

polemic of party with party, but is appealed to by eulogistic observers in evidence of the singular moderation of the Church, and the large scope of theological freedom provided for her members. Where else, it is asked, do you find an ecclesiastical body whose communion extends from the borders of Romanism to the "reasonable" gospel of Locke and Tillotson?

A Church which aims at uniformity and arrives at an exceptional range of variation, cannot well be either blamed or praised for both at once. Whichever be right, their co-existence is wrong. Nor is it doubtful on which side the surrender must take place. The tendency of modern feeling in favour of religious union is becoming too strong for the frail tissue of doctrinal distinctions. Every loyal Churchman finds a generous joy in receiving his communion from the hand alike of a Liddon, a Bickersteth, or a Jowett, and, in pleading for his Church, delights to point to the broad fling of its Peter's net, that brings to land great fishes and small of many kinds, and "for all there are so many, yet is the net not broken." And so great is the aversion to enforce the rules of uniformity, that no bishop, if he can help it, will set the law in motion against an alleged offender in rite or doctrine, and that in every suit which cannot be escaped the public sympathy is always with the accused, be he charged with a sacerdotal posture or an heretical doubt. That this set of the tide in favour of comprehension is final will hardly be disputed. And if so, the necessity is urgent of relieving the facts and feeling of the actual Church of England from prohibition and condemnation by her own law, for while the Acts of Uniformity remain, the work of the Church will be honeycombed by the canker of unveracity and self-sophistication.

But if Churchmen feel a generous pride in sheltering within their communion the contrasted apostolates of Simeon and Venn, of Pusey and Keble, of Robertson and Stanley, they are ready for a yet more capacious hospitality. These differences within their sanctuary contain in principle, and exceed in degree, the characteristics which sever the Nonconformist Christians from them and from each other. Be their seat and sphere of action internal or external, all these variations are the reproduction of an ancient and undying conflict between the priest and the prophet—between the minister of helps that carry men to God, and the organ of God's own spirit seeking and claiming men, the mediating agent that can cleanse the hindrances away, and the immediate flash and voice of conversion piercing the soul. Dependent minds that rest on outward authority, spiritual minds that meet divine things in and around their own consciousness, divide between them the chief varieties of ritual and devotion. the Anglicans consulting most, it may be, for the wants of the former, the Puritans addressing themselves rather to the experience of the latter, and bringing the inward witness of religion to its ultimate isolation in

the Society of Friends If the varying lines of thought can be followed without breach of fellowship within the Church of England, they can be followed beyond, and to claim communion with Wilberforce and Newton, while refusing it with Chalmers and Guthrie, to own it with Law and Fletcher, while disclaiming it with Robert Hall and Elizabeth Fry, to affirm it with Patteson, and deny it with Livingstone, is possible only by arbitrary trifling with a sacred bond

Here, then, are two indications of unsoundness in the present position of the Church of England The practical feeling of her members, that their party distinctions are no breach of unity, and even attune her message better to different minds, attests the collapse of her fundamental insistency on uniformity it is the protest of her experience against her theory At the same time, this practical feeling, so strong against schism within, rests content with alienation from corresponding diversities without, and looks down upon them as on the factions of a foreign land An institution with two such weaknesses is in a state of unstable equilibrium, and needs readjustment with present realities It retains in its constitution, it embodies in its offices of worship, the assumption, long falsified by facts, that it is the sole organ of the nation's religious life, and takes no notice of the nearly equal multitude of English Christians beyond its fold, unless it be in the Litany against "false doctrine, heresy, and schism," or the collect for "preservation from false apostles" Is it surprising that this pretension, natural enough in an age when no one dreamt of a plurality of Christian communions, should now, in the face of modern facts, be found irritating and arrogant? It was never meant as a wrong, but has come to have all the effect of a wrong In that character it has worked itself into a hurtful power in the State, for it has established an alliance between the earnest Nonconformists of the "Liberation Society" and the political Radicals, religious and non-religious, for the denationalization of the Church and the alienation of its endowment In strong deprecation of so drastic a measure, another mode of dealing with the problem was suggested last June and July in the pages of this REVIEW by the Rev Sir George W Cox and myself Wide discussion and long reflection have so enlarged the contour of that first sketch, and filled it in with definite contents, that in presenting it afresh nothing need be repeated, and against the chief criticisms it has received it will plead its own cause by exposition alone without polemic of mine

In some important respects the Earl of Selborne's admirable "Defence of the Church of England" alters the whole aspect of the ecclesiastical problem He makes it clear, by historical evidence, that the Church endowment, including tithes, arose, as much as any rent-

charge bequeathed last year, by voluntary gift, and preceded all laws required for its protection, so that it stands upon the same footing with the income of Dissenters' trusts. The Parliamentary grant made by the Church Buildings Acts of 1817 and 1824 were altogether exceptional, and to these—the impression of which I well remember—we owe perhaps the prevailing Nonconformist belief that the ecclesiastical revenues are furnished, first or last, from the public exchequer. It is further shown that the civil power, in undertaking to adopt and administer certain pre-existing ecclesiastical laws, did not select for favour the Church which it thus “established,” inasmuch as there was but one in existence, to which all alike belonged. By a careful and complete record of the constitutional growth of the English spiritual organization, Lord Selborne furnishes an historical defence of the Church perfect for nearly a thousand years of her development. And if her position in these latter days had no more reasonable assailants to meet than the “Liberationists,” we might well say that he had made her secure, for their attack is decisively repelled. But the vindication of her past is not enough to equip her for her future. Living on into altered relations, and pressed by the exigencies of a highly complex society, her constitution no longer works smoothly with the modern environment, but encounters many a disabling jar. The tone that befitted her as the sole herald of Christ to this nation is out of character with the many-voiced religion of our time, and sounds too stately for private folks unused to pray with trumpet tongue. The quiet assumption that her spiritual fold is co-extensive with the civil existence of our people, that she has no partners in her watch over them, that they are all due to her temples and as much bound to believe her creed as to obey the laws, is an untenable survival of a social condition long obsolete. So far as appears, Lord Selborne finds nothing in this attitude that needs defence. Having justified it in the past, he leaves it as it is, and makes no abatement from the claim of uniformity. Having swept from the field the assailants immediately threatening, he retires without noticing the unguarded exposures and internal insecurities which tempted their attack and still remain.

It would be difficult to cite a more surprising triumph of faith over fact than the expectation prevalent among the clergy, that by faithfulness and patience they can recall all wanderers, piece together again the shattered *regula fidei*, tire out the whims of Nonconformity, and bring the whole nation back into their Church. No doubt, the personal devotedness and Christian graces of a vast spiritual army may make great conquests, which might be conclusive if it had these advantages all to itself, and that the neglected wastes of a land should be so reclaimed would be a pure joy to every good man.

But the level of ministerial character and service, as of zeal in the people, is little likely to rise in one religious class while sinking in all others, the moral upheaval, wrought by large and long-gathering forces, affects the whole area together, and leaves its parts related as before. Besides, the causes of Nonconformity are not personal antipathies and humours, but grave and reasoned convictions deeply anchored in the conscience and kept steadfast by many a subsidiary hold on the immovable breakwaters of memory and reverence. Are these causes transient? Does the debate between the single and the triple rank of clerical orders show, after so many centuries, the least sign of wearing out? If Robinson and Cromwell were to visit the world again, would they find their "Independency" tired of its longevity? Has not the Eucharistic controversy which divided the Reformers reasserted its power in the dissensions of our own time? How long do you require such phenomena to last before you will admit them to have a root which you cannot pluck up? Or perhaps Dissent is an English perversity, and its causes are only local. Has then the Anglican ecclesiastical type spoken so persuasively to the universal Christian consciousness, that only our insular captiousness gives any place for other forms? On the contrary, while communions of the Continental Reformation spread over every land which the Papacy lost, and then crossed over to evangelize the western world, Anglicanism could not plant itself even in Scotland, and in foreign lands remained ever an exotic carried everywhere by missionaries in charge of it and colonists that loved it, few habitable places are out of reach of its voice, but from its isolated stations and its groups of English worshippers, it has not burst forth beyond its native bounds and evinced, like the Geneva gospel, a diffusive and world-subduing power.

In the face of this experience, the hope of exclusive survival for the present Church of England has little to support it but a predisposing faith. Measure also the "mountain" which this faith has to "remove," for to cast Nonconformity "into the sea" is a gigantic feat. There are 13½ millions of Church of England people in this country in order to draw all Christian worshippers into their fellowship they will have to absorb 12½ millions of religious exiles, and to shut up, or episcopally consecrate, upwards of 13,000 Wesleyan chapels, 2,600 Independent, 2,200 Baptist, and many other minor sets, and to deal with their attendant endowments, schools, and colleges. You keep in existence the great cause which has created these things, by what reversal of its action do you expect to destroy them? The hope that the Scotch may all turn Prelatist, and the Irish peasantry Methodists, and the French Quakers, is not more chimerical both perhaps to be realized about the date of the return of the Ten Tribes.

Arguments of this kind, founded on rules of probability, appeal

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with sufficient effect to practical men, and to them was addressed the historical evidence adduced in my former paper, that the aim at uniformity in theological doctrine was invariably baffled, and that latitude for varieties was a prime essential to religious unity. I am aware, however, that reasoning from experience is inoperative against the *à priori* assumptions of the dogmatic theologian, and that the historical plea may be met by his reply, "We may hitherto have been always at theological variance, but uniformity is divinely provided for, and *has to be*, and therefore it *will be*, and *here it is*, if you will only take it." It is as the assured possessor of a divine revelation, or a divine institute, that the speaker feels authorized to answer thus: with that faultless model before him, he can test the defective conceptions of other men, and see how far down they lie, as the human inevitably must, below the superhuman. Strange that the guides of the world should lose their way by such self-deception! Doubtless, a divine communication must tell what in itself is purely true and good, and the spirits, if such there be, into which it thus passes, must, in regard to it, be in perfect unison. But when committed to us men as its custodians, it enters finite conditions, and incurs all the liabilities of a fallible nature, shrinking with the contraction, finding room with the expansion, of the capacities it occupies. And the richer and ampler its contents may be, as befits the infinite pouring into the finite, so much the larger and the more certain must be the scope for variation, according to the dimensions of the souls it seeks, and the growth of thought through successive ages. With resources for meeting the soul in all its possibilities, it will come into contact, as history unfolds, now with this susceptibility, now with that, though still reserving its plenitude till "we all come to the perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

Moreover, in an historical revelation it is only the primary movement that can complete itself by immediate descent of Divine into human thought. All ulterior transmission must be through the vehicle of language, whether oral between co-present men, or written for delivery from age to age. For us, all the gift of God in Christ is conveyed to our comprehension through the Scriptures, from the study and comparison of which it has to be gathered by rational analysis and combination. In this process we are at the mercy of our own finite faculties, and cannot escape their liabilities to err, and the results which emerge have no higher certainty than may attach to human inference and interpretation. When of two equally competent students one finds, in the records of the Primitive Church, a hierarchy of spiritual officers, and the other an equality, the tenure of their respective convictions is exactly the same, and for a decisive verification they must wait for further evidence. Each interpreter must feel a full personal assurance of



having hold of a revealed intent, but neither has any warrant for disparaging the corresponding assurance in the other, and saying "I have the mind of Christ, you have only your own" To justify such an attitude it would be needful, not only for the objective matter on which thought is directed, to be divine, but for the thinker's own procedure to be also divine In other words, before you speak thus, you must have, or be, an infallible interpreter Short of this, there is no foundation for any exclusive claim of divine authority on behalf of any one body of Christian institutes and doctrines as against others, and no title to denounce them as heresy or apostasy The demeanour of assured "orthodoxy" towards "the heterodox," of the "catholic" towards the "excommunicate," is without excuse The temper which it betrays has its root in intellectual illusion, and its fruit in moral arrogance

Never is this tendency more misplaced than when, as a supposed "inseparable accident" of office, it infuses itself into a mind else the congenial home of all Christian graces Nothing can sit less well on the excellent Bishop of Winchester than the air which his ecclesiastical authority has recently obliged him to assume towards Canon Wilberforce, and still more than the reasons he gives for prohibiting intercommunion with Dissenters The Anglican Church, he tells us, stands on a totally different level from any other community of Christians, being the *res ipsissima* which Christ himself primitively instituted, and which is nowhere else to be found It is therefore unique, divine, the one visible body in organic union with the Head, whereas the Nonconformist organizations are mere human institutions, and can offer only what is in the gift of the members' will The difference is that between Church and not-Church, and it is impossible for the ministers of the former to have ecclesiastical fellowship with those of the latter This, the bishop says, is the primary assumption on which his Church is founded But, as we have seen, it is also the principle on which the Presbyterian Church is founded, and it is valid, as an exclusive charter, either for both, or else for neither After what has been said it will be evident that Bishop and Presbyter must both of them step down from their oracular platform and discuss their difference humbly together, as a matter of historical criticism and scholarly exegesis

A second principle which the Bishop finds at the base of his Church is this—that the divine institution, being in contact with "human elements," has not been preserved, throughout its transmission, free from error, but "has run into excessive and unhealthy growths," needing the Reformation to "prune" and restore its purity, and in England this was done with such discriminative wisdom as to reproduce exactly the primitive model It is plain that the human liabilities let in by this second principle destroy the divine

guarantee claimed in the first. If, in one age, the custodians of the Church can misconstrue its functions, and claim what does not belong to it, what is to secure us against its having gone wrong in another, the "human elements" being never absent?

Why is it not as competent for the Presbyterian to treat Episcopacy as an "unhealthy growth," as for the Bishop to apply the "pruning" knife to transubstantiation? If at the Reformation the human faculties rediscovered and re-erected the pure Church, had they nothing to do with its first organization and growth? Had they one whit less or more concern with the creation of one type of Christian community than of another? In whatever sense one of these is a "human institution," in the same sense is every other. They are all of them products of different human judgments upon the same data in whatever sense one of them is formed in realization of a divine model, in the same sense is every other, and for any one to plant itself at a supernatural elevation above the rest, is not less out of place than for one decipherer of a fragmentary or ambiguous inscription to assume papal airs towards differing fellow-interpreters. This common tenure of all our varying beliefs, that they are simply so many human interpretations of divine things, you can no more escape than you can jump off your own shadow. The more we learn to live together humbly and trustingly on these terms, each following out his own sanctities with the least possible chafing against those of others, the sooner shall we find the secret byways by which these sanctities all run into each other, so as to carry us past the subtleties of churches to the very mind of Christ.

The subjective character of an individual's theological judgments, and their consequent precariousness, is seldom denied. But, from the stress laid on the continuity and concurrent acceptance of the same beliefs, it seems to be imagined that some escape is afforded from infirmity to-day by its persistence to-morrow, and from aberration in each by assent in a crowd. This is intelligible in the Romanist, who assumes a supernatural guidance of every œcumenical council by the Holy Spirit, it only needs to be rendered credible by adequate evidence. In the absence of this, and under the admission of "unhealthy growths" and impaired "purity," it is obvious that nothing is gained in security for truth, but only in scale of voting power, by removing the issue from the private chamber to the public assembly. In the *consensus ecclesiasticus* the appeal only passes from an individual to a multiform fallibility, which is apt to be a more dangerous force, in proportion as a cumulative wave of prejudice and passion driven by a sweeping *Zeitgeist* is more formidable than the ripples of individual idiosyncrasy.

To one who looks on every partial variety of Christian faith as secreting within it some living seed of truth and good, the history of the

Church presents no more humiliating descent than from the sublime *idea* of "Catholicity"—the universal uplooking and uplifting of regenerate humanity to God—to the actual process by which the contents of the word "Catholic" have been determined. To the thought itself pure expression was given by the well-known rule, "*Ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*"\*. Yet, in the application, the *ubique* excludes the whole Eastern Church and the dominions of the Goths, the *semper* blots out the two infant centuries of Christendom, ere it had yet passed beyond the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, and its *ab omnibus* flings into the outer darkness innumerable swarms of excommunicants—Donatists, Arians, Monophysites, Albigenses, Hussites—down to the miscellaneous host through which the Reformation has re-evangelized the old world and created the new. This narrowed "universality," gained by the arts of party conflict, is all the "*orbis terrarum*" to which Rome appeals. Thus, by a perverse contradiction, the term *Catholic* obtains definition of its contents by a perpetual expulsion of minorities, each in turn, as it arises, driven away with the brand of anathema, and the Church's *Unity* is the residual product of a ceaseless consecration of antipathies expended upon an ever-fresh batch of outcasts. The process, Baxter would say, is a continuous "robbing Christ of some portion of his flock." The catholicity thus formed is a cumulus of execrations, and its Church is built of "stones of stumbling and rocks of offence."

The time has come to throw open mind and heart to a truer catholicity than this—to one which shall be inclusive instead of exclusive, which shall find its sanctuary brighter and warmer for the new lights of thought and waves of feeling that flow into it, and shall rejoice to see some unawakened portion of our people caught up by an unlooked-for inrush of the "Spirit that bloweth where it listeth," and plunged into a new baptism of conversion, and shall be able to welcome the movement as a gain of fresh territory to the kingdom of Christ.

"Unity" is the secret soul of both these catholicities, perverted, in the "exclusive," by the postulate of "uniformity," perfected, in the "inclusive," by the irresistible development of "varieties." The historical crisis in which Providence handed us over from the one to the other, and so deepened and widened our spiritual problem, was the Reformation period, which opened indeed in the sixteenth century, but has not even yet delivered all its contents. It was easy to be uniform in rite and doctrine, so long as the comparatively childish and passive mind of our Christian populations was dependent on outward authority for a dictated theology repeated by rote and incorporated in habits, nor is it wonderful that such reverence as

\* Vincentius "*Commonitorium*," cap. iii.

was congenial to that stage of character settled upon the system *en bloc*, and forbade the slightest loosening of its solidity. But when, later in the European day, that system fell under the intense focus of reflective reason or conscience, slowly climbing to its meridian, its cohesion yielded, the startling magnitude of its contents became apparent, and their many-sided aspects played with distributed power upon the quickened spirits of men. The objective force of dogma is conservative, not creative. It is the influence of a constant picture, looking at you with the same face, not of a living experience through which you pass, and it is sure to give way when a reaction upon it arises from enlarged self-consciousness and penetrating thought. Hence, when the Reformation spread the Scriptures beneath the waking eye of Europe, the one overpowering impression everywhere left was of the *inwardness* of the religion of Christ, under the influence of which sacraments were cancelled or re-interpreted, and the mediating priest superseded, and doctrine centred on the relation of the redeemed soul to God. The incongruity of the old "uniformity" superstition with this creative change long remained—nay, still remains—unrealized, and it went on trying its hand at all sorts of symbolical books, the multiplication and contradictions of which drew upon them the reproaches and derision of the Romanists, concentrated in Bossuet's "*Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes*." On the principle of the "exclusive catholicity" demanding "uniformity," the book is unanswerable. The true reply is missed, till you resort to the "inclusive catholicity," and claim as a blessing what is thrown at you as a reproach. "You upbraid us with the 'variations of Protestants?'" Yes, we vary, and shall vary, so long as finite faculties can be in touch with only one part at a time of the infinite truth and beauty and good and the differences which you count against us are, in their very number, the best witnesses for us, showing at how many points the divine message finds contact with us, speaks to our thoughts, and throbs through our life."

The unity which is still possible, I do not say in spite of this variety, but as the pervading principle of this variety, is certainly not the same with the prior elimination of Dissent. It is no longer a unity of opinion, it is now a unity of faith—*one*, it is not a coincidence in the subjective judgments of a plurality of persons, but a direction of them all, in the absence of visible coincidence, upon the same infinite object, the centre of all that is holy, just, and true in itself and in every soul that owns them. It is a consciousness that we "know in part, and prophesy in part," and that from the several stations of our geocentric position all our views of heavenly things need a correction for parallax which we cannot make, and a faith that the seeming discordances of our trust and prayer feel their

way into tune as they ascend, and harmoniously meet in the All-perfect Presence which they seek Under these conditions, the different communions virtually say to one another, "We doubtless *divide* the truth among us, as it is given us, and as we severally need and can appropriate it—you, this part, and we, that This is a relation which admits of profound sympathy and the most beneficent co-operation But when one of the communions quits the level pavement of the common worship and mounts its high-altar steps, and says to the rest, "You doubtless have each a part of the truth, much mixed, but we have the whole of it, quite pure," this is a self assertion of "legitimacy," a brandishing of the "white flag," which puts an end to every "constitutional" guarantee, and gives warning that the only choice is between deposition and absolutism What hope can you have of coming to an understanding with another when you begin by requiring entire surrender on his part? In spite of some discouraging symptoms, I cannot believe that the existing Church of England will consent to be the victim of such obscurantism And if she will take the only tenable ground, foregoing her tacitly assumed patent of infallibility, and accepting her Protestant parallelism with other Christian communions in this country, her difficulties may be removed, and a prospect opened to her of a real hegemony far more dignified and far better secured than will ever be conceded to her as the ecclesiastical hen of the Apostles

The adjustments needed for this end have been long delayed In a certain theoretic sense they were due at the Restoration, for then, more definitely than at any other date, was the crisis of the English struggle between the exclusive and the inclusive catholicity For upwards of 110 years the composite forces which made up the old religious uniformity had lost their equilibrium, and been in strife together—always, however, with a view to a continued ecclesiastical unity, though not the same unity as before The ideal of what the English Church should be was far from being identical in the different parties to the projected settlement The Anglicans wanted to save more from the past, the Puritans to lighten the sacred ark for its future course by more freely throwing over its excessive burden of rite and dogma The quarrel was about the form which should be given to the *one church* in England, and no one demanded liberty for the co-existence of several Whether there was ever, during that intense agitation of religious minds, any possible *via media* which, had it only been found, might have realized the contemplated end, is very doubtful The influence of the continental divines and controversies, the conflicting tendencies of the Scotch and the English religious mind, the exasperation of ecclesiastical by political disaffection, combined to

produce irreconcilable fanaticisms and silence the counsels of moderation. At all events, the course pursued on the return of Charles II turned the scale, and by violently enforcing uniformity rendered it for ever impossible. The powers of ecclesiastical cohesion were overstrained, the pressure upon consciences was intolerable, the English Christendom was broken in pieces, and from that moment took its separate lines of development, and bespoke distinct centres of communion. Had there been at the head of affairs in 1662 a statesman of large and calm wisdom—a Sir Matthew Hale instead of a Clarendon—he might have seen that the moment had arrived for substituting the inclusive Catholicism for the exclusive, and instead of repeating the criminal folly of persecuting exemplary citizens and trusted pastors of the people, might have allowed the English Christendom to organize itself upon its separate axes, each traced from the same invisible Head, and supporting by their attraction similar spheres of realized righteousness. Had this been done, we should long ago have had that best economy of spiritual energy in which each worshipper's piety is brightest, because in its own natural home, and yet most open to fellow-feeling with the several comrades who, marching by converging roads, meet him on the same battlefield against the hosts of sin and darkness. Late though it be for a duty so great and simple, nevertheless, if we "have faith as a grain of mustard seed," it may yet be done. We cannot, and we need not, dissolve or change our separate communions, or in any way weaken our loyalty to them. But why not cluster them all together, as confederated members of a common country—a divine commonwealth, with plenty of human work claiming the heart and hand of all? That is the purpose of the legislative measure which I now propose to explain and recommend.

To guard the reader against certain natural but erroneous preconceptions, I will first refer to some ends, often in favour with Church reformers, at which the present scheme does *not* aim.

Its object is not to "liberalize" the existing Church of England, or widen the entrance to its ministry, by reducing its formularies to the expression of "what is common to all Christians." Its supporters are aware how little congenial to the spirit of this age would be such an imitation of the attempts at "comprehension" made by Tillotson and revived by Blackburne. They have no faith in a latitudinarian neutrality and silence towards articles of belief, blended in many minds with the very essence of devotion, and therefore no desire to limit in any way the doctrinal and ritual terms which the members of a religious body may deem indispensable to their communion. The proposed enactment does not prescribe any alteration in this respect. True, it repeals the Acts of Uniformity which at present define and enforce for the Established

Church the contents of its faith and the conditions of its worship. But the legal control thus relinquished by the State is delivered into the hands of the Episcopal Church itself, which, in the exercise of new constitutional powers, may either retain its formularies as they are or from time to time modify them as may seem best. Complete freedom, whether for conservation or for reform, is thus secured. But, lest that freedom, in its early exercise, should unfairly press upon the existing clergy, it is provided that they shall not be bound to anything beyond the engagements into which they entered at their ordination. By this course Parliament is not asked, as it was in the old "comprehension Bills," for the "doctrinal legislation" from which political men shrink, and for which, indeed, a House of Commons containing samples of all beliefs and non-beliefs is no fit assembly. By discharging from the Statute-book the one great example of such legislation, the law-makers' aversion to it is finally satisfied. They take leave of it for ever.

Again, it is *not* now proposed to throw preferment to benefices open to non-Episcopalians, or to confer a legal right upon either them or the clergy to occupy each other's pulpits, irrespectively of the rules of their own communions. In these respects the constitution of the Episcopal Church would remain exactly as it is, until its own representative synod thought fit to change it. In making this disclaimer, I retract a statement by both Sir George Cox and myself in our former papers, written when the principles of our plan had as yet not been completely worked out into detail.

Again, it is *not* proposed to disendow the Church, or to divert its estates and revenues to purposes alien from their intended destination. On the contrary, the main design, in regard to temporalities, is to save the whole of that endowment for the united Christian culture of the English people, and in doing so to make no change in its mode of application except such as, on the legal principle of *cy pres*, the courts of justice constantly prescribe, in order to keep alive the essence of an old intent under new and unforeseen conditions. The ancient donors (Saxon and Norman) whose voluntary gifts instituted that endowment, lived and died in presence of one only Church as their total local Christendom, and could exercise no preference among its future and unsuspected differentiations, and no one can say how they would have been affected towards the several Reformation developments, had they lived on to experience them. Their endowment then stands in an impartial relation to the religious growths of later times, and must be taken as conferred upon the entire Christendom of England and on that earlier estate, formed prior to the division of one communion into several, bodies of Puritan descent or character have as legitimate a claim as the Anglican. That they were banished from all participation in it, and otherwise treated as

outcasts, must, in this view, be regarded as a wrongful forfeiture, none the less, that they themselves, had they been in the ascendant, would probably have dealt out the same measure to the Anglicans. This wrong the present scheme proposes, not indeed to *repair*, but simply to *terminate*, by now at last admitting the excluded to their just share. The process is analogous to the removal of an attander, and reversion of a sequestered estate.

This claim, however, applies to the endowment only during the period when the Church was regarded as co-extensive with the nation. From the moment when, by the Act of Uniformity, it ceased to embrace the whole of the English Christendom, and identified itself exclusively with the Episcopalian branch of it, all gifts and bequests made to it, as so defined, must have been intended for it in its legal form, as distinguished from all varieties of Nonconformity. Whatever increment the Church property has received by gift or bequest since 1662, constitutes a special endowment of the Episcopal Church.

By this arrangement the position is made good, that *no diversion* is contemplated from the intended purpose of the ecclesiastical estate.

Once more, it is *not* proposed to place the present Church of England, while still subject to the restrictions of the Acts of Uniformity, at the disposal, parish by parish, of popularly elected *parochial boards*, which shall have a voice in appointing the clergy, shall regulate the services, and control the building and the funds, and even, perhaps (as has been suggested), hand over the church to any religious body that can contrive to get a majority of votes. This method is founded on the supposed legal fiction (which Earl Selborne shows to have no existence) that every English subject is "constitutionally" a member of the Church of England. If such a principle was ever known to the law, it either meant no more than that the church was open to any one who chose to seek its services, and the churchyard accessible for the burial of any deceased parishioner, or it was the expression of an enforced conformity, recognizing no man as a citizen unless he were a conforming Churchman. In any case it has become, under present social conditions, such an empty unreality as to bring to certain ruin any construction built upon it. So long as the nation and the Church were co-extensive, the parochial organization naturally served for both civil and ecclesiastical purposes, the rates voted by the ratepayers went in part to secular uses—*e g*, to relieve the poor, in part, to ecclesiastical—*e g*, to repair and cleanse the church, to provide its furniture, to keep the churchyard, and those who subscribed the common fund had rightly the election of the churchwarden to administer it. But with the extension of Nonconformity arose resistance to the application of public rates to Church pur-



poses, and the compulsory levy of them ceased, and it is not easy to see with what justice those who have thrown off the obligation can now be reinstated in the corresponding power, not without enormous increase of its range. The parochial Nonconformists, having washed their hands of their local ecclesiastical responsibilities, and procured legal recognition of their exemption, it is too late to invite them back again in order to overpower the *bonâ fide* Churchmen in the control of their religious services and interior affairs. It is difficult to conceive of a more flagrant and irritating wrong than the drowning of the habitual worshippers' voice in regard to matters of such deep interest to them, by bringing to the poll a mixed multitude, not only of Dissenters, but of the non religious who have nothing to guide them but anti-clerical antipathies. Having once entered on the policy of severing the *civil* functions of the parochial area from the ecclesiastical, we must go through with it, and surrender the administration of the offices and resources of its episcopal church to the real members, on whom the old local charges are already thrown.

The injustice of this parochial democracy has the less excuse on account of its obvious inefficiency. So long as the Acts of Uniformity are left on the Statute book, and so long as advowsons and rights of presentation remain, the bishops, the churchwardens, the patrons are bound by restrictions and invested with privileges which leave no appreciable latitude for change in the services, the personal appointments, or the finances, nor could any important proposal be made which did not trench on some existing right or obligation. The favourite escape from this difficulty—viz, by appeal to the bishop—does not seem well-advised, for what can be more dangerous in itself and more embarrassing to him than to vest in him a *dispensing power* over the law which it is his office at once to obey and to administer? To set loose a popular strain, pulling in all directions—this way in one parish, that way in another—upon an iron bound Church that cannot yield, can produce nothing but an angry and fruitless expenditure of strength.

For these reasons, the proposed Bill freely surrenders the whole of the parish and district churches and chapels of ease to the Episcopalians, and provides for an entire separation of the ecclesiastical management from the functions of the parochial civil administration. This will assimilate the smallest ecclesiastical area—the single church with its worshippers—to all the larger circles within which it is embraced, and in which there is no confusing mixture of secular with spiritual functions. The whole series will be ecclesiastical. The rector's or vicar's own real flock will constitute the primary unit of the Episcopalian Church system. A number of these will form the constituents of a rural deanery, and by referring



each larger term, as it arises, to a higher group, we arrive at the archdeaconry, the diocese, the province, each with its own representative body, and all culminating in a general synod, with full powers to determine and modify at discretion the whole system of Church order and life

Having cleared the proposals of the National Church Association from the cognate aims which they do not include, I proceed to their positive contents

The first projected step in the plan of action, the prior condition of its ulterior and chief aim, shall be described by the Earl of Selborne, in spite of the easy indifference with which he dismisses it "Disestablishment," he says, 'without disendowment, a renunciation by the State of such powers of control as are involved in Establishment, without a total or large secularization of the endowments of Church, is a measure which nobody now proposes, and which I therefore need not consider' \* The reason why "nobody now proposes" to separate disestablishment from disendowment is, that under the discipline of the Liberation Society everybody has been taught, if not to fuse the two ideas into one mass, at least to couple them like chain-shot that must always fly together The popular Nonconformist conception of the Church of England as a State-created or State-selected and State endowed institution, set up by profane intrusion of secular power into spiritual relations, mixes up historical error and illusory theory into one huge prejudice, in which all accurate distinction is lost with the effect of misdirecting all practical effort at reform upon the sweeping project now struck down by Lord Selborne's assault To him, doubtless, it is no unwelcome thing, at his point of view, to give the *coup de grâce*, by an easy stroke at a single neck, to both disestablishment and disendowment together, and to leave his beloved Anglican Church undisturbed in her lonely ascendancy But those who find no warrant for that ascendancy cannot accept it as the sole surviving alternative, and on looking out for another may perhaps alight upon it by the discriminative act of approving disestablishment and rejecting disendowment This will become plain if we fix exactly the meaning of the chief words

A Church is not established so long as the rules of its constitution and procedure are voluntary, framed, accepted, and administered by its members under stipulated sanctions The engagements involved in membership are simply matters of *private contract*

\* A Church becomes established whenever the rules of its constitution and procedure—in other words, its ecclesiastical laws—are taken up into the civil law of a State, before the judicature of which alleged violations of them are brought as *public offences*, punishable by enacted penalties

Where the Statute-book is thus enlarged by incorporating a body of ecclesiastical law, the judicial system for interpreting that law and trying alleged transgressions of it, is naturally composed in part of clerical, in part of lay persons who have made a special study of this branch of law. The tribunals for causes ecclesiastical, which, under a purely voluntary constitution, would be mere committees of arbitration, become ecclesiastical courts, the bishops engaged in them become judges, and their lay assessors are selected from a class of experts in ecclesiastical law. By the theory of the English Constitution, it is the Crown that presides in every court of justice in the land, and in virtue of the division of our whole *corpus juris* into the *purely civil* and the *also ecclesiastical*, the royal supremacy is usually named under the double expression, "Over all persons and causes civil and ecclesiastical," in order to carry the same sovereign presence, as sole fount of justice, on to the bench of both courts temporal and courts ecclesiastical. It is really, however, the same function, and that *purely civil*, which the Crown exercises, and the same law, and that *also civil*, which the Crown interprets and declares, in both instances, for no law ecclesiastical has any entry there unless it has been made a *part of the civil law*,—in that capacity alone does it possess validity. From these constitutional facts the following consequences flow—

(1) To repeal the Acts of Uniformity is to throw out of the Statute-book its portion of adopted ecclesiastical law, for any residue that may be found in other Acts is merely dependent and subsidiary, and must follow the fate of the constitutive enactments. That repeal, therefore, is *disestablishment*—the farewell act in which Parliament takes leave of the rather wayward spiritual ward it has controlled so long, and, trusting at last her adult discretion, says "Go in peace!"

(2) The law of the Church disappearing from the code, there is no further need of a special judicature for interpreting it, and the ecclesiastical courts drop of themselves. The Episcopalian body, like the Presbyterian body in Scotland, will have its own provisions for deciding on alleged breaches of its rules, and visiting them with spiritual censures and other liabilities voluntarily accepted in the contract of membership. But if the accused deems himself wrongly judged, and able to show either that his act, as charged, is compatible with his contract, or that the penalty imposed is a temporal injury beyond its reach, he can seek redress in the civil courts, which enforce the observance of all express engagements. Thus, the supremacy of the Crown remains, in the last resort, the security for justice to the accused, no less in a disestablished Church than in an established, only, by the merging of *ecclesiastical causes* as a separate category, it is the *civil shield* which it spreads over all that need redress.

(3) It is too<sup>8</sup> obvious to need more than simple statement that, when once the State law has divested itself of Church law, and therefore leaves the Episcopalian communion on the same legal footing with other branches of the English Christendom, there is no longer any plea for

(a) Vesting the presentation to benefices, or the nomination to bishoprics, &c, in the Crown, or any great officers acting in a public capacity as Ministers of State, or

(b) Assigning to the bishops baronial rank and legislative functions in the House of Lords

On first addressing myself to the Church problem I was prepossessed by a strong aversion to the idea of "disestablishment," having long perceived how unsound was the Nonconformist theory of the State, yet not freed myself from its confused conception of "disestablishment" When obliged to look closely into the meaning of the word, I was surprised to find that the features just enumerated were its whole contents, and I asked myself, as I now would ask my reader, whether there is in it anything alarming, nay, whether it would not open a far better future for a living and growing organ of religious power than the continuance (were that possible) of the present law-bound existence I do not suppose that any one is really content with things exactly as they are, or feels that, without straining at the present restrictions, there is room enough for such flexible movement and diversity of operations as would turn to full account the spiritual gifts of the Episcopalian communion The signs of restiveness under too tight an organism are everywhere manifest, and are a plain providential call to larger life As it is, the leaders in clerical energy cannot enter upon that larger life without Parliamentary leave, and if they carry their petition to St Stephen's, what reception have they to expect? Political men of all parties, it is notorious, are irreconcilably averse to any further parliamentary meddling with doctrine and ritual, and will not listen to proposals for mending the law of the Church they wait for the great crisis which, as they expect, will rid them of the whole business, and of this crisis they have as yet no notion, except from the Liberationist programme of disestablishment and disendowment together From so rash a proceeding Conservative and moderate politicians no doubt shrink The reason they do so is, that they dread and disapprove the secularization of the Church endowment But even they share the feeling that a chamber like the House of Commons, composed indifferently of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists of all varieties, Jews, and persons disowning all interest in religion, is a body not qualified to undertake a revision of the creeds, ritual, and liturgy of a Church embracing Episcopalians alone They naturally say - "You must not depend upon us any longer for this sort of work, for which many of us are quite unfit Set your own spiritual

home in order, *the Church must reform itself*" Excellent advice, were it not a little cruel, for the Church simply *cannot* reform itself by even the smallest change of constitution, so long as Parliament holds it within the grasp of its present law. The very object of the enactment now proposed is to remove that inability. When passed, it would be precisely an *enabling Act*, *empowering the present Church to reform itself* without foreign interference, and till it is passed, the well-meant advice is but a poor mockery. The measure therefore indisputably commends itself by the following important advantages —

(1) It meets and finally satisfies the settled political aversion to further ecclesiastical legislation by adding the Statute-book of all Church law.

(2) In doing so, it satisfies also the Liberationist objection to State intermeddling in matters of religion, and removes that stumbling-block out of the way.

(3) It sets the Episcopalian Church free to develop its own life, and modify its message and its methods as new conditions may recommend.

(4) It effects these ends without diverting the Church endowment from its religious purpose.

I ask, with some confidence, whether in this form the dreaded "disestablishment" would not plainly be an emergence into fresher inspirations and more fruitful labour? The reaction indeed into an "unchartered liberty" might easily be too strong, were it not for one restraining limit, which yet remains to be explained. The immediate effect of a *baric* repeal of the Acts of Uniformity would be not to free the whole body of Churchmen for orderly self-government, but simply to free the clergy to follow their own individual and arbitrary wills, and fling the services and ritual usages into confusion and uncertainty. Parliament, in relinquishing its own control, is bound to substitute some other safeguard against this. The mode of doing so is obvious. As the control surrendered is that of a *lay legislature*, so is the control substituted properly found in a preponderant *lay representation*, both in the synodical constituencies and in the synods themselves. Whether the proposed ratio of two laymen to one clerk, is the best possible, may of course, like all such quantitative questions, be open to doubt. But the provision of some such proportion has been found, I am assured, to work admirably in the Irish Disestablished Church.

The powers of ecclesiastical self-government vested in the General Synod cannot of course touch any one's civil rights, and cannot therefore take or tax his property. Hence the autonomy of the disestablished Church would be limited by the reservation of the patrons' title to present to vacant livings. Their rights, possessing a negotiable value legalized for centuries, cannot be cancelled uncompensated. If they are to be bought off, it must either be by Parliament before dis-

establishment, or by the General Synod after,—in the former case, at the cost of the nation, in the latter, of the Church not the former, so as to throw the burden as much on outsiders as on members of the benefited community, but on the latter, when acting on its own behalf. If, then, the Synod deems it important to substitute election, or other mode of clerical appointment, for presentation, it will have to redeem the benefice from the patron. But in the scheme power is reserved to give him notice that his right will be taken up at its value, the amount being determined by an arbitrator acceptable to both parties. The Episcopal Church, thus empowered to obtain possession of all appointments and regulate the mode of making them, would occupy a stately position side by side with the co-ordinated voluntary bodies, and nobly tax their energies to keep in line with it on the march against all actual and threatening spiritual ills.

Is it too much to expect that the community which thus gains its liberty of self-disposal shall recognize, as co-members of a common Christendom and partners in the evangelization of a common country, the other voluntary religious bodies which long have been so, which actually are so, and which will remain so, whether it chooses to greet the fact or to pass it by on the other side? The time, I trust, is past for theoretic fictions to sustain such narrow-hearted alienation between conterminous provinces of the same spiritual commonwealth. At all events, the impartial State, in preparing a field for their equal liberties and labours, must credit them with true readings of their mutual relations, and make provision for not only the passive equilibrium of justice, but the active and growing co-operation of affection. Hence it is proposed that any Christian denomination at present counted as Dissenting shall be co-ordinated with the Episcopalian as another branch of the Church of England, on showing its hold on the English religious life by a history of one hundred years and a magnitude of two hundred congregations, and also its adequate provision for education and character in its ministers. And it is to the bodies fulfilling these conditions that a proportionate participation is extended in the benefits of the Church endowment prior to 1662, and left applicable to any religious purpose approved by the recipients. In subdivided sects seeking this admission, the minor varieties, already tired of their isolation, would undergo a rapid and welcome fusion, and by incorporation in a nobler organism be saved from disintegration. The tendency to gravitate towards each other is more manifest every day in the different components of both the Wesleyan and the Presbyterian communities. The confederated group of communions thus constituted would take the name no longer monopolized by the Episcopalian body, and be the "Church of England" in its enlarged sense. They would have their collective representation in a "National Church Assembly," for the combined guardianship of Christian principles and prosecution of common enterprises of righteous zeal and piety.

In proposing to substitute a federal for a competitive relation among religious bodies, we certainly cannot appeal to experience for support, or hope to convince those whose belief is limited to realized facts. The experiment has never yet been tried of expressly combining in religion the two loyalties—that engendered by wide fellowship in a common warfare for a common cause, and that which binds us with closer and tenderer devotion to the inner household of our own domestic faith. It would have been tried long ago but for the prepossessing delusion that they had no right to co-exist, that spiritual union must be limited to our own “elect,” and that all attachment beyond was an attempted “fellowship of Christ with Belial,” and that whoever gave way to reverence and affection for misbelievers of other communions was a traitor to his Lord. But now, in spite of this miserable hindrance, the human heart—rather, the Divine Spirit (here both are one)—has shamed this false antagonism away, and made it an indisputable fact that, besides our interior faithfulness to our own class of disciples, we are drawn by irresistible attraction to strong and saintly souls, how far soever from our borders, and look up to them as true children of God, and long to fill up with them what remains of the sufferings of Christ. Once touched by the two enthusiasms, we learn that they help instead of hindering each other, like the kindred love of *country* and of *home*, and gain assurance that both are harmoniously embraced in the love of God. It is impossible to doubt that the blending affections are higher and more sacred than the dissevering thoughts. The piety of a George Herbert, a Baxter, a Fénelon, a Wesley, a Robert Hall, a Barbauld, an Elizabeth Fry, was nurtured in different schools, yet breaks into prayer and song and life in tones and labours that subdue and humble us all. If the text be true, “By their fruits ye shall know them,” have we no common fellowship with these, or they with one another? Owning the same Head to begin with, and brought to the same heart and will when the inward working declares itself at last, must they and we excommunicate each other, and say, “the essential is not there,” because we join the beginning and the end by the links of differing chains? Shall it always be that the sweet singers that are grouped together in our hymn-books, like a choir of angels, to lead and lift our suppliant strains, must shrink from the kiss of fellowship in this life, and say, “Ah, no! the seal of God is not upon his forehead?” May we not rather trust the blind man’s answer, “Why, herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes?” Surely the least that we can ask for these uniting sympathies is, that they should lead us to a federal confraternity of labour for the common products of Christian character and the missionary conquests of the kingdom of God.

For such federal union nothing more is, in the first instance, needed or possible than simply to open the way for it, construct its organism, and provide the means of development, without either forcing it upon the unprepared, or prematurely attempting to define its work. It is enough, at the outset, to place the several constituent communities side by side on equal terms of recognition, and without an excuse remaining for jealousy or alienation. This change of attitude, the assumption of a fraternal instead of an outlawed position, cannot but abate the inducement to dwell upon differences, and reveal all sorts of new accordances and possibilities of co-operation. It is difficult to limit the economy of moral labour, and the increase of spiritual efficiency for social ends, which might arise from partnership in effort now frittered away in subdivision. As it is, every "little Bethel" and new mission-house added to the half-dozen within a quarter of a mile, attempts not only to preach the gospel to its scanty flock, but to supply the whole set of concomitant institutions—Sunday schools, provident clubs, temperance societies, library, reading, and lecture rooms, even concerts and amusements, so as to concentrate the whole contents of life beyond the labour-hours upon the favourite spot. Hence a fortuitous multiplication of petty agencies on an inconsiderable area, feebly managed, crossing one another, struggling with difficulties, and narrow alike in spirit and in means. The men and women really fitted for the work of an evangelist are few, and when found are capable of large action on an ample field. And as soon as the possibilities of religious co-operation are opened up, the moral organization of our large towns will assume another aspect. The army of worthy but poor creatures will be disbanded; the "troupe d'élite" of fellow-workers who really burn with the apostolic fire, will be singled out and entrusted with a field proportioned to their power, and will be furnished, in place of hole-and-corner nests of dingy piety and indebted benevolence, with stations and places of assembly where worship can have some aspect of dignity and sweetness, and knowledge and art can spread out their resources, and the prophets of the perfect life can have around them an outer aspect of it as bright and pure as its spirit within. Instead of defeating one another fifty times over by conflicting attempts at Christianizing our unreclaimed population on the same area, we shall join resources for a great campaign and carry the banner of the Cross to victory. The extent to which home missions, foreign missions, movements in check of the utter secularization of life, and in promotion of sanatory, educational, industrial, and moral improvement, might be consolidated without trenching on the sacred reserves of any Christian conscience, is incalculable, and would widen its bounds with every fresh experience. The great need is to take heart of faith, and to begin. Once let the



separatist habit be broken through, and the divided positions of thought be bridged by a covering feeling which takes the terror from the gulf between, let the usage become familiar, of open counsel on a serious duty, and for an earnest end, and the mere frequency of face-to-face conference in such a mood will imperceptibly smooth the way to closer relations

"A long experience," says Keble, "confirms me in thinking that where persons oppose each other honestly, however decidedly, in belief or opinion, the cause of truth, which commonly lies between both, and of charity, without which even truth itself can scarcely be maintained truly, is greatly served by the softening and enlightening necessity of personal and official communion" (Keble's Letters)

Does the reader pronounce such co-operative labour of separate religious communions impossible? I pray him to ponder the following record of experience, from a letter of my late friend, Rev W H Channing, to his mother, describing his attempt to find for himself a field for a mission to the poor in the most neglected part of the city of New York —

"I found the city was under the care, from one end to the other, of a board of visitors called 'tract distributors,' whose object was to reach the gospel to the poor. Here were a sort of ministers at large, occupying as good husbandmen this desolate wilderness, as I had been led to expect to find it. I have been gradually coming more and more to appreciate this truly sublime effort. Let me give you some idea of the extent of it. The city is divided into portions, each ward being one, over which there is a superintendent, who is one of the most influential men in the ward for piety and talent. Under him there is an agent, who receives a salary, and devotes his whole time to the work of directing religious effort in his ward. The wards are divided into districts, in each of which there is a visitor, whose duty it is to visit all the families under his charge at least once a month, and oftener if possible, bring them to prayer meetings, which are held in the district, direct them to churches, reform them, see that their children are in Sunday schools and day schools, and help them in the way of charity. These visitors have monthly meetings to report progress and give and receive advice. The agents meet weekly to animate each other in the work. There are now sixteen agents to twelve hundred visitors. The expenses of the work are one thousand dollars a month. They intend this year (1837) to increase the number of visitors to two thousand, and their plan, when completed, contemplates establishing a mission church in each ward. Here is the plan. What think you? I challenge Christendom for the last 1800 years to show such a sublime plan of Christian philanthropy. It is sublime, and is not in theory, remember, but for the most part in effective operation. To complete the picture, let me tell you that every denomination in the city (except the Unitarians, who are excluded) go hand in hand in this grand mission. In addition there are six Presbyterian free churches, four Episcopal, two Baptist, twenty Methodist churches, which are always free, and four Roman Catholic" \*

If this could arise in America through the spontaneous attraction of perfectly unrelated churches towards the same modes of Christian

\* "Memoir of William Henry Channing," by Octavius Brooks Frothingham, pp 131-132

work, how can we doubt its readier possibility here in a group of communions expressly confederated in consideration of their common origin and in hope of nearer approximation? Our national history throws all the advantage on our side, for it is a law of all long-lived nations that the feuds of history die out, while its deeper unities, after hibernating through some "winter of discontent," wake with the returning sunshine and assert their life again.

The doubt whether separate Christian bodies are susceptible of federal union derives apparent support from a rule which is laid down in relation to States, as conditioning the successful working of a federal adjustment. Mr. Albert Dicey, in his masterly book on "Home Rule," says that

"If such a government is to be worked with anything like success, there must exist among the citizens of the confederacy a spirit of genuine loyalty to the union. The 'unitarian' feeling of the people must distinctly predominate over the sentiment in favour of 'State rights.' Unless the national sentiment predominate, the federation will go to pieces at any of those crises when the interest or wishes of any of the States conflict with the interests or wishes of the union."\*

It must be admitted that our cluster of religious bodies in England does not fulfil this condition. The attachment of the Anglican, the Presbyterian, &c., to his own spiritual home is far deeper than the sympathies which draw each to the whole. The rule, however, affords, not a pre-requisite to the institution of a confederacy, but a condition of its permanence when instituted. And it is in the very process of its formation and in the struggles against the perils of its infancy, that the central loyalty has its genesis and gains its tension. During the War of Independence and the earlier years of the Union the weakness of the federal bond in the American States was the source of the most serious difficulties. But as the lapse of time gave them a national history, it kindled a growing patriotism finally ascendant in the Civil War. The analogy therefore is full of encouragement. Similar relations introduced among religious communities, at present separate, would call into play a corresponding development of blending affection, which only waits for its opportunity. Give it the intensifying conditions, and those who are now Churchmen first and Christians afterwards will be turned into Christians first and Churchmen afterwards.

For some of our most devoted reformers, the federal principle is unsatisfying, because it does not give *unity*, but only *union*, and that is not enough for their eager aspirations. They dislike the spectacle of our multiform Christianity, and will not recognize it as a fact that has any right to be, and think that by admitting its component parts to a defined status, with annexed rights and duties, we virtually stereotype them, and arrest their merited break-up.

\* "England's Case against Home Rule," pp. 178, 179

Instead of condescending to notice them, we ought to pass them by, and go straight to "the people" and tell them that the Nation *is* the Church, and may do as it likes with all ecclesiastical institutions its will is the Church's will, and as soon as the Nation knows its own mind, the Church will have got its unity.

Of this doctrine no more need here be said than may suffice to relieve its pressure upon the proposed federation. For that purpose a single remark appears enough. In framing measures to fit the changed conditions of English society, you must look at that society as it is, and not as you would prefer it to be. The clerical habit of treating our national history as flowing on complete in its channel within the Church banks, and regarding Nonconformist phenomena, not as tributaries to its fertilizing course, but as back-waters from ugly floods, which only desolate and hide the fair fields, and blot out the whole landscape, till they drain away and restore the swamp to tillage, betrays itself in this theory scarcely less than in its opposite, the high Anglican. It involves an ignoring of actual English life on such a scale as to render futile, if not ruinous, any legislation founded on it. Wish as you may, say what you will, the religious sects of England are characteristic facts, belonging to the inmost life of nearly half its people, and destined still in the future, as in the past, to make up for them the best part of the history which they know. Other classification of what interests and concerns them will be frustrated in effect by running counter to the lines of their intelligence and feeling. The reformer cannot with impunity disregard the natural planes of cleavage in the material with which he deals. If he wants to divide it, it is there alone that it will yield, if to integrate it, let him lay the lamina parallel together, and maybe they will cohere and crystallize, but if he leaves them lying at all sorts of angles, they will but cross and cut. How it can be wise to suppress a class of conspicuous facts, already recorded in the Registrar-General's reports and made the ground of many a legislative act, it is difficult to conceive. And not less so, how the recognition of them as heads of arrangement for a federal union can tend to "stereotype" them as they are, for neither change in them, nor even absorption of any one into another, would remove them from the union, or expose them in it to the slightest disadvantage, while their proximate relations within it would vastly increase the probability of their merging in an ultimate unity.

For the National Church of England thus composed nothing has been asked from the total Church endowment except a proportionate participation by its new members in the revenues of the pre-Restoration estate. All the subsequent acquisitions, the whole of the parish and district churches with their glebes, all the residences, rectories, vicarages, decanal and episcopal houses, are assigned

to the Episcopalians, as at present There remain the cathedrals Are they to be given up unreservedly to any one particular branch of our Christendom? A mere glance at one of those stately piles rebukes so poor a thought Taking us back to a date beside which our oldest surviving divisions are modern, conventual rather than parochial in their resources and character, founded or enriched by kings and bishops of renown, containing the tombs of crusaders and pilgrims, of statesmen and judges, of heroes, philosophers, poets, saints, that crowd the roll of our long annals, they are unique as monuments of our entire historic life, and can be the monopoly of no select communion Their administration must be as large as their structure, and consecrate them anew as temples of unity Accordingly, it is proposed to vest their estates in "National Church Commissioners," and to make the caputular body of mixed composition, including three members from the non-episcopal confederates This provision itself bears fitting witness to the change from the exclusive to the inclusive catholicity And the chapter so formed will arrange for use of the cathedral by any one of the federated bodies on adequate occasions, and, especially, for an annual united service and communion of them all At the same time, these additional uses need not disturb the present daily services, still left in charge of the Dean and his half of the canons, and the change may take place without silencing the morning and evening bells, or the sweet murmur of the customary prayers, that soothe and consecrate so many faithful lives So far, the old may keep its place and be at peace But it must not set its face against the new, which also comes to seek a blessing There are fresh alliances to be sanctified, and more generous fervours to flow into our devotions, and these also must be invited to the same solemn shelter, and ask voice through the same organ-peals I know not how others may feel, but when I think of those annual trains of worshippers converging upon the Minster gates, then thronging nave or choir with silent thanksgiving to the all-harmonizing Love, looking on the signs of so many holy souls of the living and the dead, responding to the prayers for the unity of them all, and joining in the hymn which seems to fulfil the prayer, no spectacle appears more worthy to fill that grand perspective, more softening to the hearts that join in it, or more true to the parting prayer of Christ "That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us" (John xvii 21)

JAMES MARTINEAU

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE

FOR the last month nobody has been talking of anything but the chances for and against a European war, so that I have no choice but to begin by discussing them, even at the risk of appearing in a month's time, when this article comes to be read, either to have failed in foresight or to have been a very safe prophet.

I will confess, then, that I, in common with most of the Frenchmen I know, expect no war between France and Germany. I expect no war, because I think Prince Bismarck was sincere in telling the Reichstag that Germany would not make the attack, and because in France you can hardly find a single person who really wishes for war, or who would regard it as anything short of a calamity. This pacific spirit springs, in various persons and classes, from very various causes. The more cultivated minds foresee the infinite miseries which a war would entail, and feel that France ought not to take on herself the responsibility of incurring such ills; others take lower ground, and hold that it would be madness to enter on such a war without allies, while they are convinced that no European alliance is at present possible for us, and finally, the nation in general repudiates the idea of war simply because it wishes to live in peace and has no bellicose impulses at all. But all this is not the same thing as saying that if war were declared against us we should be disheartened or afraid. On the contrary, the very strength of the desire for peace would tend to quicken the indignation of the country against unprovoked aggression, to stimulate its ardour and confirm its resolution. France would feel to-day as Germany felt in 1870, and with even greater cause.

Such being the position of things, and neither of the two countries being inclined to take the responsibility of beginning, I think it probable that the storm will not really burst. The violent attacks on France which fill the German newspapers, and which contrast so strikingly with the calm tone of our own press, I take to be inspired manifestations intended to influence the members of the Reichstag and their constituents. Indeed, we in France are so thoroughly convinced of this, that on the whole these articles have created less soreness than those of some of the

English journals, which have been doing all they could<sup>\*</sup> to embitter the relations between France and Germany by manufacturing all sorts of imaginary news as to the warlike intentions and military preparations of the two countries

But what, it may be asked, of General Boulanger? General Boulanger is bent on war—or so say the German and English and Italian newspapers, day after day, and week after week

What the German and English and Italian newspapers say is pure hypothesis, with nothing definite to go upon. General Boulanger is an active and energetic Minister, and when this war of which everybody is talking does break out, he does not mean France to be caught napping. He is simply doing his duty, and seeing to it that nothing is left undone which prudence requires to be done. General Boulanger is also a man of genial and sympathetic nature, and with all his defects and all his mistakes, he has found his way to the hearts of both officers and men, and of officers of the most various political types. He speaks well, he knows how to touch the patriotic chord, he has evoked among his men a passion for work such as certainly did not exist among them before his time. Still, does it follow that he is bent on war? And if so, is it not rather curious that he should, for the sake of economy, have been granting such an unheard-of number of furloughs and postponements of service?

But even supposing that General Boulanger did wish for war, I should say that that is just one reason the more why we shall not have it. Everybody knows that General Boulanger is ambitious, he likes to speak, to show himself, to be talked of, and he has been compromised by his intimate relations, not only with M. Clemenceau and M. Laguerre, but with M. Rochefort himself, and by those foolish articles in which M. Rochefort threatened the Government with a popular rising if M. Boulanger were compelled to resign. If General Boulanger really wishes for war, it can only be because he thinks he sees in it the means of rapidly building up his own fortunes, and because he knows that, whether victorious or vanquished, France would almost inevitably become the victim of a military despotism. Now the Republicans are not only well aware of this, but they have an almost excessive aversion to the military element. They nearly all of them hold General Boulanger in suspicion, and if once they were certain that he wished for war, it would in itself be enough to make them pronounce for peace and turn him out of office.

But if war is improbable, it unfortunately by no means follows that it is impossible. We have not only the bitter rankling memories of 1870 to make it possible, we have the enormous armaments which have been brought together by the two countries, and which are draining their strength, the very perfection of the instrument they have in their hands, which makes them weary of refraining from putting it to the proof, the odious way in which certain papers, both German and French, set themselves to rake up international animosities, whether in pure bravado, or for party purposes, or simply to increase their circulation, and the false news and sensational paragraphs published by other foreign journals, with a view to some object of their own, financial, commercial or political. Moreover, it is not between France and Germany alone that war may break out, but between Russia and Austria, or between

Russia and England. The Eastern question may at any moment set fire to the Western, and France may find herself dragged, against her will, into the *mêlée*. And yet, in spite of so many clouds on the horizon, and indeed just because the clouds are so many and so black that it is impossible to foresee what disasters the tempest might not entail, I cannot, so far as we at present see, believe that the war will really break out.

Having thus tendered an opinion on the questions which now hang in the balance, and which will no doubt have been decided in one way or the other before these lines are read, I may come back to the realities of the present, and say a word or two on the new Government with which France has provided herself since the 11th of last December. Is it really to be called a new Government? Some few of the heads of departments have exchanged offices, but the men themselves remain pretty much the same as before. M. Goblet has been moved from the Education Department to the Home Office, M. Sarrien from the Home Office to the Ministry of Justice, while others—MM. Boulanger, Aube, Ghanet, Lockroy, Millaud, and Develle—have been left just where they were, as Ministers of War, Marine, Commerce, Public Works, and Agriculture. The only new Ministers are M. Dauphin, who takes M. Sadi Carnot's place in Finance, M. Berthelot, who succeeds M. Goblet as Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Flourens, who succeeds M. de Freycinet at the Foreign Office. Practically, the new Government represents just the same shades of opinion as the old. Why, then, was it ever changed? Why? The Deputies themselves would find it hard to say. As a matter of fact, M. de Freycinet's Government was thrown out by accident, pure and simple, and, with the present composition of the Chamber of Deputies, any other Government must always be at the mercy of such another accident. When a new Government comes into office, the Chamber allows it to live a little while, first out of curiosity, to see how it will get on, and next out of modesty, so as not to have a change of Government quite every fortnight, and finally, on account of the sheer impossibility of conceiving of any other which would have a better chance. After a few months curiosity has lost its edge, a good many of the Deputies have been refused a favour by this or that Cabinet Minister, others of them are being worried by their electoral committees, who complain that they have not kept their pledges and carried reforms, and others, again, begin to feel the stirrings of an appetite for office. Thus, on some question or other—it does not in the least signify what—some hundred and fifty members of the Left are found only too willing to vote with the hundred and eighty members of the Right, who for their part make a practice of voting against the Government, simply by way of keeping the country unsettled, and making the existence of any Republican Ministry all but impossible. This time, the Budget has been the occasion for the crisis, and it is not easy to say which was the most to blame—the Government for its want of backbone, the Budget Committee for its caprice and incapacity, or the Chamber for its levity and inconsequence.

M. Baihaut, the Minister of Public Works, had been so worn out by the importunities of the Radicals and the concessions made to them by M. de Freycinet, that he had sent in his resignation so early as last

November, and had been replaced by M. Millaud. This first displacement was but too sure an omen of what was to follow.

M. Sadi Carnot had drafted a Budget which, indeed, had nothing very striking about it, but which had at least this merit—that it made no attempt to deceive the country with the illusion of an unreal prosperity, and that it put an end to the system of extraordinary budgets, and to the usual Treasury artifices by which the ever-increasing deficit had year after year been concealed. It met the existing deficits by a loan and an additional tax on alcohol, and established for the future an honest balance between revenue and expenditure. The Committee, of which M. Rouvier was chairman, with M. Wilson as reporter, and M. Camille Dreyfus as its most influential member, appeared from the very beginning to have but one object in view—that of subjecting the Minister of Finance to a crushing defeat. The Committee was composed of the most heterogeneous elements, its members had no basis of agreement, and they were, besides, so negligent of the work entrusted to them that out of thirty-three members there were never more than from twelve to fifteen present at a sitting. The gravest decisions—the retention of the extraordinary Budget, the suppression or reduction of the sinking fund, a merciless lopping of the Public Worship estimates, and the introduction of the income-tax—were carried by majorities of seven or eight votes against five or six. If M. Sadi Carnot had had any force of character, he would immediately have sent in his resignation, and called on the Chamber to settle by its vote the difference between him and the Committee, if M. de Freycinet had had anything like the resoluteness which the country has a right to expect of a Prime Minister, he would have steadily supported the proposals of M. Sadi Carnot, which he had already approved. Instead of this, he used all his influence to keep M. Sadi Carnot at his post when he showed symptoms of resigning, and urged him, in the name of Republican unity, to make the concessions demanded by the Committee, and M. Sadi Carnot, after dropping some natural tears, wiped them and yielded. Under these conditions the Budget came up to the Chamber, presented by a Minister whose authority had been destroyed by weak concessions and a Committee equally discredited, because its leading members were justly accused of caring for nothing but the gratification of personal ambitions by the overthrow of the Minister. Thus leaderless, and left to their own impulses, the mass of the Deputies only thought to please their constituents by throwing out the loan, rejecting all new taxes, and voting reductions in every item of the Budget.

It was one of the least considerable members of the Chamber, the Comte de Douville-Maillefeu, a buffoon and a fanatic, who invented the formula that finally upset the whole economy of the Budget—"No loan, no new taxes," and the Chamber forthwith proceeded to vote a reduction of 600,000 francs on the salaries of the Finance Department. This was giving M. Sadi Carnot his dismissal in sufficiently plain terms. At the instance of MM. Fernand Faure, de Douville-Maillefeu, and Colfavru, the Chamber went on to vote without remonstrance one after another of the proposed reductions, under the eyes of a Government helplessly outnumbered, which could but lift its hands to Heaven in despair. M. de Freycinet succeeded, indeed, in saving the estimates of his own department, but the final crisis was only postponed. When



it came to the turn of the Ministry of the Interior, M Colfavru, of the Extreme Left and M Raoul Duval, of the Right, demanded the abolition of all the sub-prefectures, and in spite of the interposition of M de Freycinet, who very justly urged that the administration of the country cannot be revolutionized by a vote on the Budget, and that it takes a law to abolish an institution which it took a law to create, the suppression of the sub-prefectures was actually passed, by a coalition of the entire Right with the Extreme Left and a portion of the Radical Left. Under circumstances such as these M de Freycinet could no longer retain office. It has been suggested that he had himself courted this defeat, because he foresaw international complications with which he did not care to cope. This I believe to be pure calumny. He retired from office because, after having coquetted with the Radicals for the space of eleven months, after having shown himself so lavish of favours and so liberal of places, he found he could not count on their support. He had had enough of it, and he would be their dupé no longer.

But where was the President of the Republic to find a successor to M de Freycinet? It was hard enough for him to have to give up the only Prime Minister he really likes, and he was moreover fully convinced that any step in the direction of the Radical Left would be fatal for the country. There can be no doubt that M de Freycinet, with his moderate opinions and his conciliatory attitude towards the Radicals, was fitter than anybody else to carry on the business of the country in a Chamber where the Moderates and the Radicals have pretty nearly equal forces at their disposal, and where neither the one section nor the other can by itself command a majority.

To be strictly in order from a Parliamentary point of view, M Grévy ought to have sent for M Clémenceau, the leader of the Extreme Left, and invited him to form a Government. M Clémenceau would have declined, and would thus have been compelled to admit his own impotence for anything but negation and destruction. But M Grévy could not bring himself to take such a step, for M Clémenceau's majority had, after all, been only a coalition majority, which could not possibly furnish the elements of a Ministry. He thought for a moment of M Floquet, whose Jacobin views and proclivities gained him in former days the favour of the Radicals, and who since then, as President of the Chamber, has succeeded in conciliating the goodwill of all. But M Floquet was little disposed to follow the example of his predecessor, M Brisson, whose brief career as Prime Minister had cost him his chance of the Presidency of the Republic, and there were not wanting those who should remind M Grévy how M Floquet had made himself notorious in 1867 by crying "Vive la Pologne!" in the ears of the Emperor of Russia on the very eve of the day of the attempt of Berezowski. M Grévy therefore appealed to the patriotism of M Goblet, the most capable of the members of the fallen Cabinet, a good speaker and a man of energy, and fairly well regarded by the more moderate section of the Radical party.

In accepting office, M Goblet retained the Radical members of the late Government, M Lockroy and M Granet, he retained the specialists, M Boulanger and M Aube, each of whom had made himself a power in his own department, and he retained also MM Millaud, Develle, and Sarrien, the representatives of the moderate element in M de

Freyinet's Cabinet, and finally, he put in three new men—M Dauphin, who had made some mark in the Senate as a member of the Budget Committee, M Berthelot, the great chemist, a very learned and philosophic person, who, as Inspector-General, and is a member of the Conseil Supérieur, had already acquired great experience in the administration of the Education Department, and M Flourens, son of the naturalist, and brother of the too famous commander of the troops of the Commune, who, whether as Councillor of State or as Director of Public Worship, has given proof of great energy and capacity, but also, it must be added, of something less of tact and flexibility than is to be desired in a Foreign Minister. But, on the whole, the three portfolios of Finance, Education, and Foreign Affairs were given to men of high standing, and, so far as collective ability is concerned, the new Government is, if anything, superior to the old.

The Radicals are by no means satisfied, they hoped that the new departure would be a step in the direction in which they were driving the Republic, and they were disappointed to find that the three new Ministers practically belonged to the Moderate party. Moreover, three Under-Secretariats of State were at the same time done away with, of which two, at least, had been held by men taken from their ranks, and only M La Porte was retained at the Marine, where a director of the Colonial Service, who must be pretty nearly independent, is indispensable. Another cause of discontent was found in the extremely small proportion of Deputies in the new Cabinet. MM Goblet, Lockroy, Guinet, and Sarrien are the only members of the Chamber, MM Berthelot, Dauphin, Millaud, and Deville are in the Senate, and MM Boulanger, Aube, and Flourens are not in Parliament at all. It is noticeable that the Senate has as strong a representation in the Cabinet as the Chamber itself, and it has been repeatedly said that M Goblet accepted office only on M Grévy's promising to call upon the Senate to dissolve the Chamber if the Government should be placed in a minority. The story is certainly false, but it is also certain that this last crisis has convinced everybody that if this Chamber cannot keep a Government in office there is nothing for it but a dissolution.

This idea of a possible dissolution is in everybody's mind just now, and it has the best possible effect on the Chamber. It is to this that we owe the comparatively reasonable temper in which the debate on the Budget has been resumed, it is this alone that gives the Government a chance of going on, but for this the hostile coalition of Right and Left would already have swept it away. To each individual Deputy a dissolution means the heavy outlay of a fresh candidature, with the risk of not being returned after all, and no one, either on the Right or the Left, regards such a prospect with pleasure. It must be added that in France, ever since the experiment of the sixteenth of May 1877, a certain character of compulsion or coercion attaches in many people's minds to the idea of a dissolution. It has come to be regarded, not as a normal incident of the Parliamentary system, not as the regular method of obtaining the casting vote of the country in case of disagreement between the Government and the Chambers, but rather as an attempt on the part of the Government to force the opinion of the people. The Right and the Radicals are both protesting most energetically beforehand against a dissolution, they want to go on with the expedient of "provisional twelfths," which has already been had recourse to for

January and February, and which obliges the Government to live from hand to mouth, and never allows them time for a general election

Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that we shall never have a working majority, or a Government worthy of the name, till the country has been allowed the opportunity of pronouncing decisively for or against a Government of known and determined opinions. So long as the elections have to be taken, like those of the 4th of October last, on ill-defined but high-sounding programmes—so long as, under the pretext of Republican concentration, the most incongruous names and opinions are to be found on a single list—so long we need not look to have a Chamber capable either of governing or of being governed. It all comes to this, that there is but one man in the whole array of the Left who can really form a Government, and that man is M. Ferry. He alone represents a definite policy. It is said that M. de Freycinet has at last come to this conclusion himself, and that, under the auspices of M. Grévy, a reconciliation has been brought about between the two statesmen, with a view to common action in case of a dissolution. If this is true, it is not impossible that such action might prove effectual, for the recent elections in the Departments of the Nord and La Manche prove that the successes of the Right in the campaign of last October were due to nothing but the unreasoning reaction of feeling produced by the attacks to which M. Ferry and the Opportunists had been subjected by their opponents.

Nevertheless, the Right remains the great obstacle in the way of the Republic. Its irreconcilable attitude makes it every day more difficult to construct a Conservative Republican party, which might ally itself with the Moderate Left, and thus alone hold out to France and the Republic the hope of a pacific future. M. Raoul Duval has lost no time in justifying the doubts we expressed four months ago as to his capacity for leading a Liberal-Conservative party. After making a very striking and brilliant speech in the general debate on the Budget, after reproaching the Republicans with their clumsy and vexatious policy with regard to the Church and their incapacity for finance, and the Right with the impotence of its opposition, the uselessness of its regrets, and the vanity of its hopes, he has gone on to prove himself just as prejudiced and just as impolitic as any of those whom he so eloquently denounced. He took an opportunity, on the Foreign Office estimates, to demand the instant evacuation of Tonquin—a measure which, if he were Prime Minister himself, he never would dream of carrying out, and after thus gratifying his old grudge against M. Ferry, he proceeded to make himself, by his great speech on the suppression of the sub-prefectures, the chief factor in the fall of M. de Freycinet. It was a mere freak—such as might be expected, indeed, from members of the Extreme Left, who are quite accustomed to lead the way to a quagmire without troubling themselves as to the result, but wholly unpardonable in a man who was taking upon himself to preach wisdom and impartiality all round. His sudden death has deprived the Parliament and the country of an able and amiable man, but this loss is of no political consequence at all, for M. Raoul Duval would never have played a leading part in affairs, nor become a true statesman.

Meanwhile, the Government has quietly begun its work. It has gathered up the fragments of the Budget so cruelly cut up by the

Chamber, it has pieced them together as best it could, it now asks no loan, imposes no new taxes—though of course it has issued Government bonds and raised the duty on sugar, which comes to precisely the same thing. It will thus get some sort of a Budget passed this year, and for 1888 it will contrive a new one, for which we may wish, but scarcely hope, a better fate than that of the last. As to the Extraordinary Budget, the rumours of war and the military preparations of Germany have made it impossible to do without it. When Germany is forbidding the exportation of horses and calling 71,000 men of the reserve into the ranks, France can hardly be blamed for anticipating her supplies for war material. Apart from this setting of the Budget in order, which has nothing brilliant or imposing about it, the Government has had the good sense to make no promises. It has held out no hopes to the Municipal Councillors who urged the restoration of the Mayoralty of Paris. It has told the Committee charged with the Bill for the Separation of Church and State that it considered the measure neither ripe nor politic, and would certainly oppose it. It has had the courage to let it be seen that in its opinion the first business of a Government is to govern, and not to introduce reforms every twenty-four hours. One of the worst evils from which the country suffers—an evil arising from our electoral system, with its accompaniment, the electoral programme—is the idea, deeply embedded in the brains of most Frenchmen, that the normal occupation of Parliament and its Ministers is reform, interminable reform. A large number of our people live in perpetual discontent with the order of things in which they find themselves, in a perpetual effort to bring about a different order of things, and in perpetual disappointment, because changing the order of things is slow and difficult work. Hence there grows up in people's minds a really revolutionary tendency, and so much the more because the Chamber, still bent on dazzling the constituencies, is always opening up the largest, the gravest, and the most far-reaching questions—questions far too weighty ever to come to anything—instead of applying itself to modest, useful, and feasible improvements, which everybody would agree with, but nobody could make any noise about.

This mania for playing to the political gallery gets worse every day, the *scrutin de liste* has done almost nothing to diminish it. The affair of the sub-prefectures is a strong instance of it. To please the majority who voted for suppression, M. Goblet is bringing in a Bill for suspending sixty-eight of them by way of experiment. But no one now wishes to carry even this partial suppression, for what if all the threatened *arrondissements* should turn against those who voted away their sub-prefects? The close dependence of the Deputies on their constituents, and of Ministers on the Deputies, the constant interference of the Deputies in matters of administration, and the total absence of Ministerial firmness and self-reliance, are throwing discredit on the Parliamentary system, and we find statesman after statesman rising up against it, and demanding a system analogous to that of the United States, with an Executive wholly independent of the Legislature. M. Pascal, who is a Bonapartist, M. Andrieux and M. Carette, who are Moderate Republicans, and M. Naquet, who is a Radical, all agree in crying up, whether by speech or pamphlet, this imitation of American institutions. Unfortunately, I suspect that if we were to adopt it we

should only be exchanging the ills from which we suffer for others at least as bad. The fundamental mischief lies in our system of democratic centralization, which has for its almost inevitable corollary a Cæsarian despotism. It has perverted our Parliamentary system, and made it difficult to work it, and under a government system like that of the United States it would soon lead to anarchy and a dictatorship. But how are we to get out of the dilemma? Is it possible to produce a salutary reaction? I hardly think it. Happily for us, in real life the social and political forces rarely develop their full logical consequences. But there is no doubt that we are in a position of unstable equilibrium, which means that we may at any moment be precipitated into a military despotism.

It must also be admitted that, so far as mere chance goes, the Third Republic has, ever since the death of Gambetta, been having a run of ill luck. Our financial complications have not sprung entirely from the shortsightedness and incompetence of the Chamber, but to some extent from the failure of the Paris Bourse and the general industrial crisis. Our political difficulties of the last year and a half are not to be imputed wholly to the ignorance or the passion of men and the imperfection of institutions; they have been due in some measure to the fact that the defeat of Langson threw M. Ferry out of office at a moment when there was nothing in the position of parties to justify a change of Government. One can almost understand the version with which some persons even now regard the Tonquin expedition, when one thinks of the persistent ill luck which has attended it. The death of Paul Bert has given fresh force to their recriminations. It has certainly been a great loss and misfortune to the country, and it caused at the time, even amongst his political adversaries, a widespread and painful sensation. With all his faults—his anti-religious fanaticism, his political narrowness, his levity and self-will in dealing with some questions—and even in spite of the serious error he committed in mixing himself up with certain financial undertakings, he had qualities, both of mind and character, which earned him the admiration of many and the regrets of all. It was not a delicate or a refined mind, but it was robust and wide. His studies prepared him to be rather a literary than a scientific man, and indeed he never to the end of his life lost his taste for poetry and the classics. After training for the Bar, he suddenly swerved into medicine and the study of physiology, and here it was that he found his true vocation. He became demonstrator to Claude Bernard, and thence passed rapidly on—thanks to the good-will of M. Duruy, who was then in office—to the Faculty of Sciences at Bordeaux, and then to that of Paris. His experiments on animal grafting brought him early into reputation, but no one at that time imagined that he was to become a figure in politics. By birth, and to all appearance by conviction, he belonged to that section of the Bonapartists of the Yonne which had retained the democratic and anti-clerical traditions of the beginning of the century, and along with them a vein of ardent patriotism. It was this patriotic fervour which, from the outbreak of the Franco-German war, drew him to Gambetta and the rest of those who stood out for a war *à outrance* to retrieve the honour of France, and, after taking part in the national defence, he naturally found himself at the end of the war a member of the Gambettist party, his violent and domineering disposition and his

strong democratic and anti religious views even ranking him with the Left of that party. From 1870 onwards he continued to form a part of our political assemblies, though without exercising any great influence, except in the matter of primary education, "secular, gratuitous, and compulsory," of which he was one of the most persevering and eloquent champions. The most remarkable thing in his career at this time was the way in which, despite the absorbing interests of political life, he never for a single day laid aside his scientific pursuits. Not only did he furnish the brilliant scientific notices in the *République Française*, but he went on with his researches in the laboratory of the Sorbonne, and produced those works on respiration and atmospheric pressure which have done such service to the science of medicine, and which won him the membership of the Academy of Sciences. But even this was not enough to satisfy his restless and ardent nature. He aspired to higher honours and more splendid services. He had been one of the most determined partisans of the Colonial policy and the Tonquin expedition. When the time came for organizing the administration of the new dependency, he felt that it rested with those who had taken the responsibility of the enterprise to face the dangers and meet the difficulties of the period of organization. He asked for and obtained the post of Resident General, and—fully aware of the risk he was incurring, at his age, and with his sanguine temperament—he left with his whole household for Tonquin. It is hardly possible to render too high a tribute to this determination of Paul Bert. This single act of faith and courage did more to reconcile public opinion to our distant acquisition than any number of books and speeches, and if there are any Frenchmen who now venture to try their fortunes or trust their capital on the banks of the Red River, it is to his example that we owe their enterprise. His premature death makes it very difficult to form an impartial opinion of his administration, but even here we may safely affirm that his brief residence at Hanoi will not have been unfruitful. In spite of some disagreeable collisions with the military authorities—for which they and not he were mainly responsible—in spite of some ill-considered and even illegal proceedings, prompted by his despotic temper, which laid him open to the imputation of having allowed himself to be guided by motives of personal interest—he has at least opened the way and shown us in what manner Colonial affairs ought to be dealt with. Taking his cue from the method adopted by the English in their colonies, he asked and obtained full powers from the Government, so as to be free to act rapidly, and without hindrance from administrative routine at home. Once arrived in Tonquin, he laid aside all his European prejudices, anti clerical or other, and applied himself to the single task of making the most he could of the natural advantages of the country in the shortest possible time. Gifted with indomitable energy and a singular perspicacity of mind, he contrived to surround himself with admirable subordinates, and whether we look to the organization of the revenue, the development of commerce, or the initiation of public works, it is astonishing to see what results were obtained in so extremely limited a space of time. His ceaseless activity was undoubtedly the cause of his illness and his death. He would not take care of himself during the hot season, he would not take the proper precautions to arrest the threatening malady. He died with the serenity and

courage of a hero, and his successor, M Bihoud—himself an able administrator—has only to follow in his steps in order to achieve the work which he began

Whilst our affairs in Tonquin have been undergoing these vicissitudes, important changes have been taking place in some of our other colonial possessions. M de Brazza has been appointed Governor of the Congo and Gaboon, and has obtained—not without some difficulty—for the organization of those vast and perhaps not very serviceable territories, powers analogous to those exercised by M Paul Bert in Tonquin, and it now rests with him to prove that he unites the qualities of the administrator to those of the explorer. In Madagascar, M Le Myre de Vilers has hardly succeeded in making the treaty concluded with the Hovas something less of an illusion, and securing to France an influential part in the counsels of the Malagasy Government. In Tunis the French protectorate has passed from the hands of M Cambon into those of M Massicault. What M Bert was planning to do in Tonquin—under conditions, it must be admitted, of much greater difficulty—M Cambon, at Tunis, was the first to carry into effect, and we are indebted to him for a very fine example of the way in which a country under a protectorate ought to be treated. To draw on the home exchequer for only the most insignificant sums (for, military expenses apart, Tunis costs us hardly more than some forty or fifty thousand francs a year), to take, within the protectorate itself, no action savouring of violence or precipitation, to carry out gradual improvements, financial, judicial, and administrative, by dint of convincing the local authorities of the advantages to be derived from them—such was his programme, and he carried it out with a skill, a perseverance, an independence of routine and of external influence, which have made him, amongst all our colonial administrators, a type apart, and given him a place above the rest. I cannot doubt that in the diplomatic career on which he has now entered at Madrid he will give proof of qualities no less valuable, but his departure from Tunis has been viewed in France with almost as much regret as in the protectorate itself. His successor, who, like himself, was one of our most able prefects, will find his task not a little facilitated by the precedents M Cambon has left behind him. But everything will depend on his following them. It is curious how, in this matter of colonizing, as in so many other matters, we Frenchmen have often made a brilliant, even a dazzling, start, but have proved wanting in those qualities of steadiness and assiduity which alone could have rendered our work a lasting success. We can find a man or two capable of a daring creation, but we cannot furnish the regiment of energetic and faithful subordinates, the careful, modest, and laborious agents who are needed to develop, slowly but surely, what has been so splendidly begun.

It may almost be said to be the same in science. What is lacking with us is the crowd of workers, not of the first rank, who should be dogging the steps of discovery, seizing on its deductions and multiplying its applications. France is as well off as any other country for originators and inventors, but she is not, like Germany, one vast laboratory of humble and hardworking students, toiling to make the most of every new indication. Our men of science are mostly formed in solitude. They are self-taught men, for the most part, they have gone through no

stated course of discipline. Yet if this comparative isolation has its inconveniences, it has also its advantages. Not many other nations can claim the honour of having opened up so many new roads, so much unexplored territory, in scientific research, in archæology, or in erudition. That the spirit of discovery is still alive and awake amongst us we have recent and abundant proof. While M. Marcel Desprez was carrying his experiments on the transmission of force by electricity into the domain of practical utility, while M. Maspéro was coming up from Egypt laden with the glory of discovered treasures as eloquent of the history of ancient Egypt as those of Mariette himself, and in the obtaining of which he had displayed an ingenuity worthy of Champollion, while M. de Sarzec was finding in Chaldæa the remains of an unknown civilization, while MM. Pottier and Reinach were presenting in their work on Myrrhina the results of their excavations, which have unearthed those marvellous potteries, more varied and lovely even than the exquisite ware of Tanagra, discovered by another Frenchman, M. Rayet, while M. Homolle, in his monograph on Delos, was making us familiar with the whole organization, religious and economic, of that ancient sanctuary, taken from the very archives of the temple itself, on which, by a happy combination of skill and good luck, he had been enabled to lay his hands—all this while a French engineer and his wife, M. and Mme. Dieulafoy, were making discoveries in Persia worthy to be placed beside those of Botta or Mariette. With the slenderest material resources, but by prodigies of energy and sagacity, they succeeded in discovering part of the palace of Darius at Susa, and there they found, in addition to innumerable engraved stones and bricks covered with cuneiform inscriptions, some bas-reliefs in enamelled brick which are absolutely unique in the history of art. These bas-reliefs, which decorated the great hall of audience, are remarkable not only for a purity of design which challenges comparison with the early works of Greek art, but for a harmony of colour and a perfection of technical execution which prove that the art of enamelling pottery must have been known in Persia from a very remote antiquity. In addition to the lions which form the frieze, these bas-reliefs represent a procession of warriors in whose rich costume we find a faithful reproduction of the description left us by Herodotus of the Guards of Darius—the Immortals. Mme. Dieulafoy, who has thrown herself with masculine energy into the work of exploration, wearing a man's dress, enduring the same fatigues with her husband, directing the workmen, and looking after them with sleepless vigilance, is also an authoress, and it is to her that we owe the charming work, "*La Susiane, La Perse, La Chaldée*," just issued by Hachette.

This time, as usual, it is from Hachette's that we get the most important of the illustrated books that come with the New Year. *Elysée Reclus* adds a new volume, on Africa, to his great "*Géographie Universelle*," while his brother, *Onesimus Reclus*, gives us, under the title "*En France*," a description of our own country, full of force and spirit and even poetry, though sometimes not a little bizarre in manner. The fourth volume of MM. Perrot and Chipiez's *Ancient History of Art* is taken up with Sardinia, Judæa, and Asia Minor. The two former countries furnish but a scanty harvest to the historian of art, though M. Chipiez's reproduction of the temple of Ezekiel is ex-



tremely interesting. But, on the other hand, that part of the volume which deals with the history of the Hétéans, that extraordinary people whose civilization—not to say their very existence—was only a few years ago quite unknown, but who exercised an indisputable influence on the civilization of Greece, is quite a revelation. The present volume completes the review of the civilizations and forms of art which preceded and led up to that of Greece, and the authors have now to enter on the subject of Greek art itself. This will form the core and centre of their work—a work which, for its literary and artistic qualities, as well as its archæological value, is likely to prove the finest monument yet reared to ancient art. Another appearance which will be hailed by lovers of Greece and of Greek art is that of the first volume of M. Duruy's "*Histoire des Grecs*." This indefatigable author had no sooner put the finishing touch to his masterly "*History of the Romans*," in seven quarto volumes, than he began a history of the Greeks on the same plan, its innumerable and admirable engravings forming a running commentary on the text, archæological, artistic, and picturesque. To turn over this volume is like taking a tour in Greece and going the round of all the museums to boot. It is really fine to see M. Duruy, after his long professorial career and his several years of service as Minister of Public Instruction, scorning repose and committing himself to schemes the mere extent of which might stagger a man with the best of his life before him. A much younger man than M. Duruy, M. E. Desjardins, who, in his "*Administrative and Political Geography of Roman Gaul*," had undertaken a far less crushing task, has died leaving his work unfinished. The fourth and concluding volume will be finished by the greatest of our historical geographers, M. Longnon.

We come next to works of somewhat less remote interest. We have already noticed the first volume of M. Albert Sorel's "*Europe and French Revolution*" (Plon), which appeared in 1885, and formed a masterly introduction to the body of the work, describing—with, indeed, an almost bewildering profusion of thought and fact—the position of each of the European States, and of France herself in relation to them, at the outbreak of the Revolution. The second volume, on the Fall of the Monarchy, goes to the heart of the subject. It is no longer a vast survey of the situation, but a detailed narrative of the events which, from the summoning of the States-General to Valmy, were leading up to the European coalition against France, the fall of the monarchy, and the proclamation of the Republic. M. Sorel had tried his hand in fiction before he took to history, he has spent years in the diplomatic service, and he is now, as Secretary to the Presidency of the Senate, behind the scenes of the political stage, and with all this experience he brings to his task a rare combination of qualifications. He has the penetrating precision, the calm and impartial judgment, of the diplomatist and the philosopher, who sees the hidden springs of action and event, and who is not to be put off with words or carried away by illusions, and, at the same time, his vivid imagination seizes on the dramatic points of the story, and makes the actors in it instinct with life. He surprises you alternately by the vigour of his pencil and the serene imperturbability of his judgment.

The history of diplomacy seems just now a favourite subject. This is probably to be attributed in part to the freedom with which the

archives of the Foreign Office are thrown open to students and the impulse given by the publications of the Committee charged with the management of these records. The Committee has already issued one volume of its Catalogue, two of Instructions to French Ambassadors between 1648 and 1789—one for Austria, edited by M. Sorel, and one for Sweden, by M. Geffroy—and two volumes of a systematic inventory of documents, on the plan of the English Calendars of State Papers. One of these consists of the embassies of MM. de Marillac and de Castillon, and the other contains the first part of the papers of Barthélemy, the ambassador of the Republic in Switzerland during the negotiation of the peace of Bâle. Every year now witnesses the publication of a considerable number of works the substance of which is entirely derived from Foreign Office documents. One of the most recent is that of M. Vandal on the mission of the Marquis de Villeneuve at Constantinople (1728-1741). M. Vandal has been devoting himself for some years to the foreign policy of France in Eastern Europe during the eighteenth century. His book on Louis XV. and Elizabeth of Russia was, and deserved to be, a great success. The present volume has less of romantic incident, but it has a higher historical importance. The Marquis de Villeneuve was the founder of those friendly and intimate relations between France and the Ottoman Porte which long secured us a preponderating influence in the East, and the results of which are felt even now. The romantic element is not quite absent either. There is plenty of it in the charming story of the adventures of the Comte-Pacha de Bonneval. Most of the papers contained in the valuable *Annals of the Ecole des Sciences Politiques* also bear on the history of diplomacy, and the movement in this direction has been further marked by the inauguration of a Society of Diplomatic History, with a quarterly Review of its own, at the head of which we find the names of de Broglie, Geffroy, Rothan—an ample guarantee of the value of the work.

Another branch of study which has grown to exceptional importance in our day is the history of Art. In addition to the lectures of the Ecole des Beaux Arts and those of the Professor of *Æsthetics* at the Collège de France, the Ecole du Louvre, opened some three years ago, is devoted especially to this subject. Two new courses of lectures have just been commenced there—one by M. Lafenestre on oil painting and one by M. Courajod on French sculpture. Several publishers—MM. Quantin, Baschet and Ronain in particular—devote themselves almost exclusively to works on art, while others, without making it a specialty, are constantly bringing out costly and beautiful volumes of the same description. Thus, M. Plon, himself a man of fine taste and learning, to whom we are already indebted for an exhaustive biography of Benvenuto Cellini, with a critical catalogue of his works, has just produced a splendid volume on Leone and Pompeo Leoni, two sculptors of the sixteenth century patronized by Charles V. and Philip II. The exhaustive work of M. Palustre on the Renaissance in France has now reached its third volume. M. Lafenestre, a good writer and a thorough connoisseur, who has already given us the first volume of an exquisite little history of Italian painting, now publishes a work on Titian, perhaps the most important of which the great Venetian has yet been the subject. Not Titian only, but all Venice, lives in his book, we trace the influences by which Titian was formed, and see how, far from

being an isolated genius, he was the product of those who had toiled before him, and the centre, in his own day, of a group of worthy emulators

We have also to note one or two important contributions to the history of Music. It is, of course, on Richard Wagner that everybody's curiosity converges at present, and while we wait for the approaching performance of "*Lohengrin*" at the Eden Theatre, notices of him and his work come thick and fast. The most complete and interesting Life of Wagner that has yet appeared in France, not to say in Europe, is that of M. Jullien (Ronain), already known for good work in this department. With some few insignificant exceptions, M. Jullien has informed himself very carefully on all the details of Wagner's career, and has faithfully followed the vicissitudes of his hero's troubled life and the transformations of his ever-restless thought. He estimates his works with a sympathetic impartiality which contrasts favourably with the extravagant judgments commonly passed upon them, whether by admirers or depreciators. One thing that greatly adds to the interest of the volume is the reproduction of all the known portraits of Wagner, of the principal scenes in his operas, and of a number of Wagner caricatures, which really are very valuable documents in the history of Wagnerianism. The book is purely biographical, and does not deal with the question of Wagner's musical and dramatic theory, nor attempt to assign him his final place in Art. As regards the dramatic side of the question, M. Schuré had already ventured an estimate of this kind in his important book on the musical Drama, in which he attributes Wagner's operatic theory to the influence of the Greek drama, while the musical merits of the Wagnerian opera are discussed by Mme. Fuchs in her "*L'Opéra et le Drame Musical d'après les œuvres de Richard Wagner*." This book, judicious without being exactly profound, gives a very good idea of what Wagner aimed at, and of the qualities and defects which by turns captivate and disconcert his audience. Finally, M. G. Servièrès has given us in a very well-written and most amusing book—"Richard Wagner jugé en France"—the history of Wagnerianism in our own country. It makes a very curious chapter in the history of musical taste in France, and of the revolution brought about by Wagner both in music and in the drama. M. Servièrès tells his story with fine impartiality.

The title of M. Servièrès' book suggests that of a book by M. Grand Carteret—"La France jugée par l'Allemagne"—which gives some curious instances of the difficulty foreigners find in understanding each other. This is to be followed by "*L'Allemagne jugée par la France*," from which it will be seen, perhaps with some surprise, that Frenchmen in general have been far more reasonable in their estimate of Germans than the Germans have been in their estimate of us.

We have already drawn attention to the brilliant way in which literary criticism is nowadays represented among us by MM. P. Bourget, Lemaître, and Brunetière, and we could but repeat the same eulogy in noticing M. J. Lemaître's "*Les Contemporains*," and a new volume of historical and literary miscellanies by M. Brunetière. At the same time M. Désiré Nisard, a veteran of bygone days, the venerable champion of the classic dogma and tradition, has also published a volume of literary and historical studies, characterized by all his fine qualities of mind and

manner And next, here is a fine new star on the horizon Here is a young professor, M Emile Faguet, whose "*Études Littéraires sur le Dixneuvième Siècle*" have conquered fame at a bound He owes his success to his singularly keen and delicate literary sense, and even more to a sincerity of perception and expression which gives the freshness of reality to all he says His essay on Victor Hugo is far and away the most penetrating comment yet passed on that great poet By way of complement to M Faguet we may take M P Stapfer's "*Victor Hugo and Racine*" and M Dupuy's earnest, if somewhat too dithyrambic, "*Victor Hugo l'homme et l'œuvre*" Two good bits of literary history may also be mentioned here "*La Comédie en France du Moyen Age*," by M Petit de Julleville, and "*La Comédie de Molière*," by M Larroumet M Larroumet goes deep into the sources of Molière's inspiration—his own family, the bourgeois circle in which he was brought up, the actors among whom he lived, the Court of Louis XIV in which he found royal patronage One comes away from M Larroumet with quite a new comprehension of Molière and his works

We have only two or three novels worth mentioning A good deal has been said about a novel by M Mirbeau, called "*Le Calvaire*" It is striking, no doubt, and there is some analytical power showing through its disjointed and feverish style, but the subject is so sickening, and the author's cynicism so revolting, as to place the whole thing outside the range of literary criticism M P Bourget's "*André Cornélis*" stands on quite a different level Like most of his novels, it belongs to the school of what the Zolaist would term "*moral anatomy*" M Bourget always simplifies his subject to the last degree He puts very few figures on his canvas, fixes his whole attention on one or two of them, and then watches the development in them of only a single feeling or a single idea Once make up your mind to this excessive simplification, and you are amazed at the force and acumen with which he scrutinizes the very soul of his hero or heroine The subtlety of his perception is only equalled by his extraordinary powers of expression André Cornélis is the son of a murdered man His mother has married again, and married, without knowing it, the instigator of the murder. The boy has an instinctive aversion for his stepfather, and, growing up with a determination to find and punish the murderer, at last does find and does punish him The whole story is a study of the conflict in André's mind between his affection for his mother and his devotion to the memory of his father, which he conceives himself bound to vindicate The inward struggles of this Parisian Hamlet are described with an agonizing fidelity which makes the story painfully interesting At the same time it calls up some very complex moral problems, which the author solves with a single sentence from the Decalogue, "*Thou shalt not kill*"

Among recent volumes of verse, I see nothing to notice except M de Pomarols' "*La Nature et l'Âme*" and M Jean Aicard's "*Le Vie des Petits*" M de Pomarols is a tender, subtle, and delicate versifier, and he sings of Nature in a strain which is new and his own It is not the objective beauty of external Nature that he dwells upon, but its reflection in us, in whose consciousness alone it really exists Guided by this idea, he reproduces in himself the mental condition of primitive man when his perception of natural phenomena was

shaping itself into myth, and he throws into mythic form his own impressions of Nature. "*Le Livre des Petits*" is a collection of poems for children, simple in thought and language, but each with its touch of poetry or its imbedded moral idea. It will doubtless find its way into all our schools and families as a book for reading and recitation.

I must not pass over in silence one book of a philosophical character which has raised a good deal of controversy here, and which certainly will not escape notice in England—"The Irreligion of the Future," by M. Guyau. The title is unlucky. It should have been "*The Religion of the Future*." M. Guyau, whose works on the Ethics of Epictetus and on Contemporary English Morality have already become classic, has been trying to do what M. de Hartmann has attempted in Germany and Mr. Matthew Arnold in England. He has been trying to find out what is to satisfy the imperishable religious cravings of the human soul when all positive religions have disappeared, and he endeavours to prove that theism, pantheism, or even the mere moral ideal by itself, may to some extent avail, and that even the idea of the immortality of the soul is not so fatally damaged as is commonly supposed by the doubts or negations of our day. We doubt whether any really religious soul, believing or unbelieving, will find much satisfaction in M. Guyau's conclusions, though we must render homage to the elevation of his thought and the beauty of his philosophic phrase.

Is it, again, a philosophic problem that M. Renan sets before us in his "*Abbesse de Jouarre*," which has been received with such a burst of criticism, and which the Italians alone have had the hardihood to put upon the stage? This abbess, who, in 1793, on the very eve of execution, forgets her vows, and who, when she has been rescued by an unlooked-for accident, marries in 1802 a *ci-devant* noble, now a General in the service of the Republic—is she intended to convince us that those moral laws which lie at the basis of marriage and of society are not laws of the conscience at all, but simply social conventions? or does she not rather symbolize the reconciliation of the *Ancien Régime* and the Revolution, as it were over the dead body of the old religious forms? I myself incline to this latter opinion, and am disposed to think that if M. Renan has seemed to offend against any moral proprieties, it is because he chose to personify his abstractions, after the fashion of the antique mythologies, which, with no dream of evil intent, turned the caprices of the wind and sun into divine adventures and infidelities.

M. Alexandre Dumas is quite as daring a moralist as M. Renan, but his morality is more austere and more intelligible. When I say his morality is austere, I must not be misunderstood. He does preach morality, and even a severe morality, though he preaches it with a careless cynicism horrifying to ordinary virtue. It is to be feared that many spectators of "*Francillon*" come away delighted with the daring speeches and situations of the play rather than benefited by the lessons to be drawn from it. To put bad morals and bad manners on the stage, even for the purpose of holding them up to censure, is to familiarize the public with them, and so run the risk of spreading the infection. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to enjoy "*Francillon*" as they play it at the *Théâtre Français*. Never have M. Dumas' scenic powers come out in greater force, never has his wit been more dazzling or his mastery of the emotions of his audience more complete. Nor can we refuse our

homage to the moral of the piece. In marriage the man and the woman are equally bound, and morally, if not socially, a breach of duty is as bad in the one as in the other.

Beside "Francillon," the other theatrical novelties make but a sorry figure. Richépin's "Monsieur Scapin," at the Français, is only a clever imitation of Regnard. Sardou's "Crocodile," at the Porte Saint Martin, is a pretty and amusing extravaganza. Meilhac's "Gotté" has had but a partial success at the Palais Royal. It lacks unity of inspiration. It is a mixture of high comedy and broad farce on a basis of tragical moral analysis. At the Odéon M. de Goncourt's "Renée Maupérin" seemed tedious and affected, Mlle Arnaud's scriptural subject, "Sons of Jahel," with all its fine passages and strong situations, reminded one of Pascal's saying, that eloquence gets tiresome if it goes on too long, and the only tolerable success has been Henri Becque's "Michel Paupér," which is not a new piece at all, but twenty years old, but which still succeeds, because, in spite of wilful oddities, it has the grip of real dramatic genius in it.

At the Operas, the noisy vulgarity of the "Egmont" of M. Salvayre and the learned elegance of M. Paladilhe's "Patric"—which owed not a little to the beauty of M. Sardou's libretto—have had but a lukewarm reception. But we are soon to have M. Saint-Saen's "Proserpine," and "Lohengrin." The rest is only to kill time.

Fortunately the Parisians have had other diversions to while away the long winter. I am not sure that they have cared much about the inauguration of M. Bartholdy's great statue of "Liberty illuminating the Two Worlds," which occasioned such manifestations of sympathy for the French delegates at New York, but they have been intensely interested in the fasting-men. The defeat of the Italian champion, Succi, by his fellow-countryman, Merlati, who went fifty days without anything but water, kept us in newspaper paragraphs and small talk for a considerable time. It had also the advantage of enabling the doctors to draw a clear line of distinction between hunger and innutrition, the former of which kills much more rapidly than the latter, and of giving us a truer idea of the length of time it really is possible to live without food.

But what are we to say of the "Exposition des Incohérents"? Does not this sort of buffoonery look rather like an era of decadence? And do we not see another sign of the same thing in the absurdities of the "symbolistic" poets, who torture the language to put their nonsense into verse, and who have found unexpected admirers among the anarchists—the revolt against law naturally allying itself with the revolt against grammar? A worse sign still is the Eiffel tower—an iron tower some thousand feet high, ugly in itself and certain to make everything else look ugly in its neighbourhood, which the organizers of the Exhibition of 1889 are determined, in the face of all opposition, to set up in the very midst by way of a centre-piece. It will of course dwarf all the surrounding buildings, and it has not a single merit of its own except its immense proportions and the technical difficulty of making it. There is something in this craving for the extraordinary and monstrous instead of the beautiful which really does savour of a period of decadence.

Another bad thing is the custom we have lately introduced of getting

up a fête for the benefit of the victims on the occasion of any public disaster. Even apart from the incongruous effect of some people amusing themselves because other people are suffering, it generally happens that the expenses of the entertainment run away with the best part of the receipts, and the only people who are the better for it are the *impresario* and his agents who pocket the money, the journalists who find an opportunity of puffing themselves, and the promoters who get decorated for their pains. The Fêtes du Soleil which were got up in Paris in mid-winter in aid of the sufferers by the floods in the South did not escape this condemnation. Except at the performance of "Patrie" at the Opéra, which paid splendidly, I doubt if much money was collected. The "foire méridional" at the Palais de l'Industrie, with its Tarascon dance and procession and its bull-running, interested the public very little indeed. The loan exhibition of pictures from private galleries did more for the sufferers. It contained, amongst other things, a singularly beautiful series of Dutch pictures, and some terribly realistic portraits of madmen by Géricault.

The private exhibitions which precede the annual Salon are just opening their doors—those of the Cercles in the Rue Volney and the Place Vendôme, that of the Painters in Water Colours at the Rue de Sève. This last is the only one which offers us anything new. It has forty drawings of M. Besnard's, in which at last we see that fitful and uncertain artist master of his craft, and risen to the highest rank both in colour and design.

G. MONOD

# CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

## GENERAL LITERATURE

**B**IOGRAPHY —Bishop Hannington, the most recent of Christian martyrs, has been fortunate in his biographer \* A devoted life and heroic death like his might indeed in any hands furnish forth an attractive and stimulating memoir, but Mr Dawson has, in addition, been singularly successful all through in grasping and communicating the individuality of his hero—if a biographer's subject must be so called—and presenting him to us clothed in life Hannington was one of the best types of English manhood—practical, resolute, single-minded, hearty, resourceful, rising vigorously to difficulty or danger, and sustained by a strong and straightforward religious faith Mr Dawson seems to think his most striking characteristic, the resultant of the others combined, was his invariable happiness under whatever kind of fortune The work deserves an abiding place on the shelf of Christian biography —Mr W H Channing, of whom Mr Frothingham now publishes a memoir,† was perhaps a little unpractical, but certainly a sympathetic and intellectually interesting man, following his inspiration of truth and humanity wherever they happened to lead, and they happened to lead him in some cases through interesting scenes and connections The phases of his religious opinions are not very important, but he took hold early of the idea that social regeneration in this world ought to be a more essential part of the religious aim than it was usually regarded Mr Frothingham says, indeed, he was first and foremost a Christian Socialist—of course in that sense—and he was one of the community of Brook Farm, and has been accused—as he himself held, unjustly—of introducing Fourierism into it, and so conducing to its failure His own account of the failure is worth quoting “The great evil, the radical practical danger, seemed to be a willingness to do work half thorough, to rest on poor results, to be content amidst comparatively squalid conditions, and to form habits of indolence”—Ozanam's Letters,‡ of which the translator has published a first instalment, extending to his appointment as Professor of Literature in the Sorbonne, tell the story of his life without the need of much editorial assistance At the age of two, or rather under, he could quote with apposite discretion from the Fables of La Fontaine At eighteen he proposed to himself, as the ambitious work of a lifetime, to write a history of all creeds, which should serve to determine the religious future of humanity Upon this subject he forthwith set to work, and his whole career seems to have been one of extraordinary mental activity The

\* “Bishop Hannington a Sketch of his Life and Work” By E C Dawson, M A  
London Seeley & Co

+ London Sonnenschein

‡ “Letters of Frederic Ozanam” Translated from the French by Annie Coates  
London Elliot Stock



interest of his life at Paris, where he went for the study of law, centres in the Christian societies which he helped to establish that of St Vincent de Paul, for the "reconciliation of those who have not enough with those who have too much, by means of charitable works," and the Conference of Notre Dame, for the encouragement of a higher mode of Christian preaching, adapted to meet the attacks of rationalism. The letters are throughout of a consistently high tone, they are full of piety without narrowness, and culture without pedantry. Catholicism is the keynote of his life—Madame de Schwartz's publication of her reminiscences of Garibaldi \* may possibly be in good taste, but they are exceedingly personal reminiscences. From some hundred and fifty letters, addressed to his "Speranza Amatissima," full of protestations of devotion, one gathers that although on making her acquaintance he asked her to marry him, and subsequently dropped all reference to this proposition, a strong friendship existed for many years between them. This friendship he utilized by imposing upon her some difficult and dangerous duties, and accepting at all times the most loyal services, among which may be reckoned the adoption of his daughter by Battistina. To do the writer justice, she seems to have hesitated to accept Garibaldi's original offer on the ground that he had given this woman a promise to make their union legitimate. In the meantime, however, he contracted his unfortunate marriage with the Marquis Rumondi's daughter. The book is full of scenes of interest and excitement, in which the writer figures quite as conspicuously as her hero. New light is thrown on many points—the skirmish at Apromonte, Garibaldi's contempt for Mazzini's policy, and the story of the escape from Caprera in 1867, told by the "Solitario" himself. His unfortunate efforts after literary fame are duly discussed, and there is one very amusing letter, written in a vein of humble hesitation, entreating advice about the publication of his first novel—Major-General Drayson, who gives us his 'Experiences as a Woolwich Professor,'† has, by his own showing, not been properly appreciated. Years ago he invented a capital range-finder, and the military authorities thought scorn of it, while his theory of a second and slow rotation of the earth received very scant recognition from astronomical experts. And yet as a professor he has done good work, and as a writer employs much common-sense. The need of it he has learned from his experience of army routine, and indeed when a man nearly loses two-thirds of a quarter's pay because he has only forwarded his monthly certificate of continued existence for the last of these three periods, his sense of the advantage of reason over routine is likely to become accentuated. But the author is too fond of reason, and his views upon the aim of education are consequently defective. In his scheme there is no position assigned to the cultivation of taste. Fifteen years spent among cadets has taught him that two things are necessary—the acquirement of a store of practical knowledge, and the development of the reasoning faculty. "Classics, modern languages, history, or verses can only be acquired by cramming, there being no reason to guide one in any portion of these." These are the actual words of

\* "Recollections of Garibaldi." By Filipp Melena. London Trübner & Co. 1887.

† "Experiences of a Woolwich Professor." By Major General A. W. Drayson, late R. A. London Chapman & Hall.

this professor —The Life of Dr Lindsay Alexander of Edinburgh, by Mr James Ross,\* is a very good account of an interesting and scholarly man, and gives, in passing, glimpses of many of the principal figures in Scotland during the last half-century, and of some of the phases of the religious life of the country. Some of Dr Alexander's discourses and hymns are added to his biography, as well as some striking translations of Scotch songs into Latin and Greek verse. Those of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch" and "Willie brewed a peck o' maut" are particularly good.

TRAVEL—Lieutenant A C Yate, one of the officers accompanying the late Afghan Boundary Commission, republishes, in the form of a volume under the title of "England and Russia Face to Face in the East,"† the correspondence which he contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* and other newspapers from the spot. He has added to this a summary of the work of the British Boundary Commission, both as a whole and individually, and given his views of the respective positions of England and Russia in Central Asia, as affected by the events to which the despatch of the Boundary Commission has given rise. There is much freshness and variety in the author's description of his experiences, and they are of value as relating to a part of the world hitherto little, if at all, known. He treats in an appendix of the Russo-Persian frontier, where he had an opportunity of travelling, and where, from the want of any distinct definition, he fears a similar difficulty may soon arise to that which he had some part in settling on the Afghan frontier—"An Italian Pilgrimage," by Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell,‡ is an entertaining, if rather small-beer, chronicle of a journey by tandem tricycle from Florence to Rome, undertaken by an American artist and his literary wife. The result of this partnership in work is very happy. The illustrations are excellent, and the letterpress readable, and Mr C G Leland prefaces the book with some charming verses.

MISCELLANEOUS—Mr J S Jeans's "Railway Problems"§ is the most important and comprehensive work on the railway system that has been published in this country since the railway system came into being. That system may or may not have the transformation before it which many persons expect, but at any rate it has now arrived at a stage in its history when it is well to gather up the results and experiences of the past in the various countries of the world, and it is these results and experiences, so far as they are available, that Mr Jeans has set himself to collect, analyse, and discuss. Much of the work he has done is of necessity pioneer work, and ends, perhaps, as often in raising a fresh difficult problem as in settling one, for what strikes us most is the marvellous want of uniformity in the experiences of different lines, whether in the same or in different countries, but the author's survey of the field is very complete and careful, and his examination of the evidence marked by admirable acumen and solidity of judgment. It is of course impossible to review the book here as it deserves, but it may be safely recommended as a mine of well-digested information and instructive discussion on the whole range of problems connected with the present situation of railways at home and abroad.—Dr Richard Ely's "Labour Movement in America"|| was written before the recent election of Mayor of New

\* London J Nisbet & Co

† Edinburgh W Blackwood & Sons,

‡ London Seeley & Co

§ London Longmans & Co

|| New York Crowen & Co

York, and contains no estimation of the nature and bearing of the large labour vote then given for Henry George, but it gives full particulars about the Knights of Labor and similar societies, and their aims and methods, and about the work of the various socialistic organizations in America. Dr Ely writes in thorough—though sometimes too indiscriminate—sympathy with the American labour movement, and describes its remarkable features and developments with clearness and force. He has the idea that the Knights of Labor, being a universal union of working men, is a stage of higher development than the ordinary union of the separate trades, but this is very doubtful, for, as experience already shows, it cannot be of half the practical good the other can. One of the best chapters in the book is on the educational value of labour organizations, which in America seem to do much more than here outside the immediate object of their origin, and are usually very effectual agencies for promoting temperance and supplying social recreation of a good sort. The American Socialists seem to be still, as one of their own newspapers acknowledges, “a mere German colony—a branch of the German Social Democracy,” indeed, Dr Ely says, one bond that holds them together is “their interest and active participation in the election of members to the Imperial Parliament of Germany,” but he admits they are making some progress in winning English-speaking adherents, and that “large success has met their efforts to diffuse their ideas among the labouring classes”—Mr T S Kingdon Oliphant—who had already in his “Old and Middle English” traced with singular exactitude and interest of detail the changes that occurred in the transition of our language from what is known as Anglo-Saxon into modern English—has now, in two volumes entitled “The New English,”\* continued his work from the fourteenth century down even to Mr Aitch’s recent mistake about “hind” in our own day. It is a work of genuine and laborious scholarship, being the most complete chronicle we possess of the first appearances of new words, or phrases, or tendencies in the successive writings of our modern English authors, and it will afford as real profit and entertainment to the general reader as to the philologist—Herr von Huhn’s account of the Bulgarian struggle for independence last year, which has just been translated into English,† throws a great deal of light upon the Bulgarian situation, and tells us much that is interesting about the Bulgarian people, about Prince Alexander and the other leading personages of the country, and about the Russian intrigues. The author went through the campaign as correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*, and the book is founded on his personal observation and investigations. His picture of the progress made by this inexperienced peasant people in political and commercial and social life is very encouraging.

\* London Macmillan &amp; Co

† London John Murray

## THE CALL OF SAVONAROLA

THE fifteenth century is the April of modern history The buds swell with sap, the leaves put forth shoots, the shoots burst into flowers, the flowers paint themselves in every variety of colour and secrete honey, the honey summons the bees, whilst the petals tempt the butterflies, the butterflies leave their dark chrysalis to assume their airy forms, the springs leave their winter prisons to babble in the valleys, up above in the tops of the trees the birds practise their choirs, from the mated larks, who rise to salute the dawn with their mystic psalmody, down to the amorous nightingale, who through the night sings to his bride as she sits on her nest, and awakes in all hearts the thoughts of spring So in the fifteenth century the printing-press comes to give permanence to thought, ruins choked with flowering weeds show, as in a living sepulchre, the statue which is to bring perfection to art, Constantinople, humiliated by its defeat at Lepanto, falls into the dungeon of slavery, whilst the soul of ancient Greek literature, revived in Florence, flows like new blood through the cold sluggish veins of the human race, scholastic philosophy acts, as the chrysalis on the butterfly, repressively, but Florentine Platonism illuminates the depths of Heaven and of the soul with the ideas of the sublimest of philosophers, the ocean, too, in order that everything may be marvellous, presents America with its virgin forests and overflowing life to renovate and fire Nature itself, as though the Universe were a divine poem written across the immensity of space in starry letters for man's spirit to read

The fifteenth century is Easter resurrection following on the Good Friday of the Middle Ages,—when the altars were dressed in mourning, the temples vacant and open, the virgins alone, the Saviour in His tomb, the Cross raised above the Universe, the angels weeping,

the Miserere of penitence filling the darkened air with tears,—after this Good Friday comes Easter-day, that second Nativity in which Jesus Christ rises from His sepulchre to ascend into the heavens, whereupon the Te Deums rise from the Churches, and merry peals of bells meet the hosannas of the angels, religious inspiration fills the air, the hallelujah of mystic joy mingles with the humming of the bee, the flight of the butterfly, the odour of flowers, the murmuring of the brook, the sparkling of the stars, the songs of the nightingale and of the lark, the new tide of hope

Throughout this Easter-tide society seemed to delight in satisfying all the wants and aspirations of the mind. Some instrument was needed to rend the feudal rock, to split and break it into fragments,—nay, to crush it to powder. To open up earth's shores, to verify the legendary voyages of our new argonauts, the Portuguese and Spanish sailors, a fixed point in the heavens, and another fixed point on board the ship, were called for, and then providentially came the compass to point unerringly to the North amidst continual motion. A fresh type was required for art, and there came the newly discovered statues to decorate our cathedrals and the palaces of our Popes. There was wanted a means to search out the recesses of the heavens, even as printing had been made to vanquish time and the compass to master space, so in the tubes of an instrument came by chance certain glasses, which were converted into a telescope, and superseded the old astronomy of Alexandria. After that, conscience also needed to be renewed, the Church reconstructed, Christianity remoulded, conscience had to be idealized, in order to rise higher and find its altars above, even as it had been with science and art and all the institutions of the human mind. To say that all the mental faculties advanced, and that only feeling and faith flagged, were to state the impossible. Faith must needs be revived, as everything was revived, in this period of universal regeneration. And to fulfil the ministry of the renewal of faith, without severing it from its traditions, ideas, and dogmas, came the luminous soul of the immortal SAVONAROLA.

All men have in common the humanity to which they belong, and all have the particular characteristics of their special individuality. And yet there is nothing more common than to demand of persons of the highest powers, whose vocation is assigned them by a voice from above, for very special purposes, the whole range of human faculties, as though it were possible for one man to grasp universal mind and discharge all human obligations. Thus, a politician assumes to sit in judgment on Savonarola, and calls him a clumsy and incapable prophet, because he did not practise the intrigues of politics, again, a mystic, a religious fanatic, constitutes himself his judge, and brands him as an ambitious tribune because he blended

the cloister with the political arena, the pulpit with the rostrum, because he worshipped both religion and democracy, because he made himself the champion of the Gospel and of the Republic. An idle task, to judge a great man from a single point of view! Savonarola represents two things vitally necessary at the moment in which he appears—first, the revival of religious consciousness, and secondly, the renewed application of the conscience to the reform of social life. To satisfy the desires of so many great souls, to fulfil the testaments of the last canonical Councils, to restore Christian thought to the mind, and then to bring down conscience, rejuvenated and remoulded, into the bosom of society—this was his herculean task, his historic mission.

We will now examine whether his labour was a failure and his ministry unsuccessful. We will then ask on whom the responsibility falls that the labour was lost, and that the mission failed, it may fall upon him, or it may fall upon his implacable enemies. We will next inquire whether the revolution was brought on by the failure of Savonarola's ideas, hopes, and projects. That which we must demand is, that a man summoned to a task so superhuman, born in such an epic period, called to work out so concrete an issue, constrained to sow, in so restricted a field, the seed of his ideas which were to spread all over the world, should not be required to display powers incompatible with the ministry which he came to fulfil. As a monk, he will have to see things of the world through the walls of the cloister, as a politician, he will have to look upon the cloister through the atmosphere of the world, as a mystic, he will have to convert moral and religious rules into coercive laws, as a politician, he must give to prayers, sermons, and penitential services a certain revolutionary tone, a certain warlike complexion. But with all these contradictions—possibly on account of these contradictions—no one in history personifies and represents with better right that new birth of the religious spirit prescated in the Gospel of Christ which has come down into the midst of society like a leaven of life, quickening all its institutions as with a new soul.

Savonarola, like Livy, came from Padua. These Venetian cities have been marvellously fertile in illustrious children. Padua in point of antiquity surpasses Venice, which dates later than the fall of Rome and the irruption of the barbarians. And as its antiquity is greater than that of Venice, so it has a German-Latin character not to be found in Venice, which was exclusively occupied in receiving the fugitives who escaped the fire and sword of the barbarians. One must see these regions, as I have seen them, to comprehend all their grandeur and explain many of the enigmas which history preserves in her hieroglyphic emblems. Here, upon these plains where the poplars are interlaced with the vines, where we look on the

Lagoon of St Mark, where the waters sparkle that flow from the dazzling Adriatic, as our thoughts wander through these great cities, peopled with the spirits of bygone generations, it becomes manifest to us that the inhabitants could not surrender themselves to the effeminacy and luxury of Oriental Venice

Padua, rising up at the entrance of the envied Venetian lake, had to be well sentinelled and to engage in constant warfare. The shocks which never reached the great mercantile city frequently ploughed up its soil and made deep furrows in it, just as the surface of great volcanoes is cut up by the streams of lava. The man of Padua of old distinguished himself by his energy, developing great powers in all athletic exercises, as became one reared on the cross-ways of so many military roads and amidst so constant and terrible wars. Savonarola had somewhat of this native energy, for as by food and air we assimilate part of the soil on which we live, so by tradition and by education we assimilate likewise the tone of the race, of the family, of the city, of the generation, to which we belong.

Padua, which belonged soul and body to the League of Guelphic cities, afterwards fell into the hands of the greatest Ghibelline tyrant that was ever known in the history of Italy—at times trodden under foot by the Imperial troops and at other times by those of the Pope, finally, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, she yielded to the power of her most terrible rival, of abhorred Venice. Savonarola's ancestors must have acquired amidst these tragedies, so well calculated to steel the soul, much of the energy and fortitude which they transmitted to their immortal descendant, a constant combatant in the bloodless warfare of mind.

In all Italian cities the strength, the energy, the valour, which they acquired from a soil steeped in blood were greatly tempered and softened by the constant presentation to their eyes and to their imagination of marvellous works of art. Padua in the fifteenth century, although fallen from her ancient splendour, preserved memorials fitted to elevate the ideal above all things else for those who cultivate the high faculties of the mind. Giotto left upon the walls of her temples those angelic figures which were surely inspired—seen in dim vision through the clouds of the Empyrean, St Anthony left floating in her air discourses which fire the mind with passion and give fibre to the Italian nation, Marsilio left in the halls of her universities the mysterious figures of those political problems that carried with them the bases of a new society, and in the lines of her churches, architects and sculptors like the Pisani wreathed in enamel, such ideas as distil sublime inspiration upon the intelligence and upon the heart of a great nation. Hence, a family so well versed in the sciences as was that of the Savonarolas ought to combine, with the energy which characterized the people of Padua, the

delicacy of perception, the catholicity of taste, and the exaltation of character which works of art are wont to confer upon those who study and enjoy them. And here also we find some explanation of the combination of various qualifications that distinguishes Savonarola's character—his force of will joined to the manifold impulses which made him both orator and poet.

Savonarola's family was attached to the University of Padua. As we can at this day form no just idea of what cathedrals were in the Middle Ages, so no more can we conceive the universities of those times. Just as a cathedral and its cloisters served even a religious people for market-place, exchange, theatre, and cemetery, so the nascent universities savoured somewhat of the State and somewhat of the court of justice, with their great coercive powers, with their independent tribunals, with their peculiar privileges, with their numerous bodies of students, who thought themselves unworthy of their name if they did not sustain the glory of their class, if they did not enter, with all the ardour of youth, into gambling, drinking, fighting, and love-making. Above these turbulent troops of students stood the severe patrician class of professors, who paid external obedience to the law, to the Church, and even to the State, but made no conscience of interfering in matters of Church and State, as they were enabled to do by the natural power of their ideas and by the special character of their duties. They opposed the old Roman jurisprudence to feudal and canon law, they met the disintegration of the Middle Ages with the strong civil unity of the Imperial State, which they found, as it were, petrified in the Pandects. In this fashion they at once pulled down the theocratic and the military aristocracies—the two pedestals upon which was raised the majestic edifice of the Middle Ages. We must say that in point of fact there were amongst these professors jurisconsults who exercised greater political and social influence than doctors of medicine—a phenomenon only to be explained by the special conditions of the society of that day. Devoted as was the Middle Age to hierarchies, contemptuous as it was of manual labour, and far, very far, from comprehending the common origin and the common destiny of all sciences and the sacred equality which forms, as it were, the basis of their various manifestations, it was held—even in democratic Italy itself, that land where such social dignity is seen among hand-workers—that the office of a medical man was inferior to that of a lawyer or a theologian. It is necessary that this be well retained in the memory, for it was Savonarola's misfortune to belong to a family which practised medicine, and this settled his fate, and brought about his seclusion in a cloister. These circumstances of country which affect a family and a profession affect also the State, and they all have to be taken into consideration ere one can comprehend and explain one of those souls whose



light is reflected through the ages over the boundless horizons of history, and whose life succeeds in carrying new ideas into the remotest recesses of human consciousness

The person who most powerfully influenced the destiny of Girolamo Savonarola was his paternal grandfather, Michael, the celebrated physician. Studying this singular man, and reviewing the list of his books, we find a key to some part of the monk's nature. Michael Savonarola wrote with the greatest ease upon medicine, politics, and ecclesiastical matters. Besides a practical treatise upon diseases, he left a theoretical work on the pulse, a tract on hygiene, private and public, and a historical essay on the traditions of Padua. With equal facility he wrote one book on the natural development of fever, and another on the canon laws as to confession. Thus he counselled the dyspeptic upon diet and the nations as to the most eligible form of Republic. This faculty for dealing with everything this wealth of information, brought him universal renown, and gave him undisputed social pre-eminence amongst his contemporaries. It may be added that he not only possessed the widest grasp of science, but had also, as its proper complement, the most tender sympathy. Thoughts were not, for this model physician, pure abstractions, limited in their scope to an exalted but frigid conscience, but were alive, and in their life fruitful in the distribution with lavish hand of beneficence amongst the sick and necessitous. Justly proud of a lofty intelligence, of an energetic nature, of whole-heartedness, of a lively imagination, he was indignant at the vices practised by the powerful, whilst he hastened to succour want amongst the poor. His universal charity was balanced by his universal indignation against wrong and wrong-doers. Therefore study well this man, and you will undoubtedly find in him the germs of those qualities which were subsequently to spring forth and to increase in his grandson—scientific combined with religious culture, love of retirement tinted with the impulse to go forth and fight the world's battles, love of meditation counteracted by desire to wrestle in political strife—contrasted qualities such as form great minds and strong wills, implanted in those whom Providence destines to exercise wide and permanent influence over society, and to bear imperishable names in the annals of history.

Michael Savonarola yearned with inexpressible tenderness over his grandchild, and did all he could to secure that the boy who would bear his name should prosecute his science. Age loves infancy enthusiastically by virtue of those harmonies between contraries which constitute, as it were, the immortal basis of our nature. A grandfather, on the eve of his departure from this life, feels that he sees renewed the innocence of his own soul, his youth, the illusions

of his fancy, the hopes and affections of his heart, all the paradises long lost in the abysses of time, when he plays with the little grandchild at his feet, whilst the child, in its looks, in its smile, in its gambols, recalls some features of beloved ones who made bright the path of his life, removes from his furrowed brow the crown of thorns, and substitutes for it a heavenly aureole. When the old physician Michaele felt that his strength was now exhausted, that his eyes were dim, and his days come to a close, the delicate child with its rosy lips brought him that promise of rejuvenescence that gilds with glory the deathbed, and inspires the dying with exalted hope in the last hour. It was Michaele's desire that he should be personally reproduced in his grandchild, and to this end he destined him to follow the medical career, in order to make him, what he had been himself, an ornament of Courts and a benefactor of the sick poor. But Nature must be studied and her promptings attended to in order to accomplish one's aim in the selection of a career for another—to find him a post that shall secure his own happiness, and therewith the esteem and admiration of others. If you see a child, with great skill and delight in attentive observation, devote him to experimental science, but if you find that he is of nervous physical temperament, impressionable, of a moral complexion open to all ideas, emotional, imaginative, with a sensitive heart and a ductile intelligence, do not devote him to mathematics, or to experimentalizing, or to cold deductions—no, train him to eloquence, to art, and you will have in him one of those beings destined to move men's minds to thought, and their will to every good action.

Savonarola's education commenced with the physical sciences—a course alien to his natural disposition and contrary to his mental vocation. Fortunately, medicine was not at that time so much separated from arts and letters as it is at present. In spite of the fact that man was approaching more positive periods of science, imagination and feeling still assumed the upper hand in the crude study of Nature. The universe itself appeared to be a poem, composed by an immortal poet, in which intuition, albeit somewhat enlightened by experience, encountered a thousand magical effects calculated to dazzle the mind and to inflame the most vivid imagination. The brilliant inventions of the Arabs were brought to the knowledge of the Christian world by the enlightened efforts of Alonso X, and about the same time Roger Bacon by his treatise upon telescopes and mirrors extended the celestial horizon. Astronomy retained some remnants of astrology, just as chemistry preserved something of alchemy. Thus Peter of Albano, the author of a treatise upon the astrolabe, was burnt in effigy after his death for witchcraft at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and about the middle of the same century

the cultured Florentines burnt alive the celebrated encyclopædist, Cecco d'Ascoli, whose experiments—put, according to the spirit of the times, into the form of a poem—gave a new impulse to meteorology. Indeed, all these sciences were only relieved of a quasi-magical character fifty years afterwards by a revolution analogous in its nature to the revolution in religion. It seems impossible that ideas appearing in history should persist and endure, yet in their transformation they never lose their peculiar nature. The semi-pagan processions of Italy recall the ancient Greek shows, the lamps lighted at the feet of the patron saints of the family, the Roman lares. Along the shores of the Mediterranean the temples were converted into churches, and the pagan rites metamorphosed into Catholic liturgies, St Anthony protected horses, just like the equestrian Neptune, Ceres becomes Our Lady of the Ears of Corn, the piece of money which the Greeks placed in the dead man's mouth to induce Charon to let him pass over survives in many nations, the Christmas log burns on the hearth as did that which was burnt at the feasts of Adonis, and the merry eve of St John repeats the bonfires of the summer solstice, the augurs, the diviners, and the witches still people the air and earth, in spite of all the holy water poured over them, and of the bells ever ringing from the lofty towers to drive away evil spirits from the world. Who does not remember that in those remote times, even among the doctors themselves, it was a cardinal article of belief that epilepsy, hydrophobia, and nervous diseases were due to demoniacal possession? When they saw this unhappy man tremble as though about to breathe his last, and that other gnashing his teeth and clenching his hands with superhuman power, flashing fire from his eyes as from a volcano, and foaming at the mouth, the people of those days, ignorant of the electricity that pervades our nerves, believed that such sore diseases were due to the terrible assaults of Satan and his followers. The fathers of the Church considered that most devils were men possessed by Satan—an opinion which St Thomas formulated and handed over to the naturalists and orthodox medical men, and, although Gainerio of Pavia in 1440 raised a protest against this doctrine, the belief that only infernal spirits could produce such deep-seated and terrible disorders remained in vogue, and was held even by so celebrated a physician as the fourteenth-century Ibn-Khaldoun, who thought that a spirit could detach itself from matter, and so attain to supernatural visions. This was before the discovery of the Americas, whose appearance in history necessarily involved such profound changes in the cosmic sciences. Natural history was only a sort of handmaid to theology, using the lion, the phoenix, and other animals merely as symbols of celestial things, so that zoology and botany tended rather to nourish the fancy than to extinguish it. Debarred from anatomical study, medicine

was far from holding the experimental character which the advance of time and the progress of ideas have since combined to impart to it. Besides all this, Michael Savonarola died ere he could complete the education of Girolamo, which was then taken up by his father, Nicolas Savonarola, a man better versed in the evil ways of Courts than in the secret marvels of science. He restricted the training of his son to the science of the period—that is to say, to a certain acquaintance with the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, which, as is well known, represented the philosophy of Catholic dogma—as though the Reformer was not to separate himself from the Church in the smallest matter, in order that he might mysteriously fulfil his providential destiny and investigate with redoubled attention the nature of his divine vocation.

The intellectual influences which first moulded Savonarola being thus ascertained, we have now to find the moral influences, to seek out the women whose eyes and inspirations gave warmth and life to his feeling. In the intellect the father's influence should be paramount, the mother's more directly and naturally affects the heart. Savonarola found a great teacher in his mother, who combined elevation of mind with sweetness and gentleness of character. Her name was Elena, she belonged to the illustrious family of the Buonacorsi of Mantua. Married to the vulgar Nicolas Savonarola, she found in the love of her children and in the cultivation of their minds the satisfaction which she could not find in courtship or marriage. Of an essentially poetic and loving womanly nature, she was ever constrained to devote herself passionately to the object of her affection. Elena had two sons older than Girolamo, but in neither of them did she find the reflection of her own soul. The eldest embraced the profession of arms, the second devoted himself to the administration of finance, neither attained the elevation or the culture which Elena would have wished for them. Girolamo alone, in spite of an exterior by no means prepossessing, attracted the love of his mother by the lofty qualities which distinguished him from his infancy, by his depth of thought, his wealth of ideas and fluency of speech, by his sudden bursts of mysticism, foreshadowing his mysterious future vocation. Ideas, in passing through a woman's mind, take splendid variety of colour, like light passing through a prism. Unhappy is the man who has not received the germs of his earliest thoughts from the lips of his mother, unhappy is he who has not consciously felt the springtide of his life burst into flowers under the warm breath of the woman he loved. That rare combination of energy and tenderness, of flexibility and firmness, of love and thought, of valour and gentleness, which a man requires, comes from woman, who infuses into his cup of life the honey of her maternal affection, and perfumes it for ever.

The mind, at its birth, like the nestling just hatched, requires to receive its food from a mother's mouth and to find shelter for its nakedness under her careful wing. Thus, when Savonarola, even in his sudden fits of hatred, felt grieved, and reverted back to charity and to love, when he preached righteousness even before his most implacable enemies, in those frequent moments of despair and anguish of soul, a consoling angel would appear and sit down at his side, a mysterious wailing voice would sound amidst the roar of tempestuous agitation—it was the gentle and blessed soul of his sainted mother that he saw beside him, like a veritable Deity of goodness and virtue, shining like a rainbow against the clouds which darkened his mind, distilling a heavenly dew upon his barren heart, giving him hope in the hour of death and the gloom of the grave.

There was another woman who was to exercise a sovereign influence over Savonarola. The Italian cities of that day were subject to sudden political convulsions, with all their incidents of condemnation, banishment, and exile. Driven away by these frequent vicissitudes and revolutions, the Strozzi had quitted Florence, and found themselves landed, the wrecks of civil discord, in the city of Ferrara. Strozzi was the representative of a patrician Florentine family, and had with him an only daughter, a girl wondrously beautiful and extraordinarily intelligent. Savonarola fell in love with her, and at this critical period of his life he might have wholly changed his profession and his destiny. Accepted, beloved, associated with a rich and noble family, with wealth and power, and children whose interests would constrain him to look to the future, with heart serene and conscience tranquil, beloved by those about him, and placed above the assaults of fortune, his nerves would not have been discomposed, his imagination excited, his vehement temperament, fired by contact with misfortune and with grief. It is ever thus with the world's liberators. To attain the adoration of future generations, to ascend the altars of history, to reach the apotheosis of immortality, they have to sweat blood in the garden of Gethsemane, to swallow insults in courts of justice, to receive the buffet of infamy from insolent officials, to drain to the dregs the overflowing cup of gall and vinegar, to circle their brow with a crown of thorns, and to stretch their limbs upon the cross. Conceive Savonarola happy, and he would undoubtedly have been a good husband, a tender father, a man unknown to history, utterly powerless to print upon the sands of time and upon the human soul the deep trace which he has left, but misfortune came to visit him, to smite him, to crush his heart, and to impart that marked melancholy which characterizes a soul in grief, and the grief that circled his brows with a crown of thorns was also that which wreathed them with the splendour of immortality. His hopes were

centred in the woman he loved, his life was set upon the possession of her, and when the family finally rejected him, partly on account of his profession, and partly on account of his person, he believed that it was death that had come upon him, when in truth it was immortality. In that moment of abandonment, of solitude, of sadness, to his eyes the horizon in every direction appeared to be obscured, and every abyss yawned under his feet, it seemed to him that the light of heaven, vouchsafed even to wild beasts, was denied him, and that all that he had to anticipate was material death, since moral death had seized on his disillusioned soul. Imagine a field at spring time overtaken by sudden frost, and you will have an idea of Savonarola's transit from life in the world to life in the cloister. If he were forbidden to love and to be loved—if the happiness of the domestic hearth, possibly the only one granted to our poor nature, were denied him—what motive had he to live in society, where he was condemned to lasting grief and unhappiness? So that it may be said that he now disengaged himself from the world, as from arms that could not retain him in their embrace. He did not call in suicide, as a Greek or a Roman under similar circumstances would have done. He put on, as a shroud, the coarse garb of the Dominican, he converted the cloister into a vast pantheon, and buried himself in it as a corpse in a sepulchre, he thought of no other bride than the Church, nor other posterity than his works, nor of any for his family save those whose sufferings were like his own, and who had loved as he had loved. The cloister had for Savonarola this supreme advantage, that it was a sepulchre not necessarily involving death. Thus from this supreme moment he could proceed as though there were no tie to bind him to earth, as though the last link were broken between himself and humanity. A legislator, he consulted laws which were codified but in his mind, a tribune, he rehearsed aloud before the people the secret counsels of his conscience, and thus he could threaten the men in power without occupying their posts or superseding them, and correct the lower classes without recourse to violence or oppression.

Savonarola, as represented by the most conscientious and the most enthusiastic of his biographers, the celebrated Villari, was of middling height. Nature had done her best for him in giving him the broadest of chests, which served him as the forge for his voice, and a large head to contain his breadth of thought. His composite temperament indicated rich and varied abilities. Predominance of the sanguine element did not exclude a bilious tendency. His bile affected him in the proportion that his physical bore to his moral constitution, it contributed to his profound melancholy, to his contempt of the world, to his feelings with relation to universal decline and corruption, just as his boiling blood contributed to his ardour in fight, to his almost warlike desires, to his passionate

utterances in the tribune and the pulpit. In fact, he was, what we nowadays, in current speech, call a highly nervous man. The distant cloud, the electric spark flashing through the atmosphere, a change of temperature or of weather, an inward emotion, the most simple social scene or spectacle of nature, or a thought the most intimate or secret, writhed through his nerves, just as a thunderbolt made them vibrate in disorder and dissonance. Hence it was that his spirits were so easily elevated and so easily depressed, hence his heroic energy and sudden depression, incredible assaults and falls, the most violent impulses and backslidings, an aptitude for supernatural visions, and likewise for obstinate contests,—all brought about by those electric chains, which are called nerves, proceeding from the two opposite poles of life. His nose, broad but aquiline, gave him a certain nobility of air, whilst his full lips, ready for every utterance, gave him the look of the orator, strongly marked wrinkles crossing his forehead witnessed in their deep furrows to his concentrated and fiery thought, sadness fell from his tender glance and from his melancholy smile, the simplicity of his life was indicated by the modesty and reserve manifest in his look and gesture, and all the attractive graces of his mind in a voice which, without being exactly musical, yet when warmed and expanded by his soul, proved extremely persuasive and eloquent. There is no doubt, then, that his physical and moral faculties showed that he was called to be an orator, to that highest of ministries, which, for a thousand palpable reasons, influences society and men most powerfully in the general direction of their affairs.

At twenty years of age his destiny stood fully manifest before his eyes, by that clearest of all revelations, by the revelation of grief. Finding himself without a refuge in the world, without any shelter against the inclemencies of society and of nature, without the only thing that comforts and strengthens existence—without love—he buried himself in the cloister as he might have buried himself in the grave. He fell into the flames of a hell of sorrows, which dissolved body and soul, which evaporated them and converted them into a mystic cloud of incense. Nevertheless the world did at times call on him, with repeated calls, even in those days when, almost living upon his knees, he continued to importune heaven with incessant prayer, searching after the most direct and indispensable way of life.

He was attracted to the order of preachers by the inward stirrings of eloquence, and by the profession of the ideas of that wonderful sage, the divine St Thomas Aquinas, which he subsequently adorned. An unforeseen incident presented to him the opportunity for the fulfilment of his destiny. It occurred to him to attend a religious festival at Faenza, and to hear a first-rate

Augustinian preacher He was captivated by the address, and made up his mind to assume the monastic profession He returned from Faenza to Ferrara as joyously as though he had found the key to all the enigmas of his life, and the port in which he was to cast the anchor of his lifelong destiny But when he entered his own home his eyes rested upon spots consecrated by family recollections, the walls that vibrated with treasured-up echoes of so many holy kisses, and recalled the memory of so many bitter tears He encountered again the look and smile of his mother, whose whole affection was centred in her son, expecting all her happiness at the close of life from his attentions, he felt his excited energies give way, and the vocation which previously seemed to him so clear began to fade The mother, who divined beforehand what her dear son's bodily infirmities would be, before he was assailed by them, now perceived the grief of his soul and the doubts that beset his mind And looking on him, brooding over thoughts that profoundly occupied him, and then presently waking up to survey with affectionate interest every surrounding object, she felt an intuitive presentiment of the hidden tempests in his imperilled and storm-tossed conscience More especially was this so, when she occasionally caught a furtive glance cast upon her, and, in his supreme and irremediable grief, she got a glimpse of something like eternal compensation, as well as of a final leave-taking The keenest sorrow pierced that tender soul, attached to her son's by a gravitation like that which one star exerts upon another When Savonarola looked upon her thus sorrowful he bridled the impetus of his will, and made up his mind that he would live and die in his own family But throughout long nights of meditation and of ecstasy, and in the frequent ferments incident to his being without fixed vocation or any decided destiny—throughout those periods of sleeplessness following upon his fastings, his vigils, and his penitences, he turned to God, the earth and everything that earth has upon its face disappearing before his ecstasies and his longings for immortality His resolution was concealed, for now he feared to revoke or annul it On a certain morning in April, the trees being fully in leaf, all the birds singing, the sky resplendent with luminous clouds, he felt himself irresistibly drawn, and, taking up his lute and singing a mournful dirge, he took his leave of those whom he loved best, and of the objects that he held dearest, yielding himself to that indefinite sway which is peculiar to music Possibly none of those to whom this dirge was sung understood it, but there was one who did understand it, the mother's heart divined that vague farewell, and seized with horror she threw herself down at her son's feet, imploring him to remain in the bosom of the family, under the sacred roof of home The poor youth, harassed by natural doubts and by a



natural incertitude, almost without looking at his mother, lest what his eyes might meet should shake his deliberate resolution, rushed out of the house and swore that he had resolved to leave. With the coolness of an analyst searching the awful recesses of his spirit, as one would study a distant star, or as a soul detached from the body might scrutinize the hidden depths of its own thoughts and its violent bursts of passion, Savonarola with feverish hand committed to paper all his feelings, to serve as his last will and testament, and for a memorial to his parents, setting forth the motives of his action, and the invincible disgust for the world and its glories which had nerved him for his resolve.

It was on the 24th of April 1475, when the city of Ferrara glowed with joyous demonstrations—for that day was the feast of its patron saint, St George—that amidst the merry peals of bells, the strains of music, the clamour of multitudes, and the festivities of dancing and carousing, Savonarola felt himself so oppressed with intense sadness that he came to his final resolution. The house was well-nigh deserted by the servants and even by the masters, everybody had left it, either to assist at religious services or to take part in the festal scenes witnessed in the streets. Girolamo availed himself of the occasion to fly from the nest to the cloister. Never, never would he have thought it possible to accomplish his purpose, had he not come to the final resolution in that unique and overwhelming moment of depression. The day set apart for the greatest feast in the year—the day recalling the most sacred memories, the day of illusions and hopes, the day of rejoicing of happy lovers—this was the day that he selected for his departure and his death. How many reminiscences must have prompted him to stay, how many emotions must have surged within him, with what contrast must he have been struck between the general gladness and his own painful thoughts as he crossed the threshold of his home to go to his grave? Above all, his mother—his blessed mother—how she must have stood before him on the way, like one of those mystic apparitions of his religious dreams, and have held him back and endeavoured to persuade him not to leave her abandoned to the silent hearth that witnessed her griefs. But, as he mastered his love for the city of his birth, so did he master his love for his mother whom he adored, and he walked to the gates of the distant monastery at Bologna, where was the cell which he had chosen for his tomb.

But the fact of his having left the city on the day of its greatest rejoicings, and his family on the day of its most hallowed memorials, very clearly proved that they could neither terrify him nor detain him. Oh! the time and the distance. At length he reached the monastery he had selected, he knocked at the door, and, like a ship-



wrecked sailor, he asked for shelter, he entered within its walls, like a shade into a vault, and there he found the sanctuary of his religious vocation and the place of penitential scourges to discipline his distressed conscience. As soon as he entered, he asked those who were about to become his brethren to test the scope of his desires and the energy of his will by employing him on the most menial offices. He sat down and wrote to his parents in the most affectionate terms, but expressed with the greatest firmness his irrevocable determination, which decided for ever his vocation, and finally fixed the wheel of his destiny. Finding himself in the cloister, cut off from the world and from his family, he did not intend that his sacrifice should be incomplete—he accepted it in its entirety, and he consummated it as does the suicide, who, in his final paroxysm and delirium, by severing the body from the soul takes his leave of life and of its enchantments. Thus contemplating him—as the first to begin the morning's work and the last to retire to rest, enfeebled by fasting, emaciated by penances, with his face hidden under the dark folds of his cowl, his body mantled in a coarse serge shroud, his eyes brilliant with the light of a superhuman inspiration, his lips incessantly moving in prayer, pale as death, tragic as despair, abstracted and withdrawn from the world like a mystic and ideal person—you would have held him to be no real man, who could love as mortals love who spend their time in useful professions and in practical studies, but a pure spirit, a sort of supernatural and miraculous shade, either proceeding from earth to immortality, or come down from heaven to earth.

EMILIO CASTELAR.

## THE DAY AFTER TO-MORROW.

**H**ISTORY is much decried, it is a tissue of errors, we are told, no doubt correctly, and rival historians expose each other's blunders with gratification. Yet the worst historian has a clearer view of the period he studies than the best of us can hope to form of that in which we live. The obscurest epoch is to-day, and that for a thousand reasons of inchoate tendency, conflicting report, and sheer mass and multiplicity of experience, but chiefly, perhaps, by reason of an insidious shifting of landmarks. Parties and ideas continually move, but not by measurable marches on a stable course, the political soil itself steals forth by imperceptible degrees, like a travelling glacier, carrying on its bosom not only political parties but their flag-posts and cantonments, so that what appears to be an eternal city founded on hills is but a flying island of Laputa. It is for this reason in particular that we are all becoming Socialists without knowing it, by which I would not in the least refer to the acute case of Mr Hyndman and his horn-blowing supporters, sounding their trumps of a Sunday within the walls of our individualist Jericho—but to the stealthy change that has come over the spirit of Englishmen and English legislation. A little while ago, and we were still for liberty, "crowd a few more thousands on the bench of Government," we seemed to cry, "keep her head direct on liberty, and we cannot help but come to port." This is over, *laissez-faire* declines in favour, our legislation grows authoritative, grows philanthropical, bristles with new duties and new penalties, and casts a spawn of inspectors, who now begin, note-book in hand, to darken the face of England. It may be right or wrong, we are not trying that, but one thing it is beyond doubt it is Socialism in action, and the strange thing is that we scarcely know it.

Liberty has served us a long while, and it may be time to seek new altars. Like all other principles, she has been proved to be self-exclusive in the long run. She has taken wages besides (like all other virtues) and dutifully served Mammon, so that many things we were accustomed to admire as the benefits of freedom and common to all, were truly benefits of wealth, and took their value from our neighbours' poverty. A few shocks of logic, a few disclosures (in the journalistic phrase) of what the freedom of manufacturers, landlords, or shipowners may imply for operatives, tenants or seamen, and we not unnaturally begin to turn to that other pole of hope, beneficent tyranny. Freedom, to be desirable, involves kindness, wisdom, and all the virtues of the free, but the free man as we have seen him in action has been, as of yore, only the master of many helots, and the slaves are still ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-taught, ill-housed, insolently entreated, and driven to their mines and workshops by the lash of famine. So much, in other men's affairs, we have begun to see clearly, we have begun to despair of virtue in these other men, and from our seat in Parliament begin to discharge upon them, thick as arrows, the host of our inspectors. The landlord has long shaken his head over the manufacturer, those who do business on land have lost all trust in the virtues of the shipowner, the professions look askance upon the retail traders and have even started their co-operative stores to ruin them, and from out the smoke-wreaths of Birmingham a finger has begun to write upon the wall the condemnation of the landlord. Thus, piece by piece, do we condemn each other, and yet not perceive the conclusion, that our whole estate is somewhat damnable. Thus, piece by piece, each acting against his neighbour, each sawing away the branch on which some other interest is seated, do we apply in detail our Socialistic remedies, and yet not perceive that we are all labouring together to bring in Socialism at large. A tendency so stupid and so selfish is like to prove invincible, and if Socialism be at all a practicable rule of life, there is every chance that our grandchildren will see the day and taste the pleasures of existence in something far liker an ant-heap than any previous human polity. And this not in the least because of the voice of Mr Hyndman or the horns of his followers, but by the mere glacier movement of the political soil, bearing forward on its bosom, apparently undisturbed, the proud camps of Whig and Tory. If Mr Hyndman were a man of keen humour, which is far from my conception of his character, he might rest from his troubling and look on the walls of Jericho begin already to crumble and dissolve. That great servile war, the Armageddon of money and numbers, to which we looked forward when young, becomes more and more unlikely, and we may rather look to see a peaceable and blindfold evolution, the work of dull men immersed in political tactics and dead to political results.

The principal scene of this comedy lies, of course, in the House of Commons, it is there, besides, that the details of this new evolution (if it proceed) will fall to be decided, so that the state of Parliament is not only diagnostic of the present but fatefully prophetic of the future. Well, we all know what Parliament is, and we are all ashamed of it. We may pardon it some faults, indeed, on the ground of Irish obstruction—a bitter trial, which it supports with notable good humour. But the excuse is merely local, it cannot apply to similar bodies in America and France, and what are we to say of these? President Cleveland's letter may serve as a picture of the one, a glance at almost any paper will convince us of the weakness of the other. Decay appears to have seized on the organ of popular government in every land, and this just at the moment when we begin to bring to it, as to an oracle of justice, the whole skein of our private affairs to be unravelled, and ask it, like a new Messiah, to take upon itself our frailties and play for us the part that should be played by our own virtues. For that, in few words, is the case. We cannot trust ourselves to behave with decency, we cannot trust our consciences, and the remedy proposed is to elect a round number of our neighbours, pretty much at random, and say to these "Be ye our conscience, make laws so wise, and continue from year to year to administer them so wisely, that they shall save us from ourselves and make us righteous and happy, world without end. Amen." And who can look twice at the British Parliament and then seriously bring it such a task? I am not advancing this as an argument against Socialism—once again, nothing is further from my mind. There are great truths in Socialism, or no one, not even Mr Hyndman, would be found to hold it, and if it came, and did one-tenth part of what it offers, I for one should make it welcome. But if it is to come, we may as well have some notion of what it will be like, and the first thing to grasp is that our new polity will be designed and administered (to put it courteously) with something short of inspiration. It will be made, or will grow, in a human parliament, and the one thing that will not very hugely change is human nature. The Anarchists think otherwise, from which it is only plain that they have not carried to the study of history the lamp of human sympathy.

Given, then, our new polity, with its new waggon-load of laws, what headmarks must we look for in the life? We chafe a good deal at that excellent thing, the income-tax, because it brings into our affairs the prying fingers, and exposes us to the tart words, of the official. The official, in all degrees, is already something of a terror to many of us. I would not willingly have to do with even a police-constable in any other spirit than that of kindness. I still remember in my dreams the eye-glass of a certain *attaché* at a certain embassy—an eye-glass that was a standing indignity to all

on whom it looked, and my next most disagreeable remembrance is of a bracing, Republican postman in the city of San Francisco. I lived in that city among working folk, and what my neighbours accepted at the postman's hands—nay, what I took from him myself—it is still distasteful to recall. The bourgeois, residing in the upper parts of society, has but few opportunities of tasting this peculiar bowl, but about the income-tax, as I have said, or perhaps about a patent, or in the halls of an embassy at the hands of my friend of the eye-glass, he occasionally sets his lips to it, and he may thus imagine (if he has that faculty of imagination, without which most faculties are void) how it tastes to his poorer neighbours, who must drain it to the dregs. In every contact with authority, with their employer, with the police, with the School Board officer, in the hospital, or in the workhouse, they have equally the occasion to appreciate the light-hearted civility of the man in office, and as an experimentalist in several out-of-the-way provinces of life, I may say it has but to be felt to be appreciated. Well, this golden age of which we are speaking will be the golden age of officials. In all our concerns it will be their beloved duty to meddle, with what tact, with what obliging words, analogy will aid us to imagine. It is likely these gentlemen will be periodically elected, they will therefore have their turn of being underneath, which does not always sweeten men's conditions. The laws they will have to administer will be no clearer than those we know to-day, and the body which is to regulate their administration no wiser than the British Parliament. So that upon all hands we may look for a form of servitude most galling to the blood—servitude to many and changing masters, and for all the slights that accompany the rule of jack-in-office. And if the Socialistic programme be carried out with the least fulness, we shall have lost a thing, in most respects not much to be regretted, but as a moderator of oppression, a thing nearly invaluable—the newspaper. For the independent journal is a creature of capital and competition, it stands and falls with millionaires and railway-bonds and all the abuses and glories of to-day, and as soon as the State has fairly taken its bent to authority and philanthropy, and laid the least touch on private property, the days of the independent journal are numbered. State railways may be good things and so may State bakeries, but a State newspaper will never be a very trenchant critic of the State officials.

But again, these officials would have no sinecure. Crime would perhaps be less, for some of the motives of crime we may suppose would pass away. But if Socialism were carried out with any fulness, there would be more contraventions. We see already new sins springing up like mustard—School Board sins, factory sins, Merchant Shipping Act sins—none of which I would be thought to

except against in particular, but all of which, taken together, show us that Socialism can be a hard master even in the beginning. If it go on to such heights as we hear proposed and lauded, if it come actually to its ideal of the ant-heap, ruled with iron justice, the number of new contraventions will be out of all proportion multiplied. Take the case of work alone. Man is an idle animal. He is at least as intelligent as the ant, but generations of advisers have in vain recommended him the ant's example. Of those who are found truly indefatigable in business, some are misers, some are the practisers of delightful industries, like gardening, some are students, artists, inventors, or discoverers, men lured forward by successive hopes, and the rest are those who live by games of skill or hazard—financiers, billiard-players, gamblers, and the like. But in unloved toils, even under the prick of necessity, no man is continually sedulous. Once eliminate the fear of starvation, once eliminate or bound the hope of riches, and we shall see plenty of skulking and malingering. Society will then be something not wholly unlike a cotton plantation in the old days, with cheerful, careless, demoralized slaves, with elected overseers, and, instead of the planter, a chaotic popular assembly. If the blood be purposeful and the soil strong, such a plantation may succeed, and be, indeed, a busy ant-heap, with full granaries and long hours of leisure. But even then I think the whip will be in the overseer's hands, and not in vain. For, when it comes to be a question of each man doing his own share or the rest doing more, prettiness of sentiment will be forgotten. To dock the skulker's food is not enough, many will rather eat haws and starve on petty pilferings than put their shoulder to the wheel for one hour daily. For such as these, then, the whip will be in the overseer's hand, and his own sense of justice and the superintendence of a chaotic popular assembly will be the only checks on its employment. Now, you may be an industrious man and a good citizen, and yet not love, nor yet be loved by, Dr Fell the inspector. It is admitted by private soldiers that the disfavour of a sergeant is an evil not to be combated, offend the sergeant, they say, and in a brief while you will either be disgraced or have deserted. And the sergeant can no longer appeal to the lash. But if these things go on, we shall see, or our sons shall see, what it is to have offended an inspector.

This for the unfortunate. But with the fortunate also, even those whom the inspector loves, it may not be altogether well. It is concluded that in such a state of society, supposing it to be financially sound, the level of comfort will be high. It does not follow. There are strange depths of idleness in man, a too-easily-got sufficiency, as in the case of the sago-eaters, often quenching the desire for all besides, and it is possible that the men of the richest ant-

heaps may sink even into squalor. But suppose they do not, suppose our tricky instrument of human nature, when we play upon it this new tune, should respond kindly, suppose no one to be damped and none exasperated by the new conditions, the whole enterprise to be financially sound—a vaulting supposition—and all the inhabitants to dwell together in a golden mean of comfort we have yet to ask ourselves if this be what man desire, or if it be what man will even deign to accept for a continuance. It is certain that man loves to eat, it is not certain that he loves that only or that best. He is supposed to love comfort, it is not a love, at least, that he is faithful to. He is supposed to love happiness, it is my contention that he rather loves excitement. Danger, enterprise, hope, the novel, the aleatory are dearer to man than regular meals. He does not think so when he is hungry, but he thinks so again as soon as he is fed, and on the hypothesis of a successful ant-heap, he would never go hungry. It would be always after dinner in that society, as, in the land of the Lotos-eaters, it was always afternoon, and food, which, when we have it not, seems all-important, drops in our esteem, as soon as we have it, to a mere pre-requisite of living. That for which man lives is not the same thing for all individuals nor in all ages, yet it has a common base, what he seeks and what he must have is that which will seize and hold his attention. Regular meals and weatherproof lodgings will not do this long. Play in its wide sense, as the artificial induction of sensation, including all games and all arts, will, indeed, go far to keep him conscious of himself, but in the end he wearies for realities. Study or experiment, to some rare natures, are the unbroken pastime of a life. These are enviable natures, people shut in the house by sickness often bitterly envy them, but the commoner man cannot continue to exist upon such altitudes. His feet itch for physical adventure, his blood boils for physical dangers, pleasures, and triumphs, his fancy, the looker after new things, cannot continue to look for them in books and crucibles, but must seek them on the breathing stage of life. Pinches, buffets, the glow of hope, the shock of disappointment, furious contention with obstacles these are the true elixir for all vital spirits, these are what they seek alike in their romantic enterprises and their unromantic dissipations. When they are taken in some pinch closer than the common, they cry “Catch me here again!” and sure enough you catch them there again—perhaps before the week is out. It is as old as “Robinson Crusoe,” as old as man. Our race has not been strained for all these ages through that sieve of dangers that we call Natural Selection, to sit down with patience in the tedium of safety, the voices of its fathers call it forth. Already in our society as it exists, the *bourgeois* is too much cottoned about for any zest in living, he sits in his parlour



out of reach of any danger, often out of reach of any vicissitude but one of health, and there he yawns. If the people in the next villa took pot-shots at him, he might be killed indeed, but, so long as he escaped, he would find his blood oxygenated and his views of the world brighter. If Mr Mallock, on his way to the publishers, should have his skuits pinned to the wall by a javelin, it would not occur to him—at least for several hours—to ask if life were worth living, and if such peril were a daily matter, he would ask it never more, he would have other things to think about, he would be living indeed—not lying in a box with cotton safe, but immeasurably dull. The aleatory, whether it touch life, or fortune, or renown—whether we explore Africa or only toss for half-pence—that is what I conceive men to love best, and that is what we are seeking to exclude from men's existences. Of all forms of the aleatory, that which most commonly attends our working men—the danger of misery from want of work—is the least inspiring. It does not whip the blood, it does not evoke the glory of contest, it is tragic, but it is passive, and yet, in so far as it is aleatory, and a peril sensibly touching them, it does truly season the men's lives. Of those who fail, I do not speak—despair should be sacred, but to those who even modestly succeed, the changes of their life bring interest. A job found, a shilling saved, a dainty earned, all these are wells of pleasure springing afresh for the successful poor, and it is not from these but from the villa dweller that we hear complaints of the unworthiness of life. Much, then, as the average of the proletariat would gain in this new state of life, they would also lose a certain something, which would not be missed in the beginning, but would be missed progressively and progressively lamented. Soon there would be a looking back—there would be tales of the old world humming in young men's ears, tales of the tramp and the pedlar, and the hopeful emigrant. And in the stall-fed life of the successful ant-heap—with its regular meals, regular duties, regular pleasures, an even course of life, and fear excluded—the vicissitudes, delights, and havens of to-day will seem of epic breadth. This may seem a shallow observation, but the springs by which men are moved lie much on the surface. Bread, I believe, has always been considered first, but the circus comes close upon its heels. Bread we suppose to be given amply, the cry for circuses will be the louder, and if the life of our descendants be such as we have conceived, there are two beloved pleasures on which they will be likely to fall back—the pleasures of intrigue and of sedition.

*In all this I have supposed the ant-heap to be financially sound. I am no economist, only a writer of fiction, but even as such, I know one thing that bears on the economic question—I know the imperfection of man's faculty for business. The Anarchists, who count some rugged elements of common-sense among what seems to*

me their tragic errors, have said upon this matter all that I could wish to say, and condemned beforehand great economical polities. So far it is obvious that they are right, they may be right also in predicting a period of communal independence, and they may even be right in thinking that desirable. But the rise of communes is none the less the end of economic equality, just when we were told it was beginning. Communes will not be all equal in extent, nor in quality of soil, nor in growth of population, nor will the surplus produce of all be equally marketable. It will be the old story of competing interests, only with a new unit, and as it appears to me, a new, inevitable danger. For the merchant and the manufacturer, in this new world, will be a sovereign commune, it is a sovereign power that will see its crops undersold, and its manufactures worsted in the market. And all the more dangerous that the sovereign power should be small. Great powers are slow to stir, national affronts, even with the aid of newspapers, filter slowly into popular consciousness, national losses are so unequally shared, that one part of the population will be counting its gains while another sits by a cold hearth. But in the sovereign commune all will be centralized and sensitive. When jealousy springs up, when (let us say) the commune of Poole has overreached the commune of Dorchester, irritation will run like quicksilver throughout the body politic, each man in Dorchester will have to suffer directly in his diet and his dress, even the secretary, who drafts the official correspondence, will sit down to his task embittered, as a man who has dined ill and may expect to dine worse, and thus a business difference between communes will take on much the same colour as a dispute between diggers in the lawless West, and will lead as directly to the arbitrament of blows. So that the establishment of the communal system will not only reintroduce all the injustices and heart-burnings of economic inequality, but will, in all human likelihood, inaugurate a world of hedgerow warfare. Dorchester will march on Poole, Sherborne on Dorchester, Wimborne on both, the waggons will be fired on as they follow the highway, the trains wrecked on the lines, the ploughman will go armed into the field of tillage, and if we have not a return of ballad literature, the local press at least will celebrate in a high vein the victory of Cerne Abbas or the reverse of Toller Porcorum. At least this will not be dull, when I was younger, I could have welcomed such a world with relief, but it is the New-Old with a vengeance, and irresistibly suggests the growth of military powers and the foundation of new empires.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

## THE SERVICE OF MAN

**I**S the Service of Man possible, if the Service of God be impossible? That is the question which Mr Cotter Morison, who assumes the truth of the latter hypothesis in the remarkable book\* which he has recently published, altogether forgets to put to himself. Probably he would regard it as absurd, as a question which only men steeped in theological prejudice could even conceive. Yet I think I can show that it is by no means absurd. It is one thing to serve man by helping him to realize a fixed ideal of what he ought to be, it is quite another to determine what true service is, when you have no such ideal, when you have, to your own satisfaction at least, shattered the ideal he had, and have found no new ideal to offer as its substitute. This is, I maintain, Mr Cotter Morison's position. "By morality," he says, "is meant right conduct here on earth, those outward acts and inward sentiments which, by the suppression of the selfish passions, conduce most to the public and private well-being of the race." But "the suppression of the selfish passions" is very far indeed from being an aim that any shrewd man—more particularly if he disbelieved in God and the spiritual world—could propose to himself as one of the legitimate objects of a servant of Man. I can understand a man who proposes to substitute for his selfish passions an absorbing passion for an infinite and omnipresent being who has manifested himself in such a life as that of Christ, though I cannot believe that he would succeed nearly as well in extinguishing the selfish passions, eagerly as he might struggle for it, as he would in regulating and taming them so far as to enable him to be always gaining a step or two towards the ideal of his life. But I cannot understand a man who, having no such ideal, endeavours to suppress the selfish passions, not in

\* "The Service of Man." By J Cotter Morison. London. Kegan Paul & Co

order to lose himself in some much higher ideal, but only in order to help other men of the same type as himself to enjoy what he is to suppress his own desire to enjoy. That surely is utterly irrational. But probably Mr Cotter Morison does not mean by suppressing "the selfish passions" what I should understand by that phrase. He would, perhaps, call no passion selfish that did not seek happiness at the *expense* of the happiness of others, perhaps he might even say at the expense of the greater happiness of others. He would probably let a man gratify his own desires, and not call them selfish though they had their end in self, if these desires were perfectly consistent with the gratification of like desires in others. But even taking Mr Cotter Morison's definition of morality in this modified sense, we are still confronted with the formidable question—What, if the visible life of earth be all we have, *are* these "outward acts and inward sentiments" "which conduce most to the public and private well-being of the race?" That you should weed out his religious beliefs as misleading, and involving an immense waste of energy on chimæras, Mr Morison teaches explicitly. That you should weed out his moral belief in his own freedom and responsibility, and that you should condemn his penitence and remorse as founded on a vulgar error, he teaches just as explicitly. But what well-founded beliefs you should put in the place of them, which will tell as strongly as these did against the selfish passions, he does not tell us. He teaches that in character everything depends on endowment and training, and that the great object should be to restrain as much as possible the propagation of men of a debased type, and to subject all types to the training best calculated to produce just and unselfish and mild dispositions. But I do not see how the former end is to be attained without encouraging in the public mind a relentlessness of feeling towards bad men and women, which, if it could be fostered, must have other and even more important consequences in relation to our own inward life than its most immediate consequence,—namely, the rapid growth of a disposition to exterminate, or else imprison for life, men of a degraded type. And as for the training of men in just and unselfish dispositions, I do not know what "justice" is to mean, when the belief in freedom and responsibility has once been eradicated,—when the belief in the existence of merit and demerit has been fully exploded. Then, as to unselfish dispositions, it will surely become a very difficult question, in Mr Morison's view, to determine what is the degree of unselfishness which will "conduce most to the public and private well-being of the race." It cannot be right, in his view, to risk the happiness of a man or woman of average endowments and character for the sake of a nearly hopeless effort to raise the level of the endowments and character of a man or woman of a degraded type. Unless a salutary hardness and

coldness towards degraded types be <sup>\*</sup> cultivated for the future, Mr Morison will never get the public opinion he wants, in order to authorize a final bar to marriage and child-birth amongst the degraded. And it is obvious that the hardness and coldness needful for this purpose will also involve a reticence and reserve in dealing with men of a more ambiguous shade of character, quite inconsistent with the enthusiastic self-sacrifice of all our old forms of missionary effort. The Positivist ethics, if Mr Cotter Morison truly represents them, will discountenance steadily all those moral enterprises which have sprung from the Christian belief in miracles of grace. There is no belief which Mr Cotter Morison is so anxious to denounce and extinguish. He insists in the strongest way on the iron force of habit, and on the salutary consequence of believing in the continuity of fixed habits, whether of evil or of good. And even where bad habits are not supposed to be so deeply rooted but that careful training might do something to uproot them, the Positivist view greatly lessens the motive for making the requisite effort to apply this training, not only by removing all hope of supernatural assistance, but by insisting on the essentially transient character at once of human evil and human good. It is possible to work with something of spiritual passion for the salvation from sin of an immortal being, but it is hardly possible to feel more than a languid interest in the rescue from temporary bad habits, of a being who may be gone for ever before the bad habits are half rooted out of him.

In fact, the essential difference between the Positivist's "Service of Man," and any service of man founded on theological belief and a faith in immortality, is this—that the former must lay infinitely more stress upon actions, and upon dispositions which are prolific of actions, than it can upon mere attitudes of the spirit, while the latter, regarding man as a being intended for eternal life, cares even more for what man *is*, than for what he does. To the Positivist the only kind of durability to which human beings can make any pretence is posthumous durability—the life which their activity engenders after they have ceased to be. And that cannot depend on what they *were*, except so far as what they were was the source of influences exerted upon others. The best Positivist in the world, who believes that all of him which does not take effect in the life of others, will soon cease to exist altogether, cannot by any possibility care as much about what he is in himself as about the influences which he communicates to the world around him. If by any self-restraint, or through any want of adaptation in his moral character to the ideas of his time, there be thoughts and feelings of his which never affect the outside world at all, he must regard those thoughts and feelings as purely his own affair, born with him and certain to perish with him, and therefore as significant only to himself. Such thoughts and feelings, whether he be wrong or right

\* in believing them to be without influence on others, he cannot possibly regard as conducing either "to the public and private well-being," or to the public and private ill-being, of the race. That which remains isolated within him, in consequence either of his reserve or of his separateness from those around him, or of his incapacity to make others understand him, cannot be of moment to any one but himself. Hence a totally different ethical standard to the Positivist and to the Christian. The Christian cares to be all that he believes God desires him to be, even in those secret thoughts and attitudes of mind which never affect what he *seems* to be to others at all. The Positivist cares to be all that "conduces most to the public and private well-being of the race," but what he is in those interior depths of his being which do not conduce to either good or ill outside him, he cannot, on his principles, care at all. That is neutral ground, outside the area of true Positivist morality. From all which it follows that Positivist morality, while it encourages a relentless attitude towards degraded types of humanity, and a very dubious attitude towards missionary efforts in relation to vice even of a less desperate kind, keeps its attention, as regards individual self-culture, chiefly on those actions and dispositions which are obviously prolific of social consequences, and ignores those which concern only the solitary life of the soul.

Now, here is the great difficulty which besets "the Service of Man" by those who give up God. By the very assumption with which they begin, the importance of man is lowered, his very essence is depreciated, his significance is attenuated. Individually, men are all, on this view, temporary beings. Their happiness or unhappiness is a temporary phenomenon, about which no one can care more, when it is once a thing of the past, than about a flower which bloomed unseen year after year and died out of the solitude into which it was born. It is impossible to attach any overweening value to such a phenomenon. It is impossible to feel about it as the Christian feels about an imperishable nature in which such a flaw as sin may make a difference which cannot disappear. Nay, go on even from the constituent atom of society, the individual life, to the social structure itself, which, though it contains countless hosts of such atoms, and reproduces these countless hosts, generation after generation, for thousands or tens of thousands of years, is still itself doomed to eventual destruction with the death of the planet whose physical evolution first rendered the evolution of society possible, and you are still dealing with a temporary phenomenon to which, on the Positivist view, it is not so easy as Mr Cotter Morison seems to think, to attach the solemn meaning which he claims for it. Why should any one constituent element in such a social structure regard self-sacrifice on behalf of the whole future of that, after all, ultimately evanescent structure, as the highest function of its own still more evanescent life? Mr Morison

not only does not answer the question but pours scorn upon the attempt to answer it. For he suggests the reply, "From you, sir, we expect nothing, but you may expect that your shameless confession of selfishness will not go unpunished" (p 311). But why shameless? and why talk of punishment? Surely both phrases are entirely out of place in the mouth of a determinist who not only concedes but maintains that no one has any reason to be ashamed of being what he is, since he could by no possibility have been anything else, and, again, whose teaching certainly implies that "punishment" is a very mischievous word, suggesting a whole series of illusions, and that all it would be reasonable to say would be that society, in its inalienable right of self-defence, would take measures to relieve itself of all constituent cells which threatened to divert to themselves nourishment needed by other portions of the great organism to which it belongs. But put it as he will—and I only criticize Mr Morison's mode of putting it, since I wish to fix attention on his vain attempt to mould his own forms of speech into harmony with his deliberately expressed belief—Mr Morison cannot deny that sacrifice, in its religious sense, indeed in any sense which excludes cowardly fear, cannot, by the very nature of man, be expected, except where it proceeds directly or indirectly from love or reverence. Now, I can understand sacrifice for those whom we really love amongst men, or for those whom we really reverence. I understand sacrifice for any superhuman being whom we reverence more passionately than we reverence man, and I understand sacrifice for men whom we do not either love or reverence on their own account at all, if we believe that we show our love and reverence to a Divine Being by giving up ourselves to redeem them. But I do not understand sacrifice for not merely temporary but unknown and, to some extent, contingent beings, beings not yet in existence, and whose mode of existence, if it ever does come, may be so different from what we anticipate, that our sacrifices may prove to have been ill-directed and all in vain, simply in deference to a dogmatic Positivism which, having exploded all our belief in God, Providence, and eternal life, persists in lecturing us on the best way to eliminate evil and to foster good in the structure of a society that, for anything we know, may be already (if the Positivists are right) in course of decomposition and not far from its end. The humanist who rejects God is under this great difficulty in preaching the "Service of Man"—that he has already cut up by the roots that highest expression of moral value which is implied in the very word "eternal." If it be a matter of infinite moment, of moment for all time, whether I am this or that, evil or good, then the foundation for spiritual enthusiasm, for missionary self-sacrifice of the noblest kind, is firmly laid. But if the whole thing be a temporary phenomenon, of no more significance

when once it has vanished into the past, than the beauty or ugliness of the weather, men will never be able to persuade themselves that it is a duty to risk their own happiness in the only life they have, on the chance of increasing somebody else's still more uncertain happiness in a life which may never be. The "Service of Man" in any high and strenuous sense seems to me to be absolutely dependent on the belief in an eternal being infinitely raised above men, who inculcates that service, who aids it, and who inspires us with the faith that the fruits of that service will be eternal.

And this brings me to the subject of that belief in divine grace, and its supernatural influence on the heart, against which Mr Cotter Morison rails through so many pages, and treats as having undermined human morality more completely than any other doctrine of the Christian theology. For my part, I believe that, within the limits assigned to it in the teaching of Christ, there is no teaching so essential to the "Service of Man" as this doctrine, none which has effected more for degraded beings, none which would be more grievously missed if it could be obliterated from amongst the resources of philanthropic effort. And by the universal testimony of all who have been helped by it, the reason is threefold—mainly because grace is a real cause, and therefore belief in it justifies itself, partly because it sustains infinite hope, that hope which Mr Morison and his friends have lost, since they preach to us that the only chance for the future is to stamp out degraded types of being altogether, and partly, again, because it quenches pride and connects that hope with the humility, not with the self-esteem, of the hopeful. The belief in miracles of grace has effected miracles of regeneration in the hands of all the great missionary churches, Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Quaker, Wesleyan, and Unitarian. And I cannot imagine how the Positivists are to supply its place, unless, indeed, they should ever be able (which God forbid) to carry public sentiment with them in preaching a war of extermination against the lowest moral caste of society, the effect of which would be, I imagine, an early discovery that the process sanctioned for the extirpation of those who are apparently the worst members of society would involve the rapid degradation of the whole. For of course the very principle of extinguishing the evil stocks, involves an assumption of the power to *discern* the evil stocks, and this presumes a Pharisaic condition of the heart in those who would be willing to arrogate to themselves such power. Mr Morison is shocked at what he calls the immoral doctrine that God can by His grace convert the worst sinner into the greatest saint, and I do not deny that it has been often so expounded as to strike at the roots of all morality, but put it in the worst form you can imagine, and it will not exert half the demoralizing influence that any assumption of the power to determine •



which are those evil human stocks whence it would be monstrous to expect any sprouting of good,—the Positivist substitute, if I rightly understand Mr Morison's book, for the Christian doctrine of grace,—would certainly produce I know of no more authoritative assertion of that side of the doctrine of grace which offends Mr Morison than St Paul's in his Epistle to the Romans "So then, he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth" But St. Paul himself puts the question, "Is there unrighteousness with God?" and replies, "God forbid" He declines to go behind the will of God, to ask why God has mercy on one and not on another, but he maintains that the will of God, whatever it be, is founded in righteousness And surely with our knowledge of the extreme complexity of the influences of inheritance, it is perfectly easy to conceive that acts of grace which appear to human observers simply arbitrary, may be founded in absolute justice, and express nothing but the compensation to beings whose nature, circumstances and history had borne very hardly on their moral character, for the unfavourable conditions under which they had previously been called to struggle It may be well for us not to go too much behind the divine will, and the faith that that will is founded in righteousness, but certainly there is no kind of difficulty for any one who accepts that faith in the divine righteousness, in holding that miracles of grace, as Christians call them, are by no means arbitrary, but are, strictly speaking, illustrations of the divine righteousness No one can pretend that any Christian apostle has revealed to us that the arbitrary will of God—if, indeed, righteousness be capable of pure arbitrariness—and that alone, makes the only difference between the gift of grace and the denial of that gift But to return to my point Though it is easy enough for a Christian to believe that the gift of grace follows laws of its own, and those laws, laws of transcendental justice, it is not easy at all to understand where Positivists propose to find the moral resources for the regeneration of the world without having either any inexhaustible source of hope, such as the belief in divine grace gives, or any inexhaustible spring of humility, such as the same belief gives Mr Morison holds that Christianity has made great saints out of men with finely touched spirits, but has had comparatively little influence over commonplace and average men, whose hearts it has not succeeded in touching But where without faith will he get even that regenerating power over average men which Christian heroes have gained? No one can say that such lives as those of St Francis, or St Benedict, or St Philip Neri, or such even as those of Knox, George Fox, Bunyan, Whitfield, Wesley, or even the chiefs of the Salvation Army, have been without influence on commonplace and average men, in spite of the rhetorical complaints and exaggerations which Mr.

Morison quotes from the sermons of religious men <sup>\*</sup> Can he produce evidence of an influence equal in degree for any one Secularist or Positivist leader? Can M Littré, or Mr Congreve, or Mr Harrison boast of any influence exercised over the lives of average men, to compare with that of these religious leaders? Can men with no source of hope outside their own race, and no source of hope even in their own race that does not tend to humiliate the class which most needs regeneration in comparison with the class which wields the regenerating agency, expect to achieve even one-tenth part of the successes which Faith, Hope, and Charity have wielded when combined? 'Mr Morison will reply that Positivists may at least achieve more than religious men with the ground under their feet undermined by a half-confessed scepticism, are capable of achieving, that they will do as much without the necessity of ignoring scientific certainties in an age of science, as religious men, with their minds embarrassed and crippled by new scientific limitations clumsily engrafted on the faith of their fathers, can achieve now. He contends, as I understand him, that the modern men of faith are only half believers, that the modern humility is only a poor imitation of the old humility which the age of faith produced, and that, what with this half faith and half humility, frank evangelists of humanism will be at least as successful now as the poor preachers of the half-and-half religious faith, which is all that our day can boast of.

Well, that reply touches the real hinge of the question raised by Mr Cotter Morison—namely, the extent to which he is wrong or right in treating our modern Christianity as so hollow and uneasy, so haunted by self-distrust, so conscious of misgiving, spiritual, moral and intellectual, that it is salt which has lost its savour, and is fit only to be cast out and trodden under the foot of men. I believe that Mr Cotter Morison sees very clearly, and points out very truly, how great a number of new doubts and difficulties has in this last generation beset Christian believers from various sides—from the side of science in relation to miracle, from the side of historical criticism in relation to the authenticity of Scripture, from the side of ethical feeling in relation to the sternness of God's laws, and, finally, from the side of intellectual distrust of the process by which the development of Christian doctrine was effected. It is perfectly true that Christian faith has often been attacked, and has often been staggered from all these sides in turn, and sometimes from all these sides at once, but it is, so far as I can judge, utterly untrue that the result, even of all these combined sets against the certitude of Christian belief, has been to make it easier, more natural, more truthful, to give up Christian theology as a human fable, and to fight the battle of "the service of man" from the Humanist's and the Positivist's point of view, than to be a Christian.

With the multiplication of difficulties on every side, there has come also a multiplication of new lights tending distinctly towards a rehabilitation of the old truth in new forms. Take, first, the effect of the new science and its relation to what has been called miracle. Theoretically, as all the best scientific minds are agreed, there is no contradiction at all between the principle of the uniformity of the law of causation and a very marvellous interruption of the ordinary course of Nature. All that is proved by such an interruption is the intervention of some new and unexpected cause. How inexhaustible is the number of unexplored causes, no man knows better than the true man of science. Of the unexplored causes which are most concerned with such events as are ordinarily called miraculous, the most important doubtless are those which represent the influence of conscious will. Now, I am perfectly sure that no man can look with an open mind at all the new investigations of that influence—of what is called will-power, of mesmerism, of so-called “telepathy”—and not be firmly convinced that many of the miracles of Scripture have had transcripts, though they may be more or less faint transcripts, in the experience of the modern world. It will be said at once that so far as the miracles of Scripture have had any transcripts in ordinary life, they lose *ipso facto* their value as miracles. That is surely utterly false. No one supposes now that miracles could attest truth. What they do attest is power, and, in the usual sense of the word “miracle,” superhuman power. Well, superhuman power can only be tested by comparing it with human power. What one being can do with gifts that we should call perhaps exceptional, but still not supernatural, another could surpass with gifts that are wholly exceptional, and which might fairly be called supernatural. The value of what I call the faint modern transcripts of Scripture miracles is to show that there are the *germs* in ordinary human experience of many of the powers which in prophet and apostle, and still more in Jesus Christ, have been justly called supernatural, and therefore that, if we admit the evidence of a higher range of spiritual and moral life altogether in many parts of the Scriptures than our own, we have no right to discredit as false the exertion of power of this wholly exceptional kind, by beings living on that higher range of existence, if these powers be only more exalted forms of powers of will and insight, which, in a feebler and poorer form, are in actual operation amongst ourselves. No one can read even such a book as Dr Carpenter’s “Mental Physiology” without being convinced of the extraordinary exaltation which it is possible to give, by the exercise of will, to the senses even of other men. Convincing evidence has been accumulated by the “Society for Psychical Research,” that this influence may be so exerted as to affect the senses of persons at a distance, and this, too, without any previous expectation on their

part Of course, all this proves nothing but the large power of will over phenomena usually supposed to be subject to exclusively physical laws But grant such a power, and it becomes a thing not in violation of analogy, but in accordance with analogy, that beings admitted on all hands to have been endowed with moral and spiritual power of an exceptional kind, and in the case of Christ with moral and spiritual power such as there is no other instance of in history, should have wielded an influence of this kind in a far higher and intenser form What I feel convinced of is that a candid use of modern knowledge, instead of asserting the dependence of the spiritual on the physical more emphatically than before, proves to demonstration the extraordinary influence of the spiritual part of man over the physical, extending even to the verification of a rather widely diffused power of self-manifestation at very great distances at the moment of death And if these facts be admitted, as I believe all truly candid investigators will soon admit, I hold that the supposed *à priori* case against what has been called miracle, is being completely broken down, and that in all lives where there has been the manifestation of extraordinary moral and spiritual energy, there is no ground for distrust if we find the evidence also of an extraordinary power of altering and moulding to their own purposes the physical uniformities of our life The new light, so far from rendering our conception of the uniformities of the physical world more rigid, has, I believe, rendered it far more elastic

Again, so far as I am competent to judge the evidence, I am inclined to hold firmly that the progress of historical criticism, while it has long ago exploded the historical infallibility of the Bible, and perhaps shown us that the Book of Daniel, if not one or two other books, may be altogether untrustworthy—I should say that I speak on this matter without any of the special knowledge of an expert—has gone far to re-establish the authority of some of the most important books of the New Testament, and to discredit those theories of Baur and his disciples which maintained the absolute unauthenticity of the fourth Gospel and the bitter quarrel between St Paul and the Jewish apostles which the book of Acts was written, in Baur's view, to salve over and conceal So far as I can judge, the most thoughtful German criticism of the day has more or less disavowed these theories, and gone far towards re-establishing the truthfulness of the most important documents on which the faith of the Church is founded I am aware that men of very high learning think otherwise But I believe that the tendency of the more learned criticism of recent days has been on the whole decidedly conservative And assuredly the evidence for the resurrection of Christ founded on St Paul's testimony as to the belief of the Church after his conversion, has never been advanced with greater force than in our own

day Yet with all this evidence, and all that it implies, in our hands, it seems to me impossible that a light should not be reflected back by it on the credibility of the Gospels which would justify any reasonable man in accepting their evidence as to the character of our Lord's life and work

There remains, of course, the great question on which Mr Cotter Morison insists so vigorously, as to the moral *contents* of the Christian revelation—whether the awful words as to “eternal” life and “eternal” condemnation, as to “the worm that dieth not and the fire that is not quenched,” as to the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ (on which Mr Cotter Morison appears to have taken his representation of Christian theology from the very worst sources open to him and to have misrepresented it most grossly), as to the character of temptation, and, finally, as to the mystery of the Godhead, are of a kind or not of a kind to subdue the heart of man by their truth, and to stir him to the noblest work by their influence He maintains that they are not, that the Christian revelation is at once frightfully severe and capriciously easy-going, intrinsically unjust, profoundly inconsistent with itself, and in its teaching as to God inconsistent with any idea of infinite being that it is possible for us to form And for all these reasons he rejects it It would require a volume larger than his own to go into his charges, but I must say that he on his part seems to me to be grossly inconsistent in holding that a Christianity so full of immoral doctrine and obtuse feeling could have fostered the high saintliness which he prizes so much, and to which he renders so eloquent, and yet as it seems to me so paradoxical, a tribute Surely a teacher who thinks that repentance has no meaning except so far as it is a guarantee of changed habits—and that remorse is a blunder of the most serious kind, a misapplication of power which ought to be directed wholly towards the future, into idle self-reproaches for a past which could not by any possibility have been anything but what it was, ought not to prize so highly a moral ideal which devoted so large a portion of human strength to the work of self-humiliation for the sins of the past But I must not waste time in remarking on Mr Morison's inconsistencies, for the little space I have left must be devoted to explaining why the contents of the Christian revelation seem to me much more than consistent with—a strong illumination of—all that we do know and are still learning, as to the nature of that mysterious power in the grasp of which we live

How may I best describe what is known of that power without any reference to Christian teaching? I should say first that it is one which has given birth to superabundance of physical life, so that the various forms of physical life jostle each other and vie with each other for room, for nourishment, for mastery, till only the higher forms in

each kind survive, and that the distinguishing features of the surviving forms are, on the whole, higher functions, higher intelligence, combined, as we ascend in type, with higher affections and higher loyalty to something above them, that in man, who is the highest of terrestrial beings, this intelligence and these affections and loyalties, develop for the first time the conviction that our own private wishes and the deepest of these feelings of loyalty are at variance with each other, and that we are not willing to do what nevertheless we know that we both can do and ought to do, in other words, that half our hearts are averted from what the other and better half impel us to do, that this cruel sense of division in our nature grows with the growth of the intelligence, the growth of the affections, and the growth of social wants, that it is especially emphasized when we come to the necessity of killing off our competitors in the fashion inherited from our animal nature, and still more when tempted to thin away our own people by the law of the strongest in order to make more room and more opportunities of enjoyment for ourselves, in a word, that "the conflict for existence" which determines the survivals of animal life, is in man controlled by the growing sense of loyalty to some invisible power which forbids it, and that the jostling of selfish desires is thus made to recognize a new and nobler competitor in the law of sacrifice. No one is more enthusiastic for the law of sacrifice than Mr. Cotter Morison, but he treats it as one of purely human origin, and ridicules it as sheer injustice when it is announced by theologians as proceeding from the creative power itself. "The essence of practical religion at all times has been sacrifice," he says, on p. 251. "In this capacity of sacrifice regardless of self we have the purest essence of the best religions," he says again, on p. 261, only he calls it "a human quality" "which has been evolved in the long travail of the world," whereas it seems to me that in its oldest forms it has been distinctly the shadow of a divine command. Could any one conceive that Abraham's belief that he had been called to give up his only son, on whom all his human hopes depended, was of mere human origin? And that story, I take it, is a type of the history of sacrifice as something the origin of which is in divine inspiration. It was not the sacrifice of his son, but the sacrifice of his personal will—which was so much wrapped up in that son—that was asked of Abraham, and the Psalmist who represented God as despising the sacrifice of bullocks or goats, but asking for the sacrifice of the will, taught the same lesson in still plainer language. There seems to me nothing clearer in the history of religion than that sacrifice is distinctly represented as a product of religious inspiration, as a testimony to the existence of objects of still higher and purer affection in the invisible world than any existing even on earth. The ideas of sacrifice and expiation are always specially connected with the otherwise desperate

aversion of the human soul from the dictates of the invisible power which requires our highest loyalty—an aversion which sacrifice alone is deemed able to overcome

The real question is, of course, whether sacrifice is, as the Positivists hold, a mere human alleviation of a very bad state of things in a world where man has to carve out for himself his own lot, or a divine force originated from above, and so far as it is a human force at all, only one derived from that higher source. I have no doubt that here is really the central issue between the Positivists and the theologians, and that its solution depends on the answer we give to the question, first, whether there be or be not such a thing as sin, of purely human origin, and, next, whether there be or be not a redeeming principle in sacrifice, for the healing of sin, of divine origin, and not of human. The Christian revelation denies that God is responsible for sin, and asserts that He is the true fountain of sacrifice, that the Cross is the Cross of a divine as well as a human sufferer, and represents the origin of redemption as identical with that of life and suffering itself. The whole question turns on the reality of that sense of loyalty to an invisible holiness against which sin is the rebellion. If the latter be all an illusion, so no doubt is the former. If the latter be one of the most impressive and saddest of the realities of human life, then it is hardly conceivable that the power against which the conscience testifies that we have revolted, is not a real power, and one which is constantly struggling in us to subdue that revolt and to reconcile us to itself. It seems to me that the root of the Positivists' scorn for theology is the determinist doctrine which, in spite of all the evidence of the ages, denies the possibility, and of course therefore the reality, of sin. Can they give an instance of any other word, in any language, that represents such a tremendous body of human experience and suffering as the word "sin," which, nevertheless, stands for a pure illusion that it would relieve every one to explode, if only the hard facts of human nature were consistent with treating it as an illusion? I cannot think of any case at all resembling it. And yet that sin is an illusion, and a pure illusion, is the view on which the Positivists ground the doctrine that the "Service of Man" would be promoted by giving up, as one of the most mischievous of dreams, the effort after the "service of God." Yet if sin be no illusion, if it be the evil ferment which keeps human society in perpetual danger of degradation and corruption, and if the only remedy be that eagerness of the good to suffer on behalf of the bad, if by any chance they may redeem the bad, which the Positivists praise as the noblest "altruism"—then, which is the more likely, that this law of sacrifice is imbedded in the very constitution of our universe and proceeds from the will of the great power against whom all sin is rebellion, or that man, who in

that case certainly derives his sense of right, and his deeply ingrained feeling of misery when he is disloyal, from that power, should yet have invented for himself so singular a remedy as the eagerness of the good to suffer that the bad may be reformed? For my part, I believe that all that is pure in human society is based upon the law of sacrifice, and that that law is directly of divine inspiration, receiving its highest authority in the revelation that God Himself gave His Son to suffer that man may be healed. I do not care at all for the scoff that such a belief only shows how strictly limited is God's power. I can imagine indeed a society in which every instinct is right and pure, and in which the temptation to evil does not exist, and, in a strictly "determinist" universe, that is the society one would expect from a divine origin. But whether or not such a society would be better and nobler than the society we actually know, is a very different question, and I should think, even if we had the data for answering it, that the subtraction to be made from the good side of the account, would perhaps more than overbalance the subtraction to be made from the bad side. At all events, man being what he is, a being deeply afflicted with a sense of sin, and deeply penetrated by a yearning for reconciliation with the power who inspires his conscience, the hankering after pure innocence is the most unpractical of dreams, while the renovation of human nature by the divine principle of sacrifice is a verifiable reality.

Further, whether that healing power of sacrifice could survive the loss of the faith that it is of God and not of man, that it has its source in a divine action and not in a human resolve, is the one question which, as it seems to me, Mr Cotter Morison and his friends have altogether failed to consider. Certainly the Christian saints whom they so much admire would not have hesitated to pronounce upon it with a decision derived from their own experience, and in a sense by no means respectful to the views of those of their modern eulogists who praise them for what they were. Assuredly to treat the source to which the saints attributed all their strength as a chimæra, and their vision of the spiritual future itself as an *ignis fatuus* of the fancy though it was the only light of their feet in their difficult and desolate way, seems to me one of the most arbitrary of the many arbitrary assumptions which enter into, if they do not actually make up, the Positivists' creed.

R H HUTTON



## COMMERCIAL MUSEUMS.

THE present revival of the agitation for the establishment of commercial museums in the centres of production at home and in the Colonies appears to have reached a point from which some attempt at realization may be expected. The excellent and valued proposal of the Prince of Wales for the creation of an Imperial Institute has now been satisfactorily elaborated by a committee of specialists, and a leading place in the scheme has been awarded to commercial museums. Not only is this the case, but particular prominence is given throughout the Report of the Prince of Wales's Organizing Committee to commercial and industrial requirements, both of the mother-country and of the Colonies. Considering the remarkable absence of interest taken either by Parliament, or, until lately, by Government, in the trading interests of the community, this special feature of the proposed Imperial Institute cannot but be regarded with gratification and expectation by the commercial classes. The Report states that the leading objects of the United Kingdom section will be (par 5) "the promotion in affiliation with the Imperial Institute of commercial museums in the City of London, and in the commercial centres of the provinces." I have every reason to believe that it is intended to make these museums an integral portion of the Institute scheme, and that the Prince's Committee will encourage their establishment by every means in their power. In the last few weeks a decided step in this direction has been taken by the Lord Mayor's Institute Committee, with the approval and sanction of the Institute Organizing Committee. Under this arrangement a City Commercial Museum is made a part of the City Jubilee Memorial, and 30 per cent of the funds subscribed by the City (unless otherwise indicated) are to be devoted specially to the Museum. This

agreement produces the double result that both the City and the Institute Committee are now interested in bringing the Museum scheme to a practical result

There is nothing new in the idea of commercial museums, the wonder is only that this country has been able to attain its preponderating position as a mercantile community amongst nations without the existence of some such organization. The absence of permanent trade exhibitions from amongst our public institutions is a striking illustration of the exaggeration to which we have in the United Kingdom carried the principle of private initiative to the utter extinction of that State assistance which is, *per contra*, the principal motive power of continental nationalities. All exaggeration is bad, and I venture to submit that Englishmen have formed such an over-rated estimate of the national utility and all-sufficiency of their private initiative system that they have caused it to recoil upon themselves. It punishes us in its retro-action to national disadvantage, by producing absolute inertia in directions where progress is desirable. The only stimulus to which private initiative is susceptible, commercially speaking, is the prospect of realizing a profit upon its enterprise. Private initiative therefore is distinctly limited by the possibility of attaining a personal gain, whilst the realization of public or national advantages may be stated as the exceptional and not the regular result of its action. Instances even can be quoted where the efforts of private enterprise are diametrically opposed to the national weal, such, for instance, would be the export of machinery, whereby the cheaper labour of foreign States is enabled to decrease our national capacity as manufacturers, or the sale of arms or war material to States which might at a given moment turn these very products against us. It is, I take it, an exaggeration of the self-help idea which has caused us to delay the creation of commercial museums, on the ground that they belong to that order of institutions which do not promise an immediate profit to their promoters, and therefore appeal for their establishment to sentiments other than those of private initiative. It certainly was not ignorance of the possible utility of a trade museum to the community which prevented the establishment of such a collection as far back as 1851. Then, as now, it was the bringing together of products of all kinds in a large exhibition, which suggested to the business men of the day the idea of forming a trade museum. It is worthy of note that local exhibitions have been the starting-point of all continental commercial museums, from the mother collection at Brussels to their latest development, which has been realized in the German *Muster-lagers* at Stuttgart, Frankfort, and other places. The memorial presented by London merchants on the occasion of the International Exhibition of 1851 is still so completely applicable to the requirements of the present hour, that a change of the date and

signatures is all that is necessary to make it as worthy of consideration to-day as it was thirty-five years ago. The question of site, even, is dealt with in the identical words which have been unwittingly employed by the London Chamber of Commerce, in connection with the same subject, within the last month. I cannot, therefore, refrain from reproducing the document as an historical curiosity.

LONDON, *October 16, 1851*

GENTLEMEN,—Understanding that Her Majesty's Commissioners propose forming a collection of the raw produce of different countries shown in the Great Exhibition, we beg leave to express our conviction of the high practical value of this plan.

We anticipate great benefits to merchants, manufacturers, and brokers from the formation of a great trade museum or collection, of which this would be the foundation and in which specimens of the natural productions or exports of all countries should be deposited, together with such accurate, scientific, practical, and commercial information as can be procured.

Such a museum would at all times give the most valuable aid to the mercantile community, and afford that information which is so constantly required, and which there is now no means of obtaining.

We would beg to suggest that, in order to render such a collection really available for trade purposes, it should be formed in the City of London, and so situated as to be conveniently accessible to those who want to refer to it.

We have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your obedient servants,

Thomas Hanky, jun

John G. Hubbard

J. H. Pelly

William Cotton

J. B. Heath

H. J. Prescott

Overend, Gurney & Co

Durant & Co

Geo. Carr Glynn

Forster & Smith

Hanson Bros & Co

Gregson & Co

Powles Bros & Co

J. Thomson (T. Moreau & Co.)

Herman Sillem, Son & Co

Doxat & Co

R. W. Crawford

H. W. Blake

James Morris

J. Masterman

Morris, Prevost & Co

John Chapman & Co

W. C. & H. Harnett

Alfred Janson

Chas. R. Harford

Geo. Fred. Young

T. Green & Co

Geo. Denny

Geo. Fenning

D. Dunbar

J. Wild & Sons

Home, Eagar & Co

On behalf of the committee for managing the affairs of Lloyd's,

JOHN ROBINSON, *pro Chairman*

On behalf of Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping,

THOMAS CHALMAN, *Chairman*

Since 1851 various committees, one of which was presided over by Mr Childers in 1874, have considered the utility of establishing commercial museums, and in two instances—those known as the Charles Street and the Fife House schemes—the idea seemed to approach realization, only to fall through at the last moment. In

1876 Dr Forbes Watson advocated the creation of a considerable establishment for the exhibition of colonial products and raw materials, in which the Colonial Agents-General were to be housed, and in aid of which grants from the Colonies were to be obtained. In several other of its features Dr Forbes Watson's proposals verged very closely on those now put forward by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in reference to the new Imperial Institute.

It is, however, more especially during the last two or three years that the attention of business men has been attracted to the question of commercial museums, by their reported establishment in various countries of Continental Europe. The intelligent little State of Belgium has been the pioneer of the movement. Exhibitions, as before stated, supplied the idea of forming those museums, and the necessity of developing Belgian export trade gave the impetus on the strength of which its Government took the question in hand, purchased a handsome building in the very centre of the city, and defrayed the entire cost of the undertaking, in the working of which the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Posts and Telegraphs unite their energies. Germany followed with the establishment of export pattern agencies, most of which are created by private initiative, though some receive either Government or municipal assistance in the way of freedom from rent and taxes by their location in a public building. In Austria the towns of Vienna and Buda Pesth are carrying on their usual rivalry, and applying it to the trade museum idea. The excellent but relatively small Oriental Museum of Vienna, which is splendidly housed on the first floor of the Exchange, was originated unofficially after the Exhibition of 1873, and is now, on the strength of its success, in process of enlargement and conversion into a State museum. The Buda Pesth collection, on the other hand, is entirely a State-aided institution. In France, endeavours were made, with a considerable flourish of trumpets, to introduce a system of local trade museums, under State patronage and under the management of the local Chambers of Commerce, which on the Continent are generally official bodies. The museum idea has not, according to Mr Crowe, the commercial attaché of the British Embassy in Paris, been successfully carried out in France, although certain local collections, particularly those of Lyons and Rouen, are worthy of attention and imitation. Holland has acted in relation to trade museums only on private initiative, Italy has combined State aid with private enterprise, whilst Switzerland, as usual, acts on a combination of municipal and individual aid. Including Portugal and Sweden, there are at the present moment in Europe fifty-seven towns which either have established or commenced to organize trade museums, or *Muster-lagers*. It would be

imprudent to ignore the importance of a movement which has developed to such a degree, even when the incompleteness of certain efforts, such as those of France and Holland, is fully allowed for

Continental trade museums have all been formed for a single purpose—that of extending the export trade of the localities and countries in which they are situate. Any extension of Continental exports must necessarily mean increased competition with British trade in neutral markets, if not a corresponding reduction of British exports. Foreign trade museums thus become a direct factor in the ever-extending competition which from year to year is pressing more and more closely on the trade of this country and reducing the scale of its profits. Under these circumstances it seems but fitting to consider whether it is worth the while of this country to follow the example in which Europe has taken the lead, and to derive for our own advantage whatever lesson is to be learnt from the new institutions.

This inquiry was considered of so much importance by the commercial classes of England, that the London Chamber of Commerce resolved to dispatch me as its commissioner to report upon the condition, prospects, and probable effect of the commercial museums of Europe. After visiting the principal establishments of Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Northern Italy, I arrived at the conclusion that it was desirable that the British Empire should organize a series of institutions throughout its chief centres of production, by which it should seek to make known its resources more completely than at present, and in which it should establish comparisons between its own manufactures and those of competing nationalities. After a reference of the subject to a special committee and to a special meeting of the Council and its trade sections, the London Chamber has adopted my conclusions, and has addressed a request, through its President, to the Prince of Wales's Committee of Advice, for the inclusion of commercial museums in the Imperial Institute proposals. These representations have, as before stated, resulted in what is officially termed "the affiliation" of commercial museums with the Imperial Institute, and that affiliation is now accepted by the City under the authority of the Lord Mayor's Committee, which is now receiving subscriptions for the two schemes simultaneously.

Commercial museums should really be more of the nature of trade exhibitions than of museums. Their principal aim should be to deal with the present rather than with the past. At the same time, a sufficient record and collection of types or samples indicating the development of specific branches of production, the changes of fashion, design, shape, material, and quality which have taken place

in the course of years, is both desirable and necessary. Nevertheless, the great impulse of self-interest will naturally cause more attention to be given to the products of to-day than to those of bygone seasons. The contents of these exhibition museums must vary according to the locality. Manchester, for instance, would devote its primary attention to cotton in all its stages—raw, spun, woven, grey, dyed, printed, and finished. Leeds and Bradford would care less for cotton, except as warps, but would be very much interested in woollens—heavy and light, broad or narrow, and in the similar productions, dyes, finishes, and makes-up of other countries. Sheffield would concentrate its attention upon iron, steel, and cutlery, Birmingham on hardware, Staffordshire on pottery, whilst London, as a distributing centre, would necessarily be generally interested in most provincial industries, and more particularly in raw materials and “produce.” The London museum, as representing the largest commercial centre of the Empire, as the focussing point of its transit trade, and the connecting link of our colonial exchanges, would necessarily have to be the largest and most complete. It is satisfactory, therefore, to find that the London Chamber of Commerce has not recoiled from the considerable responsibility which will fall upon it of assuming the initiative of promoting the largest, and perhaps the first, of British trade exhibition museums.

It is not pretended that the establishment of trade museums will lead to an immediate and profitable extension of our exports. The process will be an educational one more than any other, and consequently it would be gradual and progressive, but in the long run decidedly advantageous, and it is hoped thorough. The large firms will have little to gain from museums, as their own resources and capital enable them either to procure reliable information direct, or to dispatch a capable servant for its collection. Still, even the large firms would occasionally discover in the museum a new fibre or a new product to which their attention might not otherwise have been called. The museum will soon become and be recognized as a rallying point, to which samples of every article presenting prospects of trade will be sent. Travellers in foreign countries, consuls, inventors, producers of all kinds, either at home or in the colonies, who desire to bring a sample or a manufacture to the notice of the British commercial public will send it to the museum, where it will be classed and announced amongst the receipts of “new” articles. If it presents features of interest, it will probably be examined by specialists, by whose assistance the museum authorities will soon be able to form an estimate of its merits, and at the end of the year either let it find its way to “waste,” or store it up for future reference. There is little doubt that many useful articles are lost to con-

sumption and to commerce, from the absence of a known centre to which they can be sent, and from thence made known to interested parties. Keen and pushing as are our business men, they fail to notice and know everything. Only within the last few months a committee of experts from the Leather Trade Section of the London Chamber of Commerce visited the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, with a view of examining and reporting upon the leather and allied products there exhibited. To their great surprise, they found in the Indian court, carefully arranged and grouped by Dr Watt, nearly two hundred samples of bark and tanning materials which were completely and absolutely unknown to the trade. If a commercial museum is organized, samples of this kind will reach it, if it is not created, there is no doubt that, notwithstanding the sleepless but not universal eye of self-interest many useful products will remain unknown, and will be lost, for many years at least, to consumption and production.

There are a number of firms, both merchants and manufacturers, who own collections of samples bearing on their own branch of trade, and often covering the operations of a long series of years. Donations of these could no doubt be obtained in a considerable number of cases, and would go far to form a historical collection, which would prove most valuable to the designer, the artisan, and the manufacturer. Nothing is so common in trade as the revival of an old model, an old shape, or an old pattern, with modern adaptations. It has been stated that, because a variety of those private collections exist, therefore a public museum is unnecessary, that because a few high-class firms go to the expense of keeping themselves well-informed, therefore it is not desirable to place the commercial public in possession of that knowledge of trade secrets which should be the privilege of those who pay dear to discover them. Reasoning of this kind is useful in illustrating what I call the standing conflict between private and public interest. Institutions of the nature of commercial museums are created for the advantage of the public and of the country, not of individuals, and the opposition of certain firms to this means of disseminating information only proves that museums can teach facts which are lost in their absence, and that it is to the interest of "the greatest number" that such institutions should be opened. The large firms will, as capitalists, retain their power and pre-eminence, whether museums are opened or not, and if in the course of a few years it is found that museum exhibitions add sensibly to the amount of our trade, nothing is more certain than that the large firms will obtain the main share of the increase.

The effect of this process of natural selection has, as a matter of practical experience, made itself felt in Germany already. I was told

by the intelligent managers of the *Muster-lagers* at Stuttgart and Frankfort that the commission firms at first opposed and held aloof from the pattern-dépôt sale-rooms. But in course of time the commission houses learnt that, instead of interfering with their business, instead of decreasing the purchasing tendencies of their customers, the large collection of patterns brought together by the agency positively tempted the purchaser to secure a larger variety and quantity of goods than formerly. Relying somewhat on the credit given by the commission house, and believing that in their turn their own customers would be similarly attracted by a large assortment of the last *nouveautés*, I was assured that the majority of buyers had regularly exceeded the amounts of the purchases which they had fixed upon when leaving home. It may be assumed also that a buyer whose credit is good enough to enable him to purchase without the support of a commission house, will hardly wait the advent of a commercial museum to enter into direct relations with the producer. On the whole, then, it would appear that the intermediary has quite as much to gain as to lose from any alteration in the system of buying which may be brought about by trade museums.

These difficulties, however, would not apply to the class of commercial museums which would be adaptable to the British Empire. Anything of the kind which we may undertake in this country or the Colonies must be a public institution, open free, and not therefore the theatre of business operations. The *Muster-lager* is a close corporation, a co-operative association of exporting manufacturers, from whom foreigners and rivals are as jealously excluded as they would be from any private warehouse. I quite believe that the *Muster-lager* or pattern dépôt idea is applicable to British operations, especially as regards articles or manufactures from a distance—from the Continent and the Colonies. But if we adopt this plan, it must be as a matter of private enterprise, not in a public institution. There is no reason why the position of London as a transit centre should not be made use of to transfer the showrooms—for the *Muster-lager* is but a showroom—of Germany, Austria, Italy and France, to our own metropolis. Since branches have been opened in Hamburg and Frankfort, why not organize a monster agency in London? I throw out the suggestion for what it may be worth, feeling convinced that sooner or later it will be acted upon.

The trade museum, on the other hand, is eminently adapted to the purposes of a public service. Since practically the whole of the countries of Western Europe are actively engaged upon their organization, we could not prudently remain behind in this new phase of competition. The very success of our commercial operations in the past now imposes the duty upon us of leaving



some acceptable record of our industrial history for the enlightenment of future generations. Great as is the creative power of man, there is an inherent tendency to borrow and adapt, rather than to evolve. Do we not go to India for designs for our cottons and shawls, to Persia for the styles of our carpets, to Japan and China for the shapes and ornamentations of our pottery, and from the combinations and assimilations of these do we not gradually form a style of our own? It is, then, chiefly as an educational establishment, in the widest sense of the word, that a permanent trade exhibition would be especially valuable. The climatic conditions of the islands of the United Kingdom, the somewhat Puritanic conditions of our social life, together with a certain harshness and domineering tendency inherent apparently in the Anglo-Saxon race, create a want of adaptiveness in us as producers and business men. We are slow to change, and are prone to dislike the alterations which result from fashions and the rage for the "newest thing out." Other countries have discovered our weakness, and seek to place us at a disadvantage commercially by offering to meet our customers' requirements more obsequiously than we do. The pressure of foreign competition, which must increase rather than diminish, will force us to produce what our clients prefer, rather than what is most suitable or agreeable for us to manufacture. It is to meet this change in our economic positions that trade museums will be useful. In the past we expected our customer to come to us, now we shall have to go to him. We expected him to pay us in our money, we shall now be constrained to draw upon him in the currency which he understands. We shall have to learn his language, and to obtain orders from him, not as proud monopolists, but by meeting his requirements more willingly and more skilfully than rival manufacturers of other countries.

Commercial museums will help us to do this. They will collect and bring to our doors types of the article which the buyers of all nationalities use and prefer, so that we may alter our production to suit our customer's fancy, and so persuade him to purchase. They will also show our manufacturers, our merchants, and our artisans, the articles by means of which foreign producers are seeking to oust us from the old fields of our commercial victories. They will also unite the fibres, dyes, and mordants applicable to our textiles, together with collections of the designs used in various countries in connection with them. But it will be chiefly as a means of facilitating commercial and technical education that trade museums will prove invaluable. They will be equally useful to young men training for commercial employment, and to artisans, and especially to masters, as a means of directing attention to the alterations of fashion and the requirements of various markets.

The absence of an organized system of specially commercial

education is being more and more recognized as a menacing danger to our industrial future. It will only be by careful special training, and by widening the sphere of commercial knowledge, that the young men of coming generations will be able to meet the growing competition for employment in this country with foreigners of all nationalities. Why is it that the great majority of corresponding clerks are foreigners? Because foreigners come here well informed in two, three, or four languages, already possessed of a sound commercial training, and willing to work quietly and obediently for longer hours and for smaller salaries than Englishmen would condescend to accept. Why is a considerable proportion of our book-keepers and clerks composed of foreigners? Because they are more thoroughly trained as accountants, and are both better and cheaper workers than our own juniors. Is it not time that we recognized the economic folly of bringing up and training foreigners to compete with us in our own businesses? We employ these clerks, corresponding assistants, and book-keepers, give them the opportunity of learning our trade secrets, and thus enable them to set up in competition with ourselves. A glance at the Directory list of South American, African, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese firms reveals the fact that a large proportion of the merchants—often considerably more than half—are foreigners. As long as these firms become really Anglicized, not only is no harm done, but positive benefit is derived from the process of natural selection and the mixture of races which results. But a considerable proportion of such firms remain foreign in their sympathies and preferences to the last, and when they settle in our colonies, induce their Governments to set up subsidized mail and merchandise services, which in course of time will divert an ever-growing amount of trade to Continental ports. We have been as short-sighted in leaving our commercial education to take care of itself as we have been economically blind in allowing our emigrants to establish themselves in countries where British merchandise is excluded by tariffs. An Anglo-Saxon emigrant settling in the United States hardly consumes 10s worth per annum of English manufactures, whereas those who fix their homes in the Australias consume from £8 to £10 per head. To this day neither English merchants nor the English Government have realized the lesson which these figures teach. Why, it would positively remunerate the country splendidly, as an investment more secure and permanent than any speculation in beer, to pay the expenses of every emigrant who would go to our own colonies! Meanwhile, the country is slowly waking up to the necessity of training our clerks, assistants, and, generally speaking, all who are destined for a mercantile career, in a more complete and specialist manner than in the past. France and Belgium have ten years' start of us in this respect. The Paris Chamber of Commerce

inaugurated a decade ago a magnificent college, where an exclusively commercial training is imparted under the best professors. At Antwerp a first-class institute has been working some years, by means of which the Belgians are raising a generation of fully instructed merchants. At Hamburg, at Leipzig, and at Antwerp, object lessons are given on samples from commercial museums, so that youths acquire a fair knowledge of products before leaving college. Their time is not wasted with years of needless and degrading office drudgery, but when once the basis of their training is laid, they are enabled to rise with a rapidity proportionate to their capacities. It is with reference to commercial training of this kind, and the inauguration of practical object lessons, that commercial museums promise a useful future in this country and the colonies. It is therefore necessary that a scheme of trade museums should be affiliated with the principal schools and the institutes for technical instruction. For this purpose, as well as for those of ordinary business, it is essential that museums should be situated in a central position, easily accessible to merchants, brokers, manufacturers, lecturers, artisans, clerks, and scholars.

It may have been remarked that in the petition of merchants, dated 1851, referred to at the commencement of this paper, the necessity of a central site in the City is stated as one of the essentials, at that time, of the utility of a trade museum. This point is further emphasized to-day by the enhanced value of time and the shortened hours of labour. The London Chamber of Commerce has from the first laid great stress on this necessity, and it remains one of the leading features of the statement which has been laid before the Organizing Committee of the proposed Imperial Institute by the President of the Chamber, Mr J H Tritton, who has been nominated to a seat on that Committee. Whilst it is therefore trusted that the commercial museum scheme may be incorporated in the general plan of the Imperial Institute, the establishment of the trade portion in the city, or at least of a branch which will meet all business requirements, appears a necessity. As it is an essential part of the value and completeness of the museum proposals that specialist branches be opened in the producing centres throughout the kingdom and the Colonies, commercial museums cannot in any case form an integral, but only an affiliated department of the Imperial Institute arrangements.

In Brussels the trade museum is not further from the Exchange than is the Mansion House in the City of London. The French, as well as the Belgians, have recognized the necessity of a central situation for business museums. In the report adopted by the French Government on March 15, 1884, locality is provided for in Article 2, which states "An establishment of this kind must be formed in a locality close to business centres—*e g*, near commercial exchanges,

or in the buildings occupied by Chambers of Commerce " As regards London, an imposing site, with a frontage to the Thames, could probably be obtained at a relatively low price from amongst the several wharves which are now to let between Fishmongers' Hall at London Bridge and Cannon Street Station The building would necessarily have to be an imposing one, worthy of its site, of the immense trade of the City, and of the commerce of the British Empire In size it should be scarcely inferior to that of Brussels, which is nearly as large as the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street The cost of the Brussels Museum up to the present, including buildings, fittings, and collections, is believed not to have exceeded £60,000, and the charges for annual management are not more than from £1,600 to £2,000 City property of similar area could not be purchased on anything like this basis, but if City men once make up their minds to have a museum worthy of their commercial status, the question of building and site will be settled without much difficulty, especially now that it is connected with the Imperial Institute scheme

I have elsewhere drafted a proposal that the cheapest, most rapid, effective, and complete method of organizing the Institute would be to federate, under combined management, the whole of the specialist societies of the Empire This scheme—which is, I find, but an amplification of the suggestion submitted by the Prince Consort in 1851 as the best means of utilizing the surplus of the Exhibition of that year—could easily be framed to include trade museums in such wise as to give them such liberty of organization and management as would ensure their most successful adaptation to the ever-varying requirements of business men

For a London commercial exhibition museum the arrangement in departments which I would submit as the most complete, judging from the various systems which I have examined abroad, would be as follows —

Raw produce of all kinds and every origin, classed by articles, and not, by place of production

Semi-raw produce, same classification

Manufactured articles, similar articles of home and foreign production, juxtaposed A separate department to be created, as soon as possible, on a geographical basis—viz, articles of local consumption compared with the supplied articles of British and foreign manufacture

Information, prices of all samples, discount, credit, &c, duties to which each article is liable under tariffs of various States

Railway and freight charges on various goods to and from various markets

Style of packing, and making up goods for various markets

Laboratory for analyses, testing of samples, new fibres, pigments, &c

Classes, lectures, and object lessons in connection with samples exhibited in the museum, in which the chief educational establishments of the Metropolis and the City, the Guilds of London, Institutes, and artisan classes should have right and participation

Commercial library, books, newspapers, trade journals, price lists, &c

As before stated, both access to the building and all its services should be free. Matters have not yet, I fear, progressed sufficiently for it to be possible to induce Government to locate its various commercial departments (and those which will some day be created in those departments which as yet have none—viz., the India and Colonial Offices) in the City and near to the museum, when the information in regard to tariffs and railways could be better supplied officially

In the foregoing remarks I trust to have demonstrated that trade exhibition museums would promote an increased acquaintance with our imperial resources, and would consequently lead to an improved development and consumption thereof, and that all classes of business men, from masters and operatives to students and clerks, are interested in their promotion, whilst none can be thereby detrimentally affected. In past generations the nation has gone to considerable expense in establishing the National Gallery, the British Museum, and the splendid collections of South Kensington and the Tower, of which Englishmen in all climes may legitimately be proud. We have thus placed on record our national progress in the arts, the sciences, and literature, but we have omitted any systematic memento of our commercial and industrial existence. Yet the essence of British progress is commercial. Our rise amongst nations, our status as a colonizing community, our merits as a naval and maritime power, our apacity as inventors and mechanics, our international influence as capitalists, are all dependent upon and derived from our commercial capacity. Surely, then, the present generation, which has witnessed and profited by the wonderful and unprecedented extension of our commercial resources, should recognize it as a special duty to our ancestors and to posterity to raise a fitting memorial to commerce, which is the only element of our national greatness not represented amongst us by a public institution.

KENRIC B MURRAY

## THE IMAGINATIVE ART OF THE RENAISSANCE

THE painters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, using up the suggestions contained in the bas-reliefs of the Pisan sculptors and in the medallions surrounding the earliest painted effigies of holy personages, produced a complete set of pictorial themes illustrative of gospel history and of the lives of the principal saints. These illustrative themes—definite conceptions of situations and definite arrangements of figures—became forthwith the whole art's stock, universal and traditional, few variations were made from year to year and from master to master, and those variations resolved themselves continually back into the original type. And thus on, through the changes in artistic means and artistic ends, until the Italian schools disappeared finally before the schools of France and Flanders. Let us take a striking example. The presentation of the Virgin remains unaltered in main sentiment and composition, despite the two centuries and more which separate the Gaddi from Titian and Tintoret, despite the complete change in artistic aims and methods separating still more completely the men of the fourteenth century from the men of the sixteenth. The long flight of steps stretching across the fresco in Santa Croce stretches also across the canvas of the great Venetians, and the little girl climbs up them alike, presenting her profile to the spectator, although at the top of the steps there is in one case a Gothic portal and in the other a Palladian portico, and at the bottom of the steps in the fresco stand Florentines who might personally have known Dante, and at the bottom of the steps in the pictures the Venetian patrons of Aretino. Yet the presentation of the little maiden to the High Priest is quite equally conceivable in many other ways and from many other points of view. As regards both dramatic

conception and pictorial composition, the moment might have been differently chosen, the child might still be with its parents or already with the priest, and the flight of steps might have been turned to face the spectator, upwards or down, or again, been suppressed altogether. This is merely one instance in a hundred. If we summon up in our mind as many as we can of the various frescoes and pictures representing the chief incidents of Scripture history, we shall find that, while there are endless differences between them with respect to drawing, anatomy, perspective, light and shade, colour and handling, there are but few and slight variations as regards the conception of the situation and the arrangement of the figures. The monotony is so complete that any one of us, almost, knows what to expect, in all save technical matters and the choice of models, on being told that in such a place there is an old Italian fresco, or panel, or canvas, representing some principal episode of Gospel history.

The explanation of this fidelity to one theme of representation in an art which was the very furthest removed from any hieratic prescriptions, in an art which was perpetually growing—and growing more human and secular—must be sought for, I think, in no peculiarities of spiritual condition or national imagination, but in two facts concerning the merely technical development of painting, and the results thereof. These two facts are briefly that at a given moment—namely, the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth—there existed just enough power of imitating Nature to admit of the simple indication of a dramatic situation, without further realization of detail, and that at this moment consequently there originated such pictorial indications of the chief dramatic situations as concerned the Christian world. And secondly, that from then and until well into the sixteenth century, the whole attention of artists was engrossed in changing the powers of indication into powers of absolute representation, developing completely the drawing, anatomy, perspective, colour, light and shade, and handling, which the Giottesques had possessed only in a most rudimentary condition, and which had sufficed for the creation of just such pictorial themes as they had invented, and no more.

Moreover, the Giottesques—among whom I include the immediate precursors, sculptors as well as painters, of Giotto—put into their Scripture stories an amount of logic, of sentiment, of dramatic and psychological observation and imagination more than sufficient to furnish out the works of three generations of later comers. Setting aside Giotto himself, who concentrates and diffuses the vast bulk of dramatic invention as well as of artistic observation and skill, there is in even the small and smallest among his followers, an extraordinary happiness of individual invention of detail. I may quote a few

instances at random It would be difficult to find a humbler piece of work than the so-called Tree of the Cross, in the Florentine Academy a thing like a huge fern, with medallion histories in each frond, it can scarcely be considered a work of art, and stands halfway between a picture and a genealogical tree Yet in some of its medallions there is a great vivacity of imaginative rendering, for instance, the Massacre of the Innocents represented by a single soldier, mailed and hooded, standing before Herod on a floor strewn with children's bodies, and holding up an infant by the arm, like a coat or a dead hare, preparing slowly to spit it on his sword, and the kiss of Judas, the soldiers crowding behind, while the traitor kisses Christ, seems to bind him hand and foot with his embraces, to give him up, with that stealthy look backwards to the impatient rabble—a representation of the scene, infinitely superior in its miserable execution to Angelico's Ave Rabbi! with its elaborate landscape of flower and fruit trees Again, in a series of predella histories of the Virgin, in the same place (No 14, first room), also a very mediocre and anonymous work, there is extraordinary charm in the conception of the respective positions of Mary and Joseph at their wedding he is quite old and grey, she young, unformed, almost a child, and she has to stand on two steps to be on his level, raising her head with a beautiful, child-like earnestness, quite unlike the conventional bridal timidity of other painters Leaving these unknown mediocrities, I would refer to the dramatic value (besides the great pictorial beauty) of an entombment by Giotto, in the corridor of the Uffizi the Virgin does not faint or has recovered (thus no longer diverting the attention from the dead Saviour to herself, as elsewhere), and surrounds the head of her son with her arms, the rest of the figures restrain themselves before her, and wink with strange blinking efforts to keep back their tears Still more would I speak of two small frescoes in the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce, which are as admirable in poetical conception as they are unfortunately poor in artistic execution One of them represents the Annunciation to the Shepherds they are lying in a grey, hilly country, wrapped in grey mists, their flock below asleep, but the dog vigilant, sniffing the supernatural One is hard asleep, the other awake suddenly, and has turned over and looks up screwing his eyes at the angel, who comes in a pale yellow winter sunrise cloud, in the cold, grey mist veined with yellow The chilliness of the mist at dawn, the wonder of the vision, are felt with infinite charm In the other fresco the three kings are in a rocky place, and to them appears, not the angel, but the little child Christ, half-swaddled, swimming in orange clouds on a deep blue sky The eldest king is standing, and points to the vision with surprise and awe, the middle-aged one shields his eyes coolly to see, while the youngest, a delicate lad, has already fallen on his knees, and is praying with both hands crossed on his breast.



For dramatic, poetic invention, these frescoes can be surpassed, poor as is their execution, only by Giotto's St John ascending slowly from the open grave, floating upwards, with outstretched arms and illumined face, to where a cloud of prophets, with Christ at their head, enwraps him in the deep blue sky

These pictorial themes, invented by the Pisan sculptors and the painters of the school of Giotto, were not merely as good, in a way, as any pictorial themes could be simple, straightforward, often very grand, so that the immediately following generations could only spoil, but not improve upon them. They were also, if we consider the matter, the only pictorial representations of Scripture histories possible until art had acquired those new powers of foreshortening and light and shade and perspective which were sought for only after the complete attainment of the more elementary powers which the Giottoesques never fully possessed. Let us ask ourselves how, in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, any notable change in general arrangement of any well-known Scripture subject could well have been introduced, and, in order to do so, let us realize one or two cases where the same subjects have been treated by later masters. Tintoretto's Last Judgment, where the Heavenly Hosts brood, poised on their wings, above the river of hell which hurries the damned down its cataracts, is impossible so long as perspective and foreshortening will barely admit (as is the case up to the end of the fifteenth century) of figures standing firmly on the ground and being separated into groups at various distances. In Rembrandt's and Terburg's Adoration of the Shepherds, the light emanates from the infant Christ, in Ribera's magnificent Deposition from the Cross, the dead Saviour and his companions are represented, not, as in the entombments of Perugino and Raphael, in the open air, but in the ghastly light of the mouth of the sepulchre. These are new variations upon the hackneyed themes, but how were they possible so long as the problems of light and shade were limited (as was the case even with Lionardo) to giving the modelling, rather in form than in colour, of a face or a limb? One of the earliest and greatest innovations is Signorelli's treatment of the Resurrection in the chapel of San Brizio, at Orvieto, he broke entirely with the tradition (exemplified particularly by Angelico) of making the dead come fully fleshed and dressed as in their lifetime from under the slabs of a burial-place, goaded by grotesque devils with the snouts and horns of weasels and rams, with the cardboard masks of those carnival mummers who gave the great pageant of Hell mentioned by old chroniclers. But Signorelli's innovation, his naked figures partially fleshed and struggling through the earth's crust, his naked demons shooting through the air and tying up the damned, could not possibly have been executed or even conceived until his marvellous mastery of

the nude and of the anatomy of movement had been obtained. Indeed, wherever, in the art of the fifteenth century, we find a beginning of innovation in the conception and arrangement of a Scripture history, we shall find also the beginning of the new technical method which has suggested such a partial innovation. Thus, in the case of one of the greatest, but least appreciated, masters of the early Renaissance, Paolo Uccello. His *Deluge*, in the frescoes of the green cloister of S. Maria Novella, is wonderfully original as a whole conception, and the figure clinging to the side of the ark, with soaked and wind-blown drapery, the man in the tub trying to sustain himself with his hands, the effort and strain of the people in the water, are admirable as absolute realization of the scene. Again, in the *Sacrifice of Noah*, there is the foreshortened figure of God, floating, brooding, like a cloud, with face downward and outstretched hands over the altar, something which is a prophecy, and more than a prophecy of what art will come to in the *Sistine* and the *Loggia*. But these inventions are due to Uccello's special and extraordinary studies of the problems of modelling and foreshortening, and when his contemporaries try to assimilate his achievements and unite them with the achievements of other men in other special technical directions, there is an end of all individual poetical conception and a relapse into the traditional arrangements, as may be seen by comparing the Bible stories of Paolo Uccello with those of Benozzo Gozzoli at Pisa.

It is not wonderful that the painters of the fifteenth century should have been satisfied with repeating the themes left by the *Giottesques*. For besides this positive heritage, the *Giottesques* had left them a negative heritage, a programme to fill up, of which it is difficult to realize the magnitude. The work of the *Giottesques* is so merely poetic, or at most so merely decorative in the sense of a mosaic or a tapestry, and it is in the case of Giotto and one or two of his greatest followers, particularly the *Sieneſe*, so well-balanced and satisfying as a result of its elementary nature, that we are apt to overlook the fact that everything in the way of realization as opposed to indication, everything distinguishing the painting of a story from the mere telling thereof, remained to be done. And such realization could be attained only through a series of laborious failures. It is by comparing some of the later *Giottesques* themselves, notably the *Gaddi*, with Giotto, that we bring home to ourselves, for instance, that Giotto did not, at least in his finest work at Florence, attempt to model his frescoes in colour. Now the excessive ugliness of the *Gaddi* frescoes at Santa Croce is largely due to the effort to make form and boss depend, as in Nature, upon colour. Giotto, in the neighbouring *Peruzzi* and *Bardi* chapels, is quite satisfied with outlining the face and draperies in dark paint, and laying on the colour, in itself beautiful, as a child will lay it on

to a print or outline drawing, filling up the lines, but not creating them. I give this as a solitary instance of one of the first and most important steps towards pictorial realization which the great imaginative theme-inventors left to their successors. As a fact, the items at which the fifteenth century had to work are too many to enumerate, in many cases each man or group of men took up one particular item, as perspective, modelling, anatomy, colour, movement, and their several subdivisions, usually with the result of painful and grotesque insistency and one-sidedness, from the dreadful bag of bones anatomies of Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio, down to the humbler, but equally necessary, architectural studies of Francesco di Giorgio. Add to this the necessity of uniting the various attainments of such specialists, of taming down these often grotesque monomaniacs, of making all these studies of drawing, anatomy, colour, modelling, perspective, &c., into a picture. If that picture was lacking in individual poetic conception, if those studies were often intolerably silly and wrong-headed from the intellectual point of view, if the old themes were not only worn threadbare, but actually maltreated, what wonder? The themes were there, thank Heaven! no one need bother about them, and no one did. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, no one could have added anything, save in the personal sentiment of the heads, the hands, the tilt of the figure, or the quality of the form. Everything which depends upon dramatic conception, which is not a question of form or sentiment, tended merely to suffer a steady deterioration. Thus, nearly two hundred years after Giotto, Ghirlandajo could find nothing better for his frescoes in *S. Trinità* than the arrangement of Giotto's *St. Francis*, with the difference that he omitted all the more delicate dramatic distinctions. I have already alluded to the poetic conception of an early *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Florence Academy, that essential point of the difference of age between Joseph and Mary was never again attended to, although the rest of the arrangement was repeated for two centuries. Similarly, no one noticed or reproduced the delicate distinctions of action which Gaddi had put into his two *Annunciations* of the Cappella Baroncelli, the shepherds henceforth sprawled no matter how, and the scale of expression in the vision of the Three Kings was not transferred to the more popular theme of their visit to the stable at Bethlehem. In Giotto's *Presentation at the Temple* in the Arena chapel at Padua, the little Mary is pushed up the steps by her mother, in the Baroncelli frescoes the little girl, ascending gravely, turns round for a minute to bless the children at the foot of the steps. Here are two distinct dramatic conceptions, the one more human, the other more majestic, both admirable. The fifteenth century, nay, the fourteenth, took no account of either, the Virgin merely went up the steps, connected by no emotion with the other

characters, a mere little doll, as she is still in the big pictures of Titian and Tintoret, and quite subordinate to any group of richly dressed men or barebacked women

The absence of individual invention, implying the absence of individual dramatic realization, strikes one more than anywhere in the works of Angelico, and most of all in his frescoes of the cells of St Mark's. For, while these are evidently less cared for as art, indeed scarcely intended, in their hasty execution, to be considered as paintings at all, they are more strictly religious in intention than any other of Angelico's works, indeed, perhaps, of all paintings in the world, the most exclusively devoted to a religious object. They are, in fact, so many pages of the gospel stuck up, like texts in a waiting-room, in the cells of the convent an adjunct to the actual written or printed Scripture of each monk. For this reason we expect them to possess what belongs so completely to the German engravers of Durer's school, the very essential of illustrative art—imaginative realization of the scenes—an attempt to seize the attention and fill it with the subject. This is by no means the case, for Angelico, although a saint, was a man of the fifteenth century and, despite all his obvious efforts, he was not a real follower of Giotto. What impressiveness of actual artistic arrangement these frescoes really possess, is due, I think, to no imaginative effort of the artist, but to the exigencies of the place. These pale angels and St Dominicks and Magdalens, these diaphanous, dazzling Christs and Virgins of Angelico's, shining out of the dark corner of the cell made darker, deeper, by the dark green or inky purple ground on which they are painted, are less the spiritual conception of the painter than the accidental result of the darkness of the place, where lines must be simple and colours light, if anything is to be visible. For in the more important frescoes in the corridors and chapter-room, where the light is better, there is a return to Angelico's hackneyed, vapid pinks and blues and lilacs, and a return also to his niminy-piminy lines, to all the wax-doll world of the missal painter. The cell frescoes are, to the highest degree, what all absolutely pious art must be, *aids to devotion*. Their use is to assist the monk in that conjuring up of the actual momentary feelings, nay, sensations, of the life of Christ which is part of his daily duty. They are such stimuli as the Church has given sometimes in an artistic, sometimes in a literary form, to an imagination jaded by the monotonous contemplation of one subject, or over-excited to the extent of rambling easily to another. They are what we fondly imagine will be the portraits of the dear dead which we place before us, forgetting that after a while we look without seeing, or see without feeling. That this is so, that these painted gospel leaves stuck on the cell walls are

merely such mechanical aids to devotion, explains the curious and startling treatment of some of the subjects, which are yet, despite the seeming novelty and impressiveness, very cold, undramatic and unimaginative. Thus, there is the fresco of Christ enthroned, blindfold, with alongside of Him a bodiless scoffing head, with hat raised and in the act of spitting, buffeting hands, equally detached from any body, floating also on the blue background. There is a Christ standing at the foot of the cross, but with his feet in a sarcophagus, the column of the flagellation monumentally or heraldically on one side, the lance of Longinus on the other, and above, to the right the floating face of Christ being kissed by that of Judas, to the left the blindfold floating head of Christ again, with the floating head of a soldier spitting at Him, and all round buffeting and jibing hands, hands holding the sceptre of reed, and hands counting out money, all arranged very much like the nails, hammer, tweezers and cock on roadside crosses, each a thing whereon to fix the mind, so as to realize that kiss of Judas, that spitting of the soldiers, those slaps, and to hear, if possible, the chink of the pieces of silver that sold our Lord. How different, these two pictorial dodges of the purely mechanical Catholicism of the fifteenth century from the tender or harrowing gospel illustrations, where every detail is conceived as happening in the artist's own town and to his own kinsfolk, of the Lutheran engravers of the school of Durer.

Thus things go on throughout the fifteenth century, and, indeed, deep into the sixteenth, where traditional arrangement and individual conception overlap, according as a new artistic power does or does not call forth a new dramatic idea. I have already alluded to the fact that the Presentation of the Virgin remains the same, so far as arrangement is concerned, in the pictures of Titian and Tintoret, as in the frescoes of Giotto and Gaddi. Michelangelo's Creation of Adam is still inherited from Paolo Uccello, who inherited it from the Pisan sculptors. On the other hand, the Resurrection and Last Judgment of Signorelli at Orvieto, painted some years earlier, constitute in many of their dramatic details a perfectly original work. Be this as it may, and however frequent the recurrence of old themes, with the sixteenth century commences the era of new individual dramatic invention. Michelangelo's Dividing of the Light from the Darkness, where the Creator broods still in chaos, and commands the world to exist, and Raphael's Liberation of St. Peter, with its triple illumination from the moon, the soldiers' torches and the glory of the liberating angel, are witnesses that henceforward each man may invent for himself, because each man is in possession of those artistic means which the Giottoesques had indicated and the artists of the fifteenth century had laboriously acquired and now, the Giottoesque programme being fulfilled, art

may go abroad and seek for new methods and effects, for new dramatic conceptions

II

The other day, walking along the river near Careggi (with its memories of Lorenzo dei Medici and his Platonists), close to the little cupola and loggia built by Ghirlandaio, I came upon a strip of new grass, thickly whitened with daisies, beneath the poplars beginning to yellow with pale sprouting leaves. And immediately there arose in my mind, by the side of this real grass and real budding of trees, the remembrance of certain early Renaissance pictures—the rusty green stencilled grass and flowers of Botticelli, the faded tapestry work of Angelico, making, as it were, the greenness greener, the freshness fresher, of that real grass and those real trees. And not by the force of contrast, but rather by the sense that as all this appears to me green and fresh in the present, so likewise did it appear to those men of four centuries ago—the fact of their having seen and felt making me, all the more, see and feel.

This is one of the peculiarities of rudimentary art—of the art of the early Renaissance as well as of that of Persia and Japan, of every peasant potter all through the world—that, not knowing very well its own aims, it fills its imperfect work with suggestions of all manner of things which it loves, and tries to gain in general pleasurable-ness what it loses in actual achievement, and lays hold of us, like fragments of verse, by suggestiveness, quite as much as by pictorial realization. And upon this depends the other half of the imaginative art of the Renaissance, the school of intellectual decoration, of arabesques formed, not of lines and of colours, but of associations and suggestions.

The desire which lies at the bottom of it—a desire masked as religious symbolism in the old mosaicists and carvers and embroiderers—is the desire to paint nice things, in default of painting a fine picture. The beginning of such attempts is naturally connected with the use of gilding, whether those gold grounds of the panel pictures of the fourteenth century represented to the painters only a certain expenditure of gold foil, or whether (as I have suggested, but I fear fantastically) their streakings and veinings of coppery or silvery splendour, their stencillings of rays and dots and fretwork, their magnificent inequality and variety of brown or yellow or greenish effulgence, were vaguely connected in the minds of those men with the splendour of the heaven in which the Virgin and the Saints really dwell. It is the cunning use of this gilding, of tools for ribbing and stencilling, and damascening, which turn Simon Memmi's Annunciation, a poor and disagreeable piece of invention and drawing, into one of the masterpieces of the Florentine Gallery, this, and the feeling for won-

derful gold woven and embroidered stuffs, like that white cloth of gold of the kneeling angel, fit, in its purity and splendour, for the robe of the Grail king. The want of mechanical dexterity, however, prevented the Giottoesques from doing very much in the decorative line except in conjunction with the art—perhaps quite separate from that of the painter, and exercised by a different individual—of the embosser and gilder.

It is with the fifteenth century that begins, in Italy as in Flanders (we must think of the carved stonework, the Persian carpets, the damascened armour, the brocade dresses of Van Eyck's and Memling's Holy Families) the deliberate habit of putting into pictures as much as possible of the beautiful and luxurious things of this world. The house of the Virgin, originally a very humble affair, or rather, in the authority of the early Giottoesques, a no place, nowhere, develops gradually into a very delightful residence in the choicest part of the town, or into a pleasantly situated villa, like the one described in the Decameron, commanding a fine view. The Virgin's bed-chamber, where we are shown it, as, for instance, in Crivelli's picture in the National Gallery, is quite as well appointed in the way of beautiful bedding, carving, and so forth, as the chamber of the lady of John Arnolfini of Lucca, in Van Eyck's portrait. Outside it, as we learn from Angelico, Cosimo Rosselli, Lippi, Ghirlandajo, indeed, from almost every Florentine painter, stretches a pleasant portico, decorated in the Ionic or Corinthian style, as if by Brunellesco or Sangallo, with tessellated floor, or oriental carpet, and usually a carved and gilded desk and praying stool, while the privacy of the whole place is guarded from the noisy street by a high wall, surmounted by vases, overtopped by cypresses, and in whose shelter grows a row of well-kept roses and lilies. Sometimes this house, as I have said, becomes a villa, as is the case, not unfrequently, with the Lombards, who love to make the angel appear on the flowery grass against a background of Alpine peaks, such as you see them, rising blue and fairylike from the green rice fields about Pavia. Crivelli, however, though a Milanese, prefers a genteel residence in town, the magnificent Milan of the Galeazzo and Filippo Visconti. He gives us a whole street, where richly dressed and well peruked gentlemen look down from the terraces, duly set with flower-pots, of houses ornamented with terra cotta figures and medallions like those of the hospital at Milan. In this street the angel of the Annunciation is kneeling, gorgeously got up in silks and brocades, and accompanied by a nice little bishop carrying a miniature town on a tray. The Virgin seems to be receiving the message through the window or the open door. She has a beautiful bed with a red silk coverlet, some books, and a shelf covered with plates and preserve jars. This evident appreciation of jam as one of the pleasant things of this world corresponds with the pot of flowers

on the window, the birdcage hanging up the mother of Christ must have the little tastes and luxuries of a well-to-do burgess's daughter. The cell of St Jerome, painted some fifty years later by Carpaccio, in the Church of the Slavonians, contains not only various convenient and ornamental articles of furniture, but a collection of nick-nacks, among which some antique bronzes are conspicuous.

The charm in all this is not so much that of the actual objects themselves, it is that of their having delighted those people's minds. We are pleased by their pleasure, and our imagination is touched by their fancy. The effect is akin to that of certain kinds of poetry, not the dramatic certainly, where we are pleased by the mere suggestion of beautiful things, and quite as much by finding in the poet a mind appreciative and desirous of them, constantly collecting them and enhancing them by subtle arrangements, it is the case with much lyric verse, with the Italian folk rhymes, woven out of names of flowers and herbs, with some of Shakespeare's and Fletcher's songs, with the "Allegro" and "Penseroso," Keats, some of Heine, and, despite a mixture of unholy intention, Baudelaire. The great master thereof in the early Renaissance, the lyricist, if I may use the word, of the fifteenth century, is of course Botticelli. He is one of those who most persistently introduce delightful items into their works elaborately embroidered veils, scarves, and gold fringes. But being a man of finer imagination and more delicate sense of form, he does not, like Angelico or Benozzo or Carpaccio merely stick pretty things about, he works them all into his strange arabesque, half intellectual, half physical. Thus the screen of roses behind certain of his Madonnas, forming an exquisite Morris pattern with the greenish-blue sky interlaced, and those beautiful, carefully-drawn branches of spruce fir and cypress, lace-like in his *Primavera*, above all, that fan-like growth of myrtles, delicately cut out against the evening sky, which not merely print themselves as shapes upon the mind, but seem to fill it with a scent of poetry.

This pleasure in the painter's pleasure in beautiful things is connected with another quality, higher and rarer, in this sort of imaginative art. It is our appreciation of the artist's desire for beauty and refinement, of his search for the exquisite. Herein, to my mind, lies the secret of Botticelli's fantastic grace, the explanation of that alternate or rather interdependent ugliness and beauty. Botticelli, as I have said elsewhere, is an admirer of the grace and sentiment of Peruginò, of the delicacy of form of certain Florentine sculptors—Ghiberti and those who proceed from him, Benedetto da Majano, Mino, and particularly the mysterious Florentine sculptor of Rimini, and what these men have done or do, Botticelli attempts, despite or (what is worse) by means of the realistic drawing and ugly models of Florence, the mechanism and arrangement of coarse



men like Filippino The 'difficulty of attaining delicate form and sentiment with such materials—it cannot be said to have been attained in that sense by any other early Tuscan painter, not even Angelico or Filippo Lippi—makes the desire but the keeper, and turns it into a most persevering and almost morbid research Thence the extraordinary ingenuity displayed, frequently to the detriment of the work, in the arrangement of hands (witness the tying, clutching hands, with fingers bent curiously in intricate knots of the Calumny of Apelles), and of drapery, in the poising of bodies and selection of general outline This search for elegance and grace, for the refined and unhackneyed, is frequently baffled by the ugliness of Botticelli's models, and still more by Botticelli's very deficient knowledge of anatomy and habit of good form But, when not baffled, this desire is extraordinarily assisted by those very defects This great decorator, who uses the human form as so much pattern element, mere lines and curves like those of a Raffaelesque arabesque, obtains with his imperfect, anatomically defective, and at all events ill-fashioned figures, a far fetched and poignant grace impossible to a man dealing with more perfect elements For grace and distinction, which are qualities of movement rather than of form, do not strike us very much in a figure which is originally well made The momentary charm of movement is lost in the permanent charm of form, the creature could not be otherwise than delightful, made as it is, and we thus miss the sense of selection and deliberate arrangement, the sense of beauty as movement, that is, as grace Whereas, in the case of defective form, any grace that may be obtained affects us *per se* It need not have been there, indeed it was unlikely to be there, and hence it obtains the value and charm of the unexpected, the rare, the far-fetched This, I think, is the explanation of the something of exotic beauty that attaches to Botticelli we perceive the structural form only negatively, sufficiently to value all the more the ingenuity of arrangement by which it is made to furnish a beautiful outline and beautiful movement, and we perceive the great desire thereof If we permit our eye to follow the actual structure of the bodies even in the Primavera, we shall recognize that not one of these figures but is downright deformed and out of drawing Even the Graces have arms, and shoulders, and calves, and stomachs all at random, and the most beautiful of them has a slice missing out of her head But if, instead of looking at heads, arms, legs, bodies, separately, and separate from the drapery, we follow the outline of the groups against the background, drapery clinging or wreathing, arms intertwining, hands combed out into wonderful fingers, if we regard these groups of figures as a pattern stencilled on the background, we recognize that no pattern could be more exquisite in its variety of broken up and harmonized lines The exquisite qualities of all

graceful things, flowers, branches, swaying reeds, and certain animals like the stag and peacock, seem to have been abstracted and given to these half-human, and wholly wonderful creatures, these, thin, ill put together, unsteady youths and ladies. The ingenious grace of Botticelli passes sometimes from the realm of art to that of poetry, as in the case of those flowers, with stiff, tall stems, which he places by the uplifted foot of the middle Grace, thus showing that she has trodden it over, yet, like Virgil's Camilla, without crushing it. But the element of sentiment and poetry depends in reality upon the fascination of movement and arrangement, fascination seemingly from within, a result of exquisite breeding in those imperfectly made creatures. It is the grace of a woman not beautiful, but well dressed and moving well, the exquisiteness of a song sung delicately by an insufficient or defective voice, a fascination almost spiritual, since it seems to promise a sensitiveness to beauty, a careful avoidance of ugliness, a desire for something more delicate, a reverse of all things gross and accidental, a possibility of perfection.

This imagination of pleasant detail and accessory, which delights us by the intimacy into which we are brought with the artist's innermost conception, develops into what, among the masters of the fifteenth century, I should call the imagination of the fairy tale. A small number of scriptural and legendary stories lend themselves quite particularly to the development of such beautiful accessory which soon becomes the paramount interest, and vests the whole with a totally new character, a romantic, childish charm, the charm of the improbable taken for granted, of the freedom to invent whatever one would like to see but cannot, the charm of the fairy story. From this unconscious altering of the value of certain Scripture tales arises a romantic treatment, which is naturally applied to all other stories, legends of saints, biographical accounts, Decameronian tales (Mr. Leyland possesses Botticelli's illustrations of the tale of Nastagio degli Onesti, the hero of Dryden's "Theodore and Honoria," and our National Gallery a set of the story of Griselda, attributed to Pinturicchio), and mythological episodes. Some of these have the value of an episode of Boiardo or Spenser, others that of a mere old nurse's story, but they have all of them the charm of the fairy tale. There is, for instance, the story of a good young man (with a name for a fairy tale too, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini), showing his adventures by land and sea and at many courts, the honours conferred on him by kings and emperors, and how at last he was made Pope, having begun as a mere poor scholar on a grey nag, all painted by Pinturicchio in the Cathedral library of Siena. There is the lamentable story of a bride and bridegroom, by Vittore Carpaccio, the stately, tall bride, St. Ursula, and the dear little foolish bridegroom, looking like her little brother, a story containing a great many incidents: the

sending of an embassy to the king, the king being sorely puzzled in his mind, leaning his arm upon his bed and asking the queen's advice, the presence upon the palace steps of an ill-favoured old lady, with a crutch and basket, suspiciously like the bad fairy who had been forgotten at the christening, the apparition of an angel to the princess, sleeping, with her crown neatly put away at the foot of the bed, the arrival of the big ship in foreign parts, with the bishop and clergy putting their heads out of the portholes and asking very earnestly, "Where are we?", and finally, a most fearful slaughter of the princess and her eleven thousand ladies-in-waiting. The same Carpaccio—a regular old gossip from whom one would expect all the formulas, "and then he says to the king, Sacred Crown," "and then the Prince walks, walks, walks, walks," "A company of knights in armour nice and shining," "three comely ladies in a green meadow," and so forth, of the professional Italian story-teller—the same Carpaccio, who was also, and much more than the more solemn Bellini, the first Venetian to handle oil paints like Titian and Tintoret, painted the fairy tale of St George, with quite the most dreadful dragon's walk, a piece of sea sand embedded with bones and half-gnawed limbs, and crawled over by horrid insects, that any one could wish to see, and quite the most comical dragon, particularly when led out for execution among the minarets and cupolas and camels and turban and cymbals of a kind of small Constantinople. But the fairy tale, beyond all others, with these painters of the fifteenth century, is the antique myth. No Bibbieras and Bembo's and Calvo's have as yet indoctrinated them (as Raphael, alas! was indoctrinated) with the *real spirit of classical times*, teaching them that the essence of Antiquity was to have no essence at all, no Ariosto's and Tasso's have taught the world at large the real Ovidian conception, the monumental allegoric nature and tendency to vacant faces and sprawling, big-toed nudity of the heroes and goddesses, as Giulio Romano, and the Caracci so well understood to paint them. For all the humanists that hung about courts, the humanities had not penetrated much into the Italian people. The imaginative form and colour was still purely mediæval, and the artists of the early Renaissance had to work out their Ovidian stories for themselves, and work them out of their own material. Hence the mythological creatures of these early painters are all, more or less, gods in exile, with that charm of a long residence in the Middle Ages which makes, for instance, the sweetheart of Ritter Tannhauser so infinitely more delightful than the paramour of Adonis, that charm which, when we meet it occasionally in literature, in parts of Spenser, for instance, or in a play like Peele's "Arraignment of Paris," is so peculiarly rare.

These early painters have made up their Paganism for themselves, out of all pleasant things they knew, their fancy has brooded upon

it, and the very details that make us laugh, the details coming direct from the Middle Ages, the spirit in glaring opposition occasionally to that of Antiquity, bring home to us how completely this Pagan fairyland is a genuine reality to these men. We feel this in nearly all the work of that sort—least, in the most archæological, Mantegna's. We see it beginning in the mere single figures—the various drawings of Orpheus, "*Orpheus le doux menestrier jouant de flutes et de musettes*," as Villon called him much about that time—piping or fiddling among little toy animals out of a Nuremberg box, the drawing of fauns carrying sheep, some with a queer look of the Good Shepherd about them, of Pinturicchio, and rising to such wonderful exhibitions (to me, with their obscure reminiscence of Pageants, they always seem like ballets) as Perugino's ceiling of the Cambrío, where, among arabesqued constellations, the gods of antiquity move gravely along the bearded knight Mars, armed *cap-à-pie* like a mediæval warrior, the delicate Mercurius, a beautiful page-boy stripped of his emblazoned clothes, Luna dragged along by two nymphs and Venus, daintily poised on one foot on her dove-drawn chariot, the exquisite Venus in her clinging veils, conquering the world with the demure gravity and adorable primness of a high-born young abbess.

The actual fairy story becomes, little by little, more complete—the painters of the fifteenth-century work, little guessing it, as the precursors of Walter Crane. The full-page illustration of a tale of semi-mediæval romance—of a romance like Spenser's "*Fairy Queen*" or Mr Morris's "*Earthly Paradise*," exists distinctly in that picture and drawing, by the young Raphael or whomsoever else, of Apollo and Marsyas. This piping Marsyas seated by the tree stump, this naked Apollo, thin and hectic like an undressed archangel, standing against the Umbrian valley with its distant blue hills, its castellated village, its delicate, thinly leaved trees—things we know so well in connection with the Madonna and Saints, that they seem absent for only a few minutes—all this is as little like Ovid as the triumphant antique Galatea of Raphael is like Spenser. Again, there is Piero di Cosimo's Death of Procris: the poor young woman lying dead by the lake, with the little fishing town in the distance, the swans sailing and cranes strutting, and the dear young faun—no Praxitelean god with invisible ears, still less the obscene beast whom the late Renaissance copied from Antiquity—a most gentle, furry, rustic creature, stooping over her in puzzled pathetic concern, at a loss, with his want of the practice of cities and the knowledge of womankind, what to do for this poor lady lying among the reeds and the flowering scarlet sage, a creature the last of whose kind (friendly, shy, woodland things, half bears or half dogs, frequent in mediæval legend) is the satyr of Fletcher's "*Faithful*

Shepherdess," the only poetic conception in that gross and insipid piece of magnificent rhetoric. The perfection of the style must naturally be sought from Botticelli, and is his *Birth of Venus* (but who may speak of that after the writer of most subtle fancy, of most exquisite language, among living Englishmen?) this goddess, not triumphant but sad in her pale beauty, a king's daughter bound by some charm to flit on her shell over the rippling sea, until the winds blow it to the kingdom of the good fairy Spring, who shelters her in her laurel grove and covers her nakedness with the wonderful mantle of fresh-blown flowers.

But the imagination born of the love of beautiful and suggestive detail soars higher, what I would call the lyric art of the Renaissance, the art which not merely gives us beauty, but stirs up in ourselves as much beauty again of stored-up impression, reaches its greatest height in certain Venetian pictures of the early sixteenth century. Pictures of vague or enigmatic subject, or no subject at all, like Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre*, Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*, *The Three Ages of Man*, and various smaller pictures by Bonifazio, Palma, Basaiti, pictures of young men in velvets and brocades, solemn women with only the glory of their golden hair and flesh, seated in the grass, old men looking on pensive, children rolling about, the solemnity of great, spreading trees, of greenish evening skies, the pathos of the song about to begin or just finished, with lute or viol or pipe still lying hard by. Of such pictures it is best, perhaps, not to speak. The suggestive imagination is wandering vaguely, dreaming, fumbling at random sweet, strange chords out of its viol, like those young men and maidens. The charm of such works is that they are never explicit, they tell us, like music, deep secrets, which we feel, but cannot translate into words.

### III

The first new factor in art that meets us at the beginning of the sixteenth century is not among the Italians, and is not a merely artistic power. I speak of the passionate individual fervour for the newly recovered Scriptures, manifest among the German engravers, Protestants all or nearly all, and among whose works is for ever turning up the sturdy, passionate face of Luther, the enthusiastic face of Melancthon. The very nature of these men's art is conceivable only where the Bible has suddenly become the reading, and the chief reading, of the laity. These prints, large and small, struck off in large numbers, are not church ornaments like frescoes or pictures, nor aids to monastic devotion like Angelico's gospel histories at St. Mark's—they are illustrations to the book which every one is reading, things to be framed in the chamber of every burgher or mechanic,

to be slipped into the prayer-book of every housewife, to be conned over during the long afternoons, by the children near the big stove or among the gooseberry bushes of the garden. And they are therefore, much more than the Giottoesque inventions, the expression of the individual artist's ideas about the incidents of Scripture, and an expression not for the multitude at large, fresco or mosaic that could be elaborated by a sceptical or godless artist, but a re-explanation as from man to man and friend. Thus is how the dear Lord looked, or acted—see, the words in the Bible are so or so forth. Therefore, there enters into these designs, which contain after all only the same sort of skill that was life in Italy, so much homeliness at once, and poignancy and sublimity of imagination. The Virgin, they have discovered, is not that grandly dressed lady, always in the very finest brocade, with the very finest manners, and holding a divine infant that has no earthly wants, whom Van Eyck and Memling and Meister Stephan painted. She is a good young woman, a fairer version of their dear wife, or the woman who might have been that, no carefully selected creature as with the Italians, no well-made studio model, with figure unspoilt by child-bearing, but a real wife and mother, with real milk in her breasts (the Italian virgin, save with one or two Lombards, is never permitted to suckle), which she very readily and thoroughly gives to the child, guiding the little mouth with her fingers. And she sits in the lonely fields by the hedges and windmills in the fair weather, or in the neat little chamber with the walled town visible between the pillar of the window, as in Bartholomew Beham's exquisite design, reading, or suckling, or sewing, or soothing the fretful baby, no angels around her, or rarely the Scripture says nothing about such a court of seraphs as the Italians and Flemings, the superstitious Romanists, always placed round the mother of Christ. It is all as it might have happened to them, they translate the Scripture into their every-day life, they do not pick out of it the mere stately and poetic incidents like the Giottoesques. This every-day life of theirs is crude enough, and in many cases nasty enough, they have in those German free towns a perfect museum of loathsome ugliness, born of ill ventilation, gluttony, starvation, or brutality—quite fearful wrinkled harridans and unabashed fat, guzzling harlots, and men of every variety of scrofula and wart and belly, towards none of which (the best far transcending the worst Italian Judas) they seem to feel any repugnance. They have also a beastly love of horrors, their decollations and flagellations are quite sickening in detail, and distinguished from the tidy, decorous executions of the early Italians, and one feels that they do enjoy seeing, as in one of their prints, the bowels of St. Erasmus being taken out with a windlass, or Jael, as Altdorfer has shown her in his romantic print, neatly hammering the nail into the head of the sprawling, snoring Sisera. There is a good

deal of grossness too, of which, among the Italians, even Robetta and similar, there is so little—in the details of village fairs and adventures of wenches with their Schatz, and a strange permeating nightmare gruesomeness of lewd, warty devils, made up of snouts, hoofs, bills, claws, and incoherent parts of incoherent creatures, of perpetual skeletons climbing in trees, or appearing behind flower-beds. But there is also—and Holbein's Dance of Death, terrible, jocular, tender, vulgar and poetic, contains it all, this German world—a great tenderness. Tenderness not merely in the heads of women and children, in the fervent embrace of husband and wife and mother and daughter; but in the feeling for dumb creatures and inanimate things, the gentle dogs of St Hubert, the deer that crouch among the rocks with Geneviève, the very tangled grasses and larches and gentians that hang to the crags, drawn as no Italian ever drew them, the quiet, sentimental little landscapes of castles on fir-clad hills, of manor-houses, gabled and chimneyed, among the reeds and willows of shallow ponds. These feelings, Teutonic doubtless, but less mediæval than we might think, for the middle ages of Troubadour and Minnesingers were terribly conventional, seem to well up at the voice of Luther, and it is this which makes the German engravers, men not always of the highest talents, invent new and beautiful gospel pictures. Of these I would take two as typical—typical of individual fancy most strangely contrasting with the conventionalism of the Italians. Let the reader think of any of the scores of Flights into Egypt, and of Resurrections by fifteenth-century Italians, or even Giottoesques, and then turn to two prints, one of each of these subjects respectively, by Martin Schongauer and the great Altdorfer. Schongauer gives a delightful oasis—palms and prickly pears, the latter conceived as growing at the top of a tree, medlars, lizards at play, and deer grazing, in this the Virgin has drawn up her ass, who browses the thistles at his feet, while St Joseph, his pilgrim bottle bobbing on his back, hangs himself with all his weight to the branches of a date palm, trying to get the fruit within reach. Meanwhile, a bevy of sweet little angels have come to the rescue, they sit among the branches, dragging them down towards him, and even bending the whole stem at the top so that he may get at the dates. Such a thing as this is quite lovely, particularly after the routine of St Joseph trudging along after the donkey, the eternal theme of the Italians. In Altdorfer's print, Christ is ascending in a glory of sunrise clouds, banner in hand, angels and cherubs peering with shy curiosity round the cloud edge. The sepulchre is open, guards asleep or stretching themselves, and yawning all round, and childish young angels look reverently into the empty grave, re-arranging the cete-cloths, and trying to roll back the stone lid. One of them leans forward, and utterly dazzles a negro watchman, stepping forward, lantern

in hand, in the distance shepherds are seen prowling about "This," says Altdorfer to himself, "is how it must have happened" Hence, among these Germans, the dreadful seriousness and pathos of the Passion, the violence of the mob, the brutality of the executioners, above all, the awful sadness of Christ There is here somewhat of the realization of what He must have felt in finding the world He had come to redeem so vile and cruel In what way, under what circumstances, such thoughts would come to these men, is revealed to us by that magnificent head of the suffering Saviour—a design apparently for a carved crucifix—under which Albrecht Durer wrote the pathetic words "I drew this in my sickness"

Thus much of the power of that new factor, the individual interest in the Scriptures All other innovations on the treatment of religious themes were due, in the sixteenth century, but still more in the seventeenth, to the development of some new artistic possibility, or to the gathering together, in the hands of one man, of artistic powers hitherto existing only in a dispersed condition This is the secret of the greatness of Raphael as a pictorial poet, that he could do all manner of new things merely by holding all the old means in his grasp This is the secret of those wonderful inventions of his, which do not take our breath away like Michelangelo's or Rembrandt's, but seem, at the moment, the one and only right rendering of the subject the liberation of St Peter, Heliodorus, Ezekiel, and the whole series of magnificent Old Testament stories on the ceiling of the Loggia In Raphael we see the perfect fulfilment of the Giottesque programme he can do all that the first theme inventors required for the carrying out of their ideas, and therefore he can have new, entirely new, themes Raphael furnishes, for the first time since Giotto, an almost complete set of pictorial interpretations of Scripture

We are now, as we proceed in the sixteenth century, in the region where new artistic powers admit of new imaginative conceptions on the part of the individual We gain immensely by the liberation from the old tradition, but we lose immensely also We get the benefit of the fancy and feelings of this individual, but we are at the mercy, also, of his stupidity and vulgarity Of this the great examples are Tintoretto, and after him Velasquez and Rembrandt Of Tintoret I would speak later, for he is eminently the artist in whom the gain and the loss are most typified, and perhaps most equally distributed, and because, therefore, he contrasts best with the masters anterior to Raphael

The new powers in Velasquez and Rembrandt were connected with the problem of light, or rather, one might say, in the second case, of darkness This new faculty of seizing the beauties, momentary and not inherent in the object, due to the various effects of atmosphere and lighting up, added probably a good third to the pleasure-bestow-



ing faculty of art, it was the beginning of a kind of democratic movement against the stern domination of such things as were privileged in shape and colour. A thousand things, ugly or unimaginative in themselves, a plain face, a sallow complexion, an awkward gesture, a dull arrangement of lines, could be made delightful and suggestive. A wet yard, a pail and mop, and a servant washing fish under a pump could become, in the hands of Peter de Hoogh, and thanks to the magic of light and shade, as beautiful and interesting in their way as a swirl of angels and lilies by Botticelli. But this redemption of the vulgar was at the expense, as I have elsewhere pointed out, of a certain growing callousness to vulgarity. What holds good as to the actual artistic, visible quality holds good also as to the imaginative value. Velasquez's Flagellation, in our National Gallery, has a pathos, a something that catches you by the throat, in that melancholy wearied body, broken with ignominy and pain, sinking down by the side of the column, which is inseparable from the dreary grey light, the livid colour of the flesh—there is no joy in the world where such things can be. But the angel who has just entered has not come from heaven—such a creature is fit only to roughly shake up the pillows of paupers, dying in the damp darkness in the hospital wards.

It is, in a measure, different with Rembrandt, exactly because of this. He is the master, not of light, but of darkness, or of light that utterly dazzles. His ugly women and dirty Jews of Rotterdam are either hidden in the gloom or reduced to mere vague outlines, specks like gnats in the sunshine, in the effulgence of light. Hence we can enjoy, almost without any disturbing impressions, the marvellous imagination shown in his etchings of Bible stories. Rembrandt is to Dürer as an archangel to a saint, where the German draws, the Dutchman seems to bite his etching plate with elemental darkness and glory. Of these etchings I would mention a few, the reader may put these indications alongside of his remembrances of the Arena Chapel, or of Angelico's cupboard panels in the Academy at Florence. They show how intimately dramatic imagination depends in art upon mere technical means, how hopelessly limited to mere indication were the early artists, how forced along the path of dramatic realization are the men of modern times. *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*. The heavens open in a circular swirl among the storm darkness, cherubs whirling distantly like innumerable motes in a sunbeam, the angel steps forward on a ray of light, projecting into the ink-black night. The herds have perceived the vision and rush headlong in all directions, while the trees groan beneath the blast of that opening of heaven. A horse, seen in profile, with the light striking on his eyeball, seems paralysed by terror. The shepherds have only just awakened. *The Nativity*;

Darkness A vague crowd of country-folk jostling each other noiselessly A lantern, a white speck in the centre, sheds a smoky, uncertain light on the corner where the child sleeps upon the pillows, the Virgin, wearied, resting by its side, her face on her hand Joseph is seated by, only his head visible above his book The cows are just visible in the gloom The lantern is held by a man coming carefully forward, uncovering his head, the crowd behind him *A Halt on the Journey to Egypt* Night The lantern hung on a branch. Joseph seated sleepily, with his fur cap drawn down, the Virgin and child resting against the pack saddle on the ground *An Interior* The Virgin hugging and rocking the child Joseph, outside, looks in through the window *The Raising of Lazarus* A vault hung with scimitars, turbans, and quivers Against the brilliant daylight just let in, the figure of Christ, seen from behind, stands out in his long robes, raising his hand to bid the dead arise Lazarus, pale, ghost like in this effulgence, slowly, wearily raises his head in the sepulchre The crowd falls back Astonishment, awe This coarse Dutchman has suppressed the incident of the bystanders holding their nose, to which the Giottesque clung desperately This is not a moment to think of stench or infection! *Entombment* Night The platform below the cross A bier, empty, spread with the winding-sheet, an old man arranging it at the head The dead Saviour being slipped down from the cross on a sheet, two men on a ladder letting the body down, others below receiving it, trying to prevent the arm from trailing Immense solemnity, carefulness, hushedness A distant illuminated palace blazes out in the night One feels that they are stealing him away

I have reversed the chronological order and chosen to speak of Tintoret after Rembrandt, because, being an Italian and still in contact with some of the old tradition, the great Venetian can show more completely both what was gained and what was lost in imaginative rendering by the liberation of the individual artist and the development of artistic means First, of the gain This depends mainly upon Tintoret's handling of light and shade, and his foreshortenings it enables him to compose entirely in huge masses, to divide or concentrate the interest, to throw into vague insignificance the less important parts of a situation in order to insist upon the more important, it gave him the power also of impressing us by the colossal and the ominous The masterpiece of this style, and probably Tintoret's masterpiece therefore, is the great Crucifixion at S. Rocco To feel its full tragic splendour one must think of the finest things which the early Renaissance achieved, such as Lunn's beautiful fresco at Lugano, by the side of the painting at S. Rocco everything is tame, except perhaps Rembrandt's etching called the Three Crosses. After this, and especially to be compared with

the frescoes of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio of the same subject, comes the Baptism of Christ. The old details of figures, dressing and undressing, which gave so much pleasure to earlier painters, for instance, Piero della Francesca, in the National Gallery, are entirely omitted, as the nose-holding in the Raising of Lazarus is omitted by Rembrandt. Christ kneels in the Jordan, with John bending over him, and vague multitudes crowding the banks, distant, dreamlike beneath the yellow stormlight. Of Tintoret's Christ before Pilate, of that figure of the Saviour, long, straight, wrapped in white and luminous like his own wrath, I have spoken already. But I must speak of the S. Rocco Christ in the Garden, as imaginative as anything by Rembrandt, and infinitely more beautiful. The moonlight tips the draperies of the three sleeping apostles, gigantic, solemn. Above, among the bushes, leaning his head on his hand, is seated Christ, weary to death, numbed by grief and isolation, recruiting for final resistance. The sense of being abandoned of all men and of God has never been brought home in this way by any other painter, the little tear-stained Saviours, praying in broad daylight, of Perugino and his fellows, are mere distressed mortals. This betrayed and resigned Saviour has upon him the *Weltschmerz* of Prometheus. But even here we begin to feel the loss, as well as the gain, of the painter being forced from the dramatic routine of earlier days. Instead of the sweet, tearful little angel of the early Renaissance, there comes to this tragic Christ, in a blood-red nimbus, a brutal winged creature thrusting the cup in his face. The uncertainty of Tintoret's inspirations, the uncertainty of result of these astonishing pictorial methods of attaining the dramatic, the occasional vapidness and vulgarity of the man, unrestrained by any stately tradition like the vapidness and vulgarity of so many earlier masters, comes out already at S. Rocco. And principally in the scene of the Temptation, a theme rarely, if ever, treated before the sixteenth century, and which Tintoret has made unspeakably mean in its unclean and dramatically impotent suggestiveness. The Saviour parleying from a kind of rustic edifice with a good humoured, fat, half feminine Satan, fluttering with pink wings like some smug seraph of Bernini's pupils. After this it is scarce necessary to speak of whatever is dramatically abortive (because successfully expressing just the wrong sort of sentiment, the wrong situation) in Tintoret's work. His Woman taken in Adultery, with the dapper young Rabbi, offended neither by adultery in general nor by this adulteress in particular, the Washing of the Feet, in London, where the conversation appears to turn upon the excessive hotness or coldness of the water in the tub, the Last Supper at S. Giorgio Maggiore, where, among the mysterious wreaths of smoke peopled with angels, Christ rises from his seat and holds the cup to his neighbour's lips with the gesture, as he says, "This is my blood,"

of a conjurer to an incredulous and indifferent audience To Tintoret the contents of the chalice is the all-important matter where is the majesty of the old Giottesque gesture, preserved by Lionardo, of pushing forward the bread with one hand, the wine with the other, and thus uncovering the head and breast of the Saviour, the gesture which does indeed mean—"I am the bread you shall eat, and the wine you shall drink?" There remains, however, to mention another work of Tintoret's which, coming in contact with one's recollections of earlier art, may suggest strange doubts and well-nigh shake one's faith in the imaginative efficacy of all that went before his enormous canvas of the Last Day, at S Maria dell' Orto The first and overwhelming impression, even before one has had time to look into this apocalyptic work, is that no one could have conceived such a thing in earlier days, not even Michelangelo when he designed his Last Judgment, nor Raphael when he painted the Vision of Ezekiel This is indeed one thinks, a revelation of the end of all things Great storm clouds, whereon throne the Almighty and His Elect, brood over the world, across which, among the crevassing, upheaving earth, pours the wide glacier torrent of Styx, with the boat of Charon struggling across its precipitous waters The angels, confused with the storm clouds of which they are the spirit, lash the damned down to the Hell stream, band upon band, even from the far distance And in the foreground the rocks are splitting, the soil is upheaving with the dead beneath, here protrudes a huge arm, there a skull, in one place the clay, rising, has assumed the vague outline of the face below In the rocks and water, among the clutching, gigantic men, the huge, full-bosomed women, tosses a frightful half fleshed carcass, grass still growing from his finger tips, his grinning skull, covered half with hair and half with weeds, greenish and mouldering a sinner still green in earth and already arising

A wonderful picture a marvellous imaginative mind, with marvellous imaginative means at its command Yet, let us ask ourselves, what is the value of the result? A magnificent display of attitudes and forms, a sort of bravura ghastliness and impressiveness, which are in a sense *barrocco*, reminding us of the wax plague models of Florence, and of certain poems of Baudelaire's But of the feeling, the poetry of this greatest of all scenes, what is there? And, standing before it, I think instinctively of that chapel far off on the wind-swept Umbrian rock, with Signorelli's Resurrection A flat wall accepted as a flat wall, no place, nowhere A half-dozen groups, not closely combined Colour reduced to monochrome, light and shade nowhere, as nowhere also all these devices of perspective But in that simply treated fresco, with its arrangement as simple as that of a vast antique bas-relief, there is an imaginative suggestion far

surpassing this of Tintoret's     \*  
 breaking through the earth's crust, shaking their long hair and  
 gasping, the stagger of those rising to their feet, the stolidity, hand  
 on hip, of those who have recovered their body but not their mind,  
 blinded by the light, deafened by the trumpets of Judgment, the  
 absolute self abandonment of those who can raise themselves no  
 higher, the dull, awe-stricken look of those who have found their  
 companions, clasping each other in vague, weak wonder, and  
 further, under the two archangels who stoop downwards with the  
 pennons of their trumpets streaming in the blast, those figures  
 who beckon to the re-found beloved ones, or who shade their eyes  
 and point to a glory on the horizon, or who, having striven for-  
 ward, sink on their knees, overcome by a vision which they alone  
 can behold. And recollecting that fresco of Signorelli's, you feel as  
 if this vast, tall canvas at S. Maria dell' Orto, where topple and  
 stream the dead and the quick, were merely so much rhetorical  
 rhodomontade by the side of the old hymn of the Last Day

\*  
 "Mors stupet et natura  
 Quum resurgit creatura  
 Judicanti responsura"

VERNON LEE

## PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE question of the drink traffic has assumed in the United States within the last three years a character and proportions so phenomenal that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is now in that country neither man, woman, nor child, able to read, who does not think, feel, and intend concerning it. Only a comparatively short time ago there were considerable social, religious, and political areas in which there was little opinion and less debate that could be called hostile to the interests of the traffic. Inherited theories and habits had not been much disturbed, and in those localities where temperance reform was agitated and temperance work done, the results were deemed too insignificant to be taken into special account until the Presidential election of 1881.

Up to that date the existence of a National Prohibition party was known, but it had polled only about 5000 votes in 1872, and in 1880, eight years later, had little more than doubled that number. In 1884, however, the Prohibition vote, swelled to 150,000, brusquely unseated the Republican party, which had been in power for nearly a quarter of a century. Though convinced that this vote was due to considerable temporary accessions from the ranks of the dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats, and did not therefore represent the actual growth of the Prohibition party, which was still believed to be essentially insignificant, the astounded Republican party, so long called and credited with being "the party of great moral ideas," let loose its fury upon the little band which had so unexpectedly caused its overthrow. The Prohibition Presidential candidate, ex-Governor St. John of Kansas, was publicly burned in effigy, and the Republican pulpit, press, and platform reviled and denounced the leaders and the

rank and file alike, accusing them of having set back the cause of temperance for at least twenty years. It was affirmed that the Republican party was the only true temperance party, that to it alone all temperance legislation was due, and that in the interests of the temperance cause it must be returned to power, and the Prohibition party destroyed. To this end was turned against them the whole political and electoral machinery, up to and at the very polls.

The Democratic party, though utterly hostile to the principle of Prohibition, for a time regarded with some complacency the party to whom it indirectly owed its own return to power. But when, in the partial elections of 1885, and still more in the general State elections of 1886, the Democrats suffered from defections to the Prohibition ranks as much as, and in some localities even more than, the Republicans, they also attacked the Prohibitionists. But the Prohibition vote of some 150,000 cast in 1884 was more than doubled in 1886, when it numbered some 300,000, at the same time that the Republican and Democratic votes were relatively small. It is therefore plain from the polls of last November that a new and formidable factor has come into United States politics to stay. The first secret of Prohibition success since 1880, and of its yet greater gain since 1884, was the electrifying conviction which flashed through the country of the absolute necessity for checking the growth of a traffic whose unscrupulous control of political elections threatened the very liberties of the country with disgraceful extinction. This conviction changed the Prohibition movement from the ineffective condition of sporadic and individual effort to that of a strong national organization, steadily and now swiftly increasing in political strength, and from its very composition—that of moral purpose allied to legal power—certain of victory.

As the drink question is of race interest, as its right settlement presses more and more importunately to the front among the serious practical questions of the day, and as the victory of the prohibition principle in American politics cannot fail to have vast and various results, some understanding of the present condition and prospects of the United States National Prohibition party must be of interest to all civilized countries—especially to England, where temperance reform, dear as it is to so many earnest men and women, is yet far behind that of the United States in organization, methods, and result. A brief retrospect of the movement in the United States seems a necessary step to such an understanding.

The popular Prohibition agitation began in the South. The circumstances were related to me by Senator Frye, of Maine, during my visit to Washington, in July, 1886.

He stated that his friend Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, had told him that about eighty years ago—reckoning from the present time—some religious Covenanters emigrated to Georgia, and soon spread over a whole county, to which they gave the name of Liberty. These people were water drinkers, but others who were not so emigrated thither and proposed to set up grog-shops. The Covenanters appealed to the State Legislature to prohibit this, their appeal was granted, the county became most signally prosperous, there was no crime, and therefore no need of jail or police, and this happy state of things continued until General Sherman's march through Georgia. That swept all before it. Stephens spoke as an eyewitness, having been for some time a tutor in a family in Liberty County.

From 1835 until the war broke out in 1861 a State prohibitory agitation went on in the Northern States, which may be briefly summarized as follows.—In 1835 two Massachusetts counties voted no licence, in 1837 a memorial, asking for "entire prohibition except for medicine and the arts," was presented to the Maine Legislature, in 1838 a Massachusetts Legislative Committee recommended a similar statute, and a partial Prohibition law was passed. The New York Legislature of the same year reported that "a law to prohibit the traffic" was as necessary as an anti-gambling and anti-brothel law. Also in the same year a Bill for the repeal of all existing licence laws was presented to the Tennessee Legislature, Connecticut revoked her licence laws, and New Hampshire and Rhode Island passed local option laws. One result was that in 1844 the National House of Representatives passed by a large majority a resolution excluding all intoxicating drinks from the precincts of the House. Between 1840 and 1847 local option laws were passed in many States, particularly in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont. From 1842 to 1851 a number of powerful secret temperance organizations were formed, among them "The Sons of Temperance" in 1842, "The Temple of Honour and Temperance" in 1845, "The Cadets of Temperance" in 1846, "The Good Samaritans" in 1847, and the "Independent Order of Good Templars" in 1851.

It is in no small degree due to the energy and devotion of these secret societies that there is now such a determined demand for the total suppression of the drink traffic throughout the States.

The total result of the prohibitory agitation throughout the United States up to 1856, as summarized in H. S. Clubb's "Maine Liquor Law" (New York, 1856), is so astounding that I give it in full—



|  |            |             |                   |
|--|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| "States while a prohibitory law is in operation  |            |             | 14                |
| Territories  | "          | "           | 4                 |
| States and district where majorities are in favour of the law, but where it has not been fully enacted |            |             | 5                 |
|  |            |             | 23                |
| Thirteen States and four territories not yet known to be in favour of Prohibition                      |            |             | 17                |
|  |            |             | 6                 |
| Majority of States and territories in favour   |            |             |                   |
|  | Population | Adult Males | Area in sq. miles |
| Prohibition States   | 13,522,297 | 3,641,571   | 808,000           |
| States not declared on the subject   | 9,577,281  | 1,499,365   | 656,105           |
| Excess in favour of Prohibition  | 3,945,016  | 2,142,206   | 151,895           |

"Thus there is not only a majority of 3,945,016 population in the Prohibition States, but there is such an excess of adult white males—voters—in those States, that if we take only an actual majority of them, and every adult white male citizen in the other States were to vote in opposition to them [and it is well known that there is a large minority in those States that would not], there are Prohibitionists to outvote them by a large majority

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Majority of white male adults in Prohibition States | 1,820,786 |
| White male adults in all other States               | 1,499,365 |

|                                  |         |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Certain majority for Prohibition | 322,421 |
|----------------------------------|---------|

Thus giving to the anti-Prohibitionist the largest possible minority in the Prohibition States and the *whole* white male adult population of the other States, and it still leaves a certain majority for Prohibition of 322,421 "

1854 was practically the natal year of the Republican party and the lager beer business, for though there had been a small number of such breweries in operation for ten or a dozen years previous, the business was not till then significant. From that date, and during the twenty-four years of Republican party rule, the beer business has gained tremendous dimensions, and in 1886 the United States brewers congress boasted that since 1863 the volume of its trade had expanded ten times.

How did this humiliating alliance between the Republican party and the drink traffic come about?

The germ of the Republican party—the Liberty party—was formed by the anti-slavery heroes in 1840. After five years of more or less demoralizing defections and accessions, it took—in a very much changed composition—the name of the Republican party. The Dred-Scott decision, "that coloured persons had no rights which white men need respect," flushed its ranks with sufficient numbers to enable it to elect President Lincoln in 1860, and the South's threat of secession also drove into it all who counted the safety of the Union of paramount importance, until it contained prominent men and factions of all shades of opinion concerning slavery, as well as other national questions. The party still held indeed the old grand group of the early Abolitionists, but these were far less powerful as part of this unwieldy mass than when they stood by themselves. To please the drink traffic the Republican Government

ordered the supply of spirit rations to the troops during the war, with the result that more than once the fate of the Union trembled in the balance. The drunken orders of Colonel Miles caused the costly defeat of Bull Run. Five hundred naval officers were dismissed during the war on account of drunkenness alone. "Intemperance kills far more soldiers than fall in the battlefield," said General Fremont, and General McLellan, when commander-in-chief, said that if all the officers would "unite in setting the soldiers an example of abstinence from intoxicating liquors, it would be equal to an addition of 50,000 men to the armies of the United States."

The danger to the Union gave to the Republican party its numbers and power, and its *raison d'être* as a national party ceased when that danger had been averted. For purposes of reconciliation, reconstruction, and other reforms, a new party was required. But the Republican party had learned to love power for its own sake, and the drink traffic saw and used its opportunity to bind this party to its interests, just as it has also enslaved the Democratic party.

On the eve of the war it was the understanding between the Prohibitionists and Abolitionists that when the Union was saved, the victorious Republican party would apply itself to the overthrow of the drink traffic. On the strength of this understanding the Prohibitionists at the close of the war resumed their agitation, beginning with petitions to Congress. These appeals were at first ignored, then temporized with and evaded.

At first the whole bearing of the Prohibition question was not understood. It was maintained that, if before the war a majority of the population had been enacting State prohibitory laws, it would be unwise to attempt a new venture, that if, as there was reason to expect, a majority of States could be led to do this, then the national Government and Congress would be ready to issue a National Prohibition edict. It was further maintained that by insisting upon State Prohibition the issue would be taken out of party politics, and thus be more easily settled.

The National Prohibitionists replied, that even before the war various Prohibition States passed laws, but they differed in scope and power according to the sentiments in the various Legislatures, whereas a law universally applicable was required for coping with a universal evil, that, there being free inter-State commerce, States enacting prohibitory laws were without adequate protection from neighbouring licence States. Again, that no State has any protection against the issue of United States permits—*i. e.*, the Government licence of 25 dols. required to be paid by every liquor-dealer before he can avail himself of the rights granted by State licence, that the interference of the State, under State prohibitory law, with the manufacture and whole-

sale supply of liquors was most ineffective, because it could not by its own laws stop or abolish the sales except within its own borders—i.e., liquor-dealers could have breweries or distilleries in the middle of a prohibitory State, and send out of it as much as they chose

A notorious instance of this is now pending in Kansas, where a brewer is flaunting the United States flag over his premises, and is protected by United States officials in this violation of the will of the State as expressed in its prohibitory law. Also, at the great Soldiers' Home, Dayton, Ohio, a special bar was licensed last year by an express United States law, although Ohio is a "no licence" State. And this United States law will go on operating, whatever the will of the State may be

The disposition of the United States Government on this question is shown by the fact that all the territories and the district of Columbia, which of course are under Federal control, have licence laws. Then, again, State laws are easily removed from the Statute-book. During the last fifteen years laws have been passed, repealed, and again passed in various forms in several States. Even amendments to State constitutions are of small value, because they are but declarations of popular will, requiring a statute for their enforcement, and the statute, as just pointed out, is liable to be changed to suit party contingencies

A striking example of this occurred in Ohio, where many years ago a "no-licence" amendment to its constitution was passed. It resulted in all sorts of quibbling. At one time there was practically free trade in liquor, then, in order to evade the word licence, a so-called "tax law" was passed, which was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court, but the present Dow Law, patterned closely upon it, has now been by the same Court declared constitutional. In both cases the decision was by strict party vote—in one, by a Democratic vote, to damage the Republicans, in the other, by a Republican vote, to damage the Democrats

Again, a State law passed by a so-called "non-partisan" vote is practically nobody's child. The party in power having no more interest in its execution than the party out of power, the measure falls between two stools, to the great detriment of the Prohibition cause. This is notably the case in New Hampshire and Iowa. In the latter the defiance of the law in Sioux City went so far, that a few months ago a brave clergyman, Mr. Haddock, was deliberately murdered by a liquor conspiracy, because he had dared to remonstrate against the open and unpunished violation of the law. Still, it is a fact that only in States where one party was overwhelmingly predominant at the time, have prohibitory laws been passed, which shows the absolute ineffectiveness of the non-partisan plea. There must always be a party to carry a reform

For these and many other cogent reasons the Prohibitionists became convinced that nothing short of an organized National Prohibition party could deal adequately with a nationally organized ~~Drunk~~ party, of which the Republican and Democratic parties are little more than the right and left wings. To this end the Good Templars called a national convention, which met in September, 1869, at Chicago for the formation of a National Prohibition party and appointed a National Central Committee. Five hundred delegates attended, coming from nineteen States and the district of Columbia. The platforms of this and subsequent conventions were all drawn up by James Black, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the first National Prohibition party presidential nominee, and are noble masterpieces of sound moral and practical politics.

The first, second, and third National Prohibition party nominating conventions met in Ohio in 1872, 1876, and 1880. The fourth met in Pittsburgh, Penn., in 1884, thirty-one States and territories being represented, when ex-Governor St. John, of Kansas, and the Hon. William Daniel, of Maryland, were nominated for the United States Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

Up to 1880 only about 12,000 votes had been cast as the result of the utmost efforts of the Prohibition party. But in 1882 they were formally joined by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. To understand the part which women have played in bringing the Prohibition issue to its present force, some account of the formation and career of this Union is necessary.

In Hillsboro', Ohio, just before Christmas in the winter of 1873, began the memorable women's temperance crusade. These women, many of them educated, refined, and of sheltered lives, went out together into the streets of Hillsboro' to make direct public protest against the traffic. Through the keen winds and driving sleet they went, pleading, praying, in the saloons when they could get in, and when they could not, in the streets on their knees. They braved gross insults and great physical dangers, until in 250 towns and villages of Ohio the saloons had been closed—literally prayed out of existence. This was the acme of the power of moral suasion alone over the drink evil. Such effort could not be long sustained, and as soon as this great tidal wave began to ebb the saloons were re-opened. But something had been done in true hearts all over the land, and in 1874, at the instance of Mrs. Jennie F. Willing, was formed the nucleus of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, now the greatest and most perfectly organized temperance movement in the whole world. It is the largest society ever exclusively composed of and entirely conducted by women. Its membership numbers about 150,000, besides many juvenile organizations.

Its present official organ, *The Union Signal*—edited by the able

temperance leader, Mrs Mary Allen West—is published by the Women's Temperance Publication Association, which has disseminated an enormous amount of temperance pamphlets and leaflets, their circulation, according to Mrs Buell, the Union's corresponding secretary, already counting up by the million Mrs Elizabeth W Andrew, the present manager of the Publication Association, writes me, December 20, 1886 "Our association has increased its business *eighty per cent* during the last year It is almost phenomenal"

The teaching of children, begun at first in Sabbath schools and pressed through every obstacle, has reached great success "At the close of the crusade there were probably not in the whole country, under the auspices of women, a score of temperance organizations composed entirely of children," writes Mrs Buell, now "the land is a network of these societies, and from Maine to the Golden Gate, from the Lakes to the Gulf, thousands of children may to-day be called to arms for 'God and home and native land' "\* When I was in Michigan last summer, Miss Willard, the incomparable president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, told me that the work of children was remarkable, and that many a Prohibition vote had been secured by the little ones being educated to ask their fathers to vote the Prohibition ticket for their sakes

The labours of Miss McDowell have been pre-eminently conducive to this great result among the young In 1877 the women began agitating for temperance teaching in schools, in connection with the studies of physiology and hygiene, and pushed for this with such tact and energy that in 1882 a Bill for such teaching passed the Connecticut Legislature, in 1883, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Michigan issued similar laws, New York and Rhode Island in 1884, and Maine, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Kansas, Nevada, Alabama, and Missouri in 1885 This splendid result is entirely due to the labours of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Mrs Mary H Hunt has been especially indefatigable and successful in this department, of which she is the superintendent They have also used their great power in getting temperance principles presented from the pulpits all over the land, and so, through the Monday morning papers, in almost every home within the United States borders

Personally and through the press the Women's Christian Temperance Union have urged upon manufacturers and the heads of industrial enterprises the bearing of abstinence upon their business interests; and thus, when not by philanthropy, by self-interest, much has been gained. They have ardently besieged National and State Congresses with mammoth memorials and petitions, which they have followed up by pleading in person before Congress with a tact and determination that have commanded the admiration of even the hostile

\* The Women's Christian Temperance Union's *Watchword*

In 1883 every State and territory of the United States, and nearly all the provinces of Canada, were personally visited by Miss Willard and her able secretary, Miss Anna Gordon—"a temperance trip without a parallel in the annals of the reform." The result of this, and of the work of Mrs Chapin in the South, Mrs Leavitt in California, Mrs Shield in Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico, Mrs Cairns in Missouri, Mrs Youman in Canada, Mrs Margaret Lucas and Mrs. Parker in England, is the formation of a World's Women's Christian Temperance Union.

When an organization of such dimensions and achievements as this—bent, too, upon gaining the franchise as a rightful privilege in the defence of the Home against the Saloon—joined its forces to those of the National Prohibition party, it is clear that its current should set with a great sweep towards success. If the Prohibition vote of 1884 was not reliable as such, because of its accessions from both the other parties, who would have neither Blaine nor Cleveland, it was otherwise with the vote of 1886.

Inspired by the example and mightily reinforced by the accession of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Prohibition party began from 1881 to do work which told. It organized enormous mission work for the formation of State Prohibition Committees, and the establishment of State Prohibition organs. There were scarcely more than a dozen prohibitory organs previous to 1884, at present there are about two hundred.

\* In the fall of that year appeared the first number of the *Voice* in New York City. This is now recognized as the national organ of the party, and has in its brief existence come to be regarded by friends and foes alike as one of the most ably edited journals in the world. To its generalship the National Prohibition party owes a debt not easily to be over-estimated. It has now a secured circulation of about 100,000. Among other excellently conducted Prohibition journals are the *Union Signal*, Chicago (official organ of the Women's Christian Temperance Union), the *Witness* and the *National Temperance Advocate*, New York City, the *Issue*, Nashville, Tennessee, the *Waco Advance*, Waco, Texas, the *Herald*, Kansas City, Missouri, *St Paul Times*, St Paul, Minnesota, the *Temperance Review*, Minneapolis, the *XVth Amendment*, Buffalo, N Y, the *Living Issue*, Lincoln, Nebraska, the *New Era*, Springfield, Ohio, the *Lever*, Chicago, Ill.; the *Public Good*, Springfield, Mass, the *Temperance Gazette*, Camden, New Jersey, the *Light*, Pittsburgh, Penn, the *Freeman*, Parkersburg, West Vir. By means of these and their fellows the country has become thoroughly conversant with the purposes and methods of the National Prohibition party. The State Prohibition committees have everywhere pushed the formation of Prohibition groups, and thus the various States are thickly sown with staunch

centres of Prohibitionists, who steadily press the work locally, and who at the elections will vote the ticket sent them by the Prohibition State and National Central Committee, who also further spread the Prohibition idea by engaging lecturers to agitate and extend the propaganda and organizations everywhere.\* The party is rich in eloquent and truly qualified speakers and writers, notable among whom are the Hon Gideon T Stewart and Rev Dr Leonard, of Ohio, the Rev Mr Russell, of Michigan, ex Governor St John, of Kansas, Gen Neal Dow, Portland, Me, John B Finch, Evanston, Ill, chairman of the National Prohibition Committee, James Black, of Lancaster, Penn, Col Bain and Judge Fontaine Fox, of Kentucky, General Clinton B Fisk, of New Jersey, Judge Groo, Prof Hopkins, Messrs Funk & Wagnalls (proprietors of the *Voice*), F A Wheeler (editor of the *Voice*), New York city, and Mr Bartram, of Buffalo, N Y, Hon Wm Daniel, of Maryland, Rev Mr Conant, of Rhode Island, and Charles Wolfe, of Pennsylvania, Rev Dr Miner, Boston, Mass, S B Hastings, Madison, Wis, Rev Dr J B Cranhill, Waco, Texas, Rev George H Vibbert, Boston, Mass, &c &c, and pre-eminent among women speakers are Miss Willard, Mrs Mary T Lathrap, Mrs Caroline B Buell, Miss Gordon, Mrs Hannah Whitall Smith, Mrs Mary A Woodbridge, Mrs Ella A Boole, A M, and Miss Narcissa E White, and others

A national convention of the various leaders of the movement is annually held at Lake Bluff, most beautifully situated on Lake Michigan, near Chicago. I was present during nearly the whole week of this convention last summer. The earnestness and ability of the leaders, the enthusiasm of the masses, was such as I have never before seen, and such as could never be inspired by a merely political issue, nor sustained by a merely moral one. It is the fusion of the two upon an issue of undeniably first import to humanity which alone could kindle the unselfish devotion and perfect co-operation of this marvellous organization of men, women, and children, before which the drink traffic is surely going down.

\* At the conventions held in nearly all the States previous to the general State elections of the fall of 1886, men and women were equally associated in the earnest work of these meetings, and neither smoking nor drinking nor vulgarity was ever seen. Other great features of this movement are the wide-spread formation of Young Ladies' Leagues and of Young Men's Prohibition Clubs. One, the King's County Prohibition Club, though only a few months old, numbered at the beginning of this year over 1,200 voters. A National Inter-collegiate Prohibition Convention of College Prohibition Clubs

\* The National Prohibition Bureau, organized in 1855, publishes weekly a careful record of all official and departmental activities, and a speakers' and a membership register.

met at Cleveland, Ohio, early in January (1887), at which thirty-three colleges were represented by delegates, and fifty more by letters and telegrams. Dr Herrick Johnson, D D, of McCormic Theological Seminary, Chicago, was elected permanent president, and Presidents Seelye, of Amherst College, Mass., and Abernethy, of Rutherford College, N C., permanent vice-presidents.

The prospects of the National Prohibition party are those of early and solid triumph, if it remains firm to its avowed purposes to maintain, under all circumstances and in all elections, as its foremost and paramount work, the total prohibition of the drink traffic, and in the train of this the legal establishment of the other reforms laid down in its accepted platforms. With the exception of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church (the latter, though not officially in favour, is yet largely tending in the direction of Prohibition), all the great religious organizations of the United States favour Prohibition, conspicuously the Methodist Episcopal, the most powerful of them all. At their last general conference were passed the following resolutions —

“We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose, by licence, taxing, or otherwise, to regulate the drink traffic, because they provide for its continuance and afford no protection against its ravages. We hold that the proper attitude of Christians toward this traffic is one of uncompromising opposition, and while we do not presume to dictate to our people as to their political affiliations, we do express the opinion that they should not permit themselves to be controlled by party organizations that are managed in the interest of the liquor traffic.”

Some of the Methodist bishops—notably Bishops Foster, Hurst, and Neunde—have come out as the most ardent champions of the National Prohibition party.

The two old parties are so constituted that they cannot take up this issue without abandoning their own organizations. Their tactics for discrediting the little Prohibition nucleus and dissuading those who have inclined to join it, have been unscrupulously ingenious,—such as posing as Prohibition advocates while taking the traffic under their especial guardianship, ignoring a prohibitory platform, or, if forced to adopt it, nominating a governor certain to veto a Prohibition Bill. In the State elections of 1886 resolutions were inserted in Democratic as well as Republican platforms—among them, those of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Missouri, Michigan, Nebraska, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia—to submit a Prohibition amendment to the State constitution, especial precautions having been taken to render these resolutions nugatory.

Such have been their tactics, and they have been successful until now. But when the State legislatures met this year, many of them found the Prohibition sentiment too strong for them. Constitutional questions are generally decided by a joint resolution of both houses.



Two States, Republican Pennsylvania and Democratic Tennessee, tried to prevent the submission of a prohibitory constitutional amendment, by means of a compensation clause, but both these efforts were signally defeated. Six States have already voted submission—the three Republican States Oregon, Michigan and Pennsylvania, and the three Democratic States West Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas.

In all cases the vote has been overwhelming. In Oregon, where it was practically unanimous, the decisive vote will be taken on November 8, 1887, in Michigan, where it was more than 3 to 1, it will be taken on the 4th of April, in Pennsylvania, where it was 130 to 66, it cannot however be taken until 1891, and the matter must meanwhile be passed by another legislature, in West Virginia, it passed by 20 to 6, but will not be voted upon until the general election of 1888. In Tennessee, where it passed by 87 to 4, the date of vote is fixed for Sept. 29, 1887, Texas passed it by 80 to 21, and will put it to vote next August, the Alabama Senate passed it by 20 to 1, and the house is expected to pass it. The Missouri house has also passed it, but the Senate defers it, and the liquor dealers there are meanwhile doing their utmost to secure local option. Decision is pending in Nebraska, and being pressed for in Illinois, and the submission pledge, so often broken in New York, can scarcely be evaded in the constitutional State convention this fall.

This indicates pretty clearly the nature of the "twenty years setback" the temperance cause received by the Prohibition Party in 1884.

The next presidential election, with also a possible labour ticket further to complicate the situation, must inevitably be a very close one, and it is by no means certain that the President will be elected by a popular vote. The Republicans and Democrats are contesting every inch of the ground, and already the presidential battle is being fought with unexampled bitterness. At the last election the Prohibitionists held the balance of power in eleven States, polling in California, 5,800, in Colorado, 1,000, in Connecticut, 2,500, in New Jersey, 12,000, in New York, 29,000, in Oregon, a small excess over the Democratic majority in these States, in Indiana, 6,000, in Minnesota, 8,000, in New Hampshire, 1,700, in Ohio, 17,000, and in Michigan a considerable number more than the Republican majority in these States.

It is likely that in the presidential election for 1888 the Prohibitionists will poll from a million and a half to two million votes. Curiously enough, the South may claim to lead in this prohibitory movement. "The Prohibition party in the last presidential campaign," says the *Voice*, "had electoral tickets in twelve Southern States." After the campaign was over, "the Prohibition party conference held in New York arranged a thorough canvass of the South for the purpose of perfecting a more thorough organization."

“As a result, Texas, which two years ago gave 3,534 votes for St John, this year gave 22,500 Prohibition votes.” And the *Champion*, the leading national organ of the brewers, distillers, and saloon-keepers, says “Just so sure as the sun shall again fulfil its winter solstice, will the South be revolutionized on the Prohibition question within a very few years, unless the proper counteracting influences are most speedily set in motion.”

Many things contribute to this attitude in the South. In the first place, drink is physically more dangerous, and more immediately dangerous to the populations of Southern climes. The Southerners, who really form the bulk of the native Americans, neither drink much nor deal much in drinks, proportionally speaking. Indeed, official returns show that in the whole of the United States hardly one-tenth of the liquor-dealers are of American birth, and in the State of New York alone there are more liquor-shops than throughout the entire South. For obvious reasons also it has been the policy of the South to keep negroes and drink as much apart as possible. When to this is added that the South until now has been practically solidly Democratic, while the North has done its utmost to present a solid Republican array against the South—the Republicans depending upon and hence protecting the drink traffic, while the Southerners are more independent of the traffic—it is seen that, even upon political grounds, the South has inclined to destroy it. In the North the Democrats are vying with the Republicans for securing the liquor vote, and this has of course operated in some degree to restrain the Southern Democrats in their opposition to it.

A national issue not connected with the issue which led to and sprung from the war is required for the true reconciliation of the North and South. As they separated upon the issue of black slavery, so now the issue of white slavery to the liquor traffic in both North and South promises to re-unite them.

Around this nucleus of the Prohibition movement—not yet in active alliance, but more or less tending toward it—are gathering all who are opposed to the huge land, railroad and telegraph monopolies created by the Republican party during its twenty-four years’ lease of power, all who demand justice and equality between the sexes, and a proportionate adjustment between labour and capital. Much has lately been heard of the Knights of Labour and an independent Labour party, and there have been great accessions to the ranks of the Knights of Labour, but as yet neither that organization nor any kind of fusion of the various labour organizations, possess in common any general vital issues to bind them together as a national party. The various States and the various centres of labour have widely different interests, and hold divergent views, owing to and regarding their own special needs.

A great deal has been made of the phenomenal vote cast for the election of Henry George to the mayoralty of New York City. This vote was the result of special local interests. The large Irish vote, influenced by the eloquent and tactful editor of the *Irish World*, Mr Patrick Ford, and by Father McGlynn, was cast at the instance of these leaders. Mr Powderly's powerful personal appeal induced the Knights of Labour to cast their vote in thousands for Mr George, and Mr George's frankly expressed sympathy with the Socialists, and non-interference with the evils of the traffic, added largely to the numbers of his supporters from quite another rank. How little this large vote indicated the feeling in the country at large was seen in the Boston mayoralty vote. Mr George himself went to Boston to plead the cause of McNeil, the labour candidate, and a man in every way worthy of trust, yet McNeil obtained only a small fraction of the vote. And the labour vote for the Philadelphia mayoralty was almost *nil*.

The Knights of Labour, founded like the Prohibition party in 1869, is decidedly a temperance organization. For practical reasons it recognizes, as does the Prohibition party, that the drink traffic is the most terrible foe of the independence and prosperity of labour. Uriah S. Stevens, the founder of this order, was opposed to both the drinking and the selling of intoxicating drinks, and the insertion of the clause in its constitution which shuts out the drink-seller was his work. The present Grand Master Workman, Mr Powderly, is a lifelong abstainer. Not only are no rum-sellers allowed in the ranks of the Knights of Labour, but in 1886 a pledge of total abstinence was exacted from all the officers of the Order. Thus, of all the issues claiming attention in the United States, the vital and vitalizing one is that of the abolition of the drink traffic, while so little real distinction is there between the two great Republican and Democratic parties, that it may be said there is nothing to keep them in two, except name, habit of contest, and the greed of office spoils. Even the national beer organ, the *Washington Sentinel*, says "There is no longer any difference between the two parties, and it is hard to say which is which."

Hitherto it has been held that the tariff question was an issue dividing these parties. Certainly if there is any question which ought to be left to the decision of a commission of experts, irrespective of party, it is that of the tariff. But although the Democratic party has controlled the House of Representatives for ten years and the Presidency for two, the Republican tariff remains practically unchanged, and the Democratic opposition to its reduction is shown in the repeated defeats of the Morrison Tariff Bill. The *Chicago Tribune*, the leading Republican organ of the West, and several other prominent Republican journals, advocate a general reduction of import duties and a large increase of

the Free List, and the Republican Minnesota State Convention in 1886 declared against Protection, denouncing it as a fraud and swindle. On the other hand, the Iowa Republicans are equally opposed to Protection. This shows how the Republicans themselves are a divided house on the tariff question.

The *Courier Journal*, of Louisville, Ky, sarcastically says that it thinks the platforms of both parties in 1888 will agree on one strong plank—that of denouncing the English sparrow! I will add another, which the Prohibition agitation will, I think, make necessary that same year—to wit, that they will agree in denouncing Prohibition in principle and practice, and extol the policy of high licence as the only true remedy against the drink evil. In this policy they will have the support of the traffic. It will cause disruption of the two organizations by the secession from their ranks of all the temperance elements, and they will find it necessary to combine in some kind of a Republican-Democrat party, just as they did one hundred years ago. Then, it was to compel the traffic to obey the laws, now, it will be to help it to defy the will of the country.

The strength of the drink traffic is commensurate with its terrible results. On the first of July, 1885, the total number of licensed dealers was a little over 201,000, by the same date in 1886 this number had increased to nearly 210,000—one liquor-seller to every 275 inhabitants. For the same period the production of distilled liquors was 6,934,085 gallons, and of malt liquors 47,273,991 gallons, assume that each of these licensed liquor-sellers controls only six votes, and we have a liquor vote of more than a million and a quarter, pledged to the traffic. "Increase of population from 1860 to 1870, 22.6 per cent. Increase in consumption of liquors during the same decade, 44.55 per cent. For next decade, from 1870 to 1880, increase in population, 32.7 per cent, increase in the consumption of liquors, 73.27 per cent, or more than two and one-fourth times the ratio of increase in population. Both these decades were under Republican administrations." "The wine-drinking has increased 12 per cent in eight years, the same as the population, distilled liquors, 50 per cent, and beer-drinking has increased over 400 per cent."\*

\* Dr. R. H. McDonald, "war champion of Prohibition" in San Francisco, says "In 1860 the United States statistics showed that the people were then drinking  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons of spirituous liquors annually per capita, in 1880 they were drinking 12½ gallons per capita for every man, woman, and child."

Says R. D. Locke, in the *North American Review* "Rum is the source direct of 90 per cent of all the crime and pauperism of the country. To rum may be charged up the cost of the police, the criminal courts, and everything that is costly to the taxpayer. Ninety per cent of the murders are to be credited to rum, and almost every gallows tree is rooted in a whisky barrel. There are paid across the bars of this country, for alcoholic stimulants, something near one thousand million dollars annually, and the amount is increasing frightfully."

G. F. Parsons, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, says "The saloon has abolished party politics in our largest cities, and to-day in every such city the local government is vested in neither

The temper of the traffic is concisely and most truly expressed in the following words in a Chicago saloon-dealer's letter to Mr Davenport, the chairman of the Prohibition Committee of Cook Co (including Chicago) "We will kill every preacher, burn every church, massacre every member of every temperance society, and all the praying women, before we will surrender our liberty, or give up our lawful business"

It is, therefore, a duel between the parties of drink and Prohibition, between Christian and Apollyon, and waged bitterly in the shadows of the Valley of Humiliation But Christian won in that battle, and Prohibition will win in this

ALEX GUSTAFSON

party, but is in the hands of the saloon itself Nominally, the government may be Democratic or Republican, but actually it is in commission by a band of venal politicians, who have no convictions or principles, who trade and swap opportunities for plunder with each other, who act as agents for the so called party leader, but who acknowledge allegiance only to the saloon These saloons have fastened on us a shameful corruption, have brutalized every institution, and have perverted and spoiled the Democratic system

## THE DECLINE OF THE DRAMA

*Lady Troth* — Then you think that episode between Susan the dairymaid and our coachman is not amiss ?

*Brisk* — Incomparable ! let me perish !  
WILLIAM CONGREVE

*Hamlet* — O reform it altogether And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them : for there be of them that will themselves laugh to set on some quantity of barren speculators to laugh too : though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered : that a villanous and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it : so make you ready  
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

THERE are few peculiarities of the present day more marked than the increased attention given to all theatrical matters, and the concern which is manifested in the social status of the actor

The number of theatres in London has been nearly doubled within the last twenty-five years, the salaries of actors and actresses in that time have been at least trebled in amount, and the minute attention now given to every detail of mounting, scenery, and accessories of a play has had no parallel in any age of the world

The actor and actress are now to be met in houses to which in the last generation they could have had no possible access, and the exalted rank conferred upon them may be said to have reached its highest social apotheosis in the visit of Mr and Mrs Kendal to Osborne, and the distinguished reception awarded to them, after their performance, by the Queen herself

It is by no means impossible that the day will come when a knighthood will be bestowed on a favourite tragedian, and we have already reached the time when comic singers are entertained by the Heir-Apparent at the private supper parties at Marlborough House

All this seems to betoken a vastly increased interest in stage affairs, and a much higher estimate of the people engaged in histrionic matters. There is, however, one slight drawback to be made to this otherwise golden progress, and that in a matter which we are apt to consider as of grave importance. For though theatres multiply, and actors rise to a giddy height of social eminence, though managers reap golden profits, and the theatres are crowded nightly though ladies of title grace "the boards," and Royalty smiles from the "boxes," in the midst of all this histrionic progress the drama itself seems to languish—nay, almost to die. If we look at the perform-

ances of our most popular theatres—and, be it understood, by this I am referring only to the picked theatres of the metropolis, especially of the West End, what is the kind of entertainment that we find offered to the public? and what evidence does it afford that dramatic literature is flourishing in proportion to the development of all other theatrical matters? The evidence is, I fear, of an entirely opposite kind. And if we consider the most successful plays of the last dozen years, we shall find that they have for the most part been adaptations of foreign works, melodramas of the crudest and most unnatural kind, farcical comedies built upon the lines of Palais-Royal farces, or so called comic operas whose comedy has frequently consisted in the production of a large number of pretty girls, as over- and under-dressed as the Lord Chamberlain would permit.

What, for instance, has dramatic literature to do with pieces such as "The Private Secretary" or "Little Jack Sheppard," to mention only two of the latest most successful pieces? The one is simply a three act farce, entirely without pretensions to construction, or probability of incident, and carried through only by the *verve* and wit of the actors employed. The other is a still less consistent burlesque version of an old story, in which irrelevances of every kind are freely introduced, and the music is gathered impartially from half-a dozen different sources. If we look at the play-houses which produce work of a more ambitious character—such, for instance, as the St James's, the Lyceum, the Haymarket—we find their *répertoire* consists either of plays avowedly or unavowedly derived from French sources, or of dramas which were not new even in the time of our grandfathers.

There has not been since the death of the late Lord Lytton a single new comedy of manners which could be compared for an instant, as a work of literary art, with his play of "Money," or even with the much-abused "Lady of Lyons," which still, in spite of every absurdity, holds its own in modern dramatic literature, simply because of its construction and literary quality. The nearest approach to work of this character—work, that is, which sought to realize from beginning to end an adequate dramatic motive and treated it with some approach to literary consistency—was what is now known as the teacup-and-saucer school of Mr Robertson the comedies of "Caste," "Ours," "Society," "School," &c. But reading these apart from the stage—even allowing them to be that which in several instances they certainly were not, entirely original productions—their literary merits dwindle to a combination of smart dialogues, and sentiment of the most washy and trivial description. These pieces

\* I purposely omit all mention of those dramas which have been simply adaptations of popular works of fiction, such, for instance, as the "Never too Late to Mend" of Charles Reade the "Man and Wife" of Mr Wilkie Collins, or the "East Lynne" of Mrs Henry Wood

owed their success to the perfection of their mounting, the smallness of the theatres in which they were played, and the peculiar aptitude of Mr and Mrs Bancroft for making the members of their company speak and move on the stage like ladies and gentlemen. But it is the less necessary to consider the point, as the Robertsonian school has at the present time wholly lost its hold upon theatrical sympathies. It perished with the removal of those who had created it to a larger theatre, its threadbare motive became evident the instant the scale of its reproduction was enlarged.

Since then there has been no développement of dramatic literature which could be for a moment seriously considered. Mr W S Gilbert, the one author whose genius might have produced great work, as we shall attempt to show later on, meeting with but modified success in his attempts at serious writing, hit by chance upon that line of comic opera which he has since pursued with such unswerving fidelity and extraordinary success. But "Patience" and "Pinafore," "The Pirates of Penzance," &c, are, after all, but highly developed "Bab Ballads," and can scarcely be considered seriously from a literary point of view.

Turn to Mr Irving, whose management is so frequently said to have done so much to raise the drama, and think what dramatic literature he has found available for the Lyceum in the course of the last ten years. What has his *répertoire* been? Shakespeare of course, and one or two of the older playwrights, the "Lady of Lyons", an adaptation of Erckmann-Châtian's story of the "Bells", two or three dramas by Mr W G Wills—so dreary in their nature that the majority of them have been but partial successes even at the Lyceum, and a revival of one or two indifferent plays, such as "The Two Roses" by Mr Albery. *Not a single fresh drama or tragedy of the slightest literary merit has Mr Irving been able to procure during his whole period of management*, and yet it is notorious that this actor is one who would be only too ready to produce fresh work if he could find it of adequate merit.

Turn to the St James's, where Mr and Mrs Kendal and Mr Mare have long reigned supreme. If we recall the names of their plays year by year, we find that at least three-fourths of them are of foreign origin, and that those which are not, are either adaptations, more or less skilfully concocted from novels, such as "The Squire," or elaborate revivals of old English comedies. Here, too, it may be affirmed without contradiction, that not a single play of serious pretensions has been produced of late years which treated of English manners, and was entirely original work.

To whatever theatre we cast our eyes the same result stares us in the face. Brobdingnagian farces, more or less imbecile or improper—and generally a combination of both—there are in plenty. Music-



hall songs, pointed with allusions of questionable decency and unquestionable bad taste, accompanied by a display of pretty limbs and faces—of these there is no lack. For the rest of our dramatic entertainment we must go to the melodramas of Drury Lane, the Princess's, the Adelphi, which even their admirers could hardly put forward as works of dramatic literature.

It is curious to note also, that during the last fifteen years there are four kinds of English theatrical productions which have almost entirely ceased to exist, and that these four were species of plays essentially national in their character. The short one-act farce, properly so-called, which admitted vulgarity as it were for ten minutes, if only it was successful in combining it with humorous incident—the farce, for instance, such as “Box and Cox,” “To oblige Benson,” and “A Kiss in the Dark”—is now as dead as the Pharaohs. I shall attempt to explain the reason for this a little further on, for the present it is sufficient to notice the fact that such farces are no longer written, and that the revival of the old ones becomes rarer every day.

So, too, with regard to pantomime in its old form, this too has entirely vanished. Only one West end theatre annually attempts to produce a so-called pantomime, and this production has but little analogy with its old namesake. True, the harlequinade and the transformation scene are still there, but the rest is simply what the French call spectacle, interlarded with music-hall ditties. It is indeed no longer a piece which is produced for children, in which the good and bad fairies struggle for supremacy, and all sorts of marvellous supernatural occurrences work together for the crowning of virtue and the confusion of villany. *Nous avons changé tout cela*. The simple fun and simple beliefs of our fathers are no longer our own, and with them has died the pantomime, which was perhaps their most direct expression.

Burlesque too, as it used to be understood, has been swallowed up in the development of the French extravaganza and opera-bouffe—development due partly to the genius of two or three brilliant French composers, such as Offenbach and Lecocq, and still more to the Gallicizing influence which has pervaded society since the time of the Crimean war. Such pieces as the old Strand and Royalty burlesques might be sought for in vain to-day throughout the length and breadth of England. “Ixion,” “Medea,” “The Field of the Cloth of Gold,” “Ino,” “Romulus and Remus”—do not the very names of these pieces provoke a smile in the remembrance of those who are old enough to recollect their production. For they were, what their name imports, genuine burlesques, real parodies of stories familiar to us all—bustled through in half an hour or so, with song and dance and ludicrous action, and yet with a genuine consistency.

and *raison d'être* in their wildest extravagancies. Nor do I remember that bright eyes and delicately moulded limbs were by any means absent in these old times, though the odious habit of filling the stage with handsome women very much over-dressed, who can neither sing nor dance, nor do anything but stand about in a helpless come-and look-at-me sort of manner, had not then obtained favour

The fourth kind of piece which has faded away from the stage of to-day, or only survives in remote corners of the East-end or transpontine theatre, is what may be called the romantic drama, the drama, that is, of hairbreadth escapes, prison cells, rustic maidens, scarlet-coated and cocked-hat soldiers, comic Irishmen, and generally a king, regent, or general, to act as a *Deus ex machina* at the end of the play \*

Pieces of this kind—which touch on the one side melodrama, and on the other the more serious comedies of social life—were about twenty years ago the staple of the English drama, survivals perhaps from Byron's poems and Scott's novels, and full of somewhat grandiloquent sentiments and occasionally fustian pathos, but in the main founded upon a genuine human sympathy, and for simple people full of excitement and interest. They asked chiefly, however, for assent to wholesome if somewhat old-fashioned doctrines, and took us for an hour or two to a world which, if a little unreal in the directness of its rewards for virtue, and the instancy of its punishments for vice, did at least recognize some moral government of the universe, reserved its sympathy for decent things and people, and its scorn for what was worthy of condemnation. There were, too, mixed up with its sentimentality, elements of fun and fighting, such as to our unregenerate British nature gave considerable satisfaction, and stirred the blood of the gallery pleasantly

These four varieties of drama have passed away, and, as I said at the beginning of this article, their place has been supplied by the opera-bouffe, the farcical comedy, and the French drama of manners, for the most part connected with the adultery—either real or attempted—of a wife or husband. It will be noticed, no doubt, that I have omitted from my list of changes that have taken place during the last quarter of a century, all mention of the decadence of the tragic drama, but in truth this was dead at an even earlier period. The tragedies which maintain their place upon the English stage do so, *despite the prejudice of theatre-goers*, by the sheer power of their literary merit, and the popularity of the actor or actress who occasionally insists upon undertaking them. But their number has not been added to for many years by even a single example, and this

\* Perhaps "Lady Clancarty," now playing at the St James's, by the late Mr. Tom Taylor, may be quoted as a survival of this species of drama, and the same writer's "Plot and Passion" forms another instance

fact must stand for what it is worth in considering the decline of our dramatic literature. For tragedy, after all, is its highest form, and nine-tenths of the greatest dramas of the world in all ages have been examples of its power.

It will be seen from the foregoing summary that the decline of English dramatic literature, which I assert, consists—1 In the entire absence from our stage of genuine comedies of English life, 2 In the neglect of the tragic drama, 3 In the decadence of the lighter forms of dramatic representation which were peculiarly national, 4 In the substitution for all these, of Gallic dramas, and English dramas founded upon Gallic theories and habits of life.

Such three-act farces as the "Blue Dominoes," "The Great Divorce Case," "The Candidate," and many others of the popular Criterion productions, are English only in name, and represent the nearest approach to the lowest Parisian morality, which the censorship of our stage will allow. They owe their popularity to the influence of fashionable society upon dramatic matters, and to that decadence in national spirit and taste, which has made us of late years think that all artistic products emanating from France must of necessity be superior to those of our own country. Capitally acted, execrably written and conceived with a foul Boulevard cynicism that is a thousand times more pernicious than the open immoralities of earlier times, plays of this kind have gradually debauched the palates of our theatre-goers, till all relish has been destroyed for less highly-spiced entertainment.

Perhaps a partial exception may be urged to the above statement with reference to the success of what may be called the national melodrama at Drury Lane Theatre. But this exception is more apparent than real. Mr Augustus Harris, who has of late years, by the exercise of his various talents, made his theatre so successful, has done it by a species of spectacular melodrama which has appealed more to the prevalent taste for display and exciting spectacle than any national feeling. The literary quality of such compositions as "The World," "Human Nature," "Youth," "Freedom," &c, can only be described as absolutely non-existent. They were farragoes of alternate impossibilities and absurdities, in which one incident was simply tacked on to another with scarcely an attempt at literary construction. Mr Harris was a clever man of the world, and saw that the public was disgusted with plays of refined nothingness, in which every one behaved perfectly and did nothing in particular, and he went boldly to the "other side of the moon." He got together a good stock company, with two or three good low comedians, he engaged a playwright to write him a drama which should have at least a forgery, a seduction, a shipwreck, three or four attempts at murder, a house in St. John's Wood,

and a scene at a dancing saloon, he insisted on having the virtuous maiden and the guilty but repentant ditto, the good old hero full of gallery appeals, and two or three villains, one at least of the comic order, he constructed elaborate scenery and quick changes, he engaged a couple of hundred "supers," and drilled them carefully, he instructed his low comedians to "gag" tremendously, and make the piece "go," at any cost to the author's meaning, and, as a perfectly deserved result, Mr Harris filled his house and incidentally his pockets, and is now one of the greatest "powers" in theatrical management. All this is of course, from the purely artistic point of view, to be sincerely regretted. If people had done what they ought to have done, they would have left Mr Harris comparatively alone in his glory, only surrounded by his comic villanous Jews, blushingly patriotic sailors, and persecuted maidens, but they didn't, and that they didn't proves conclusively that the want supplied was a real one. The public at large were tired of thin spectral comedies, mostly taken from the French, and having their main motive Bowdlerized beyond recognition, they wanted something they could understand easily, with plenty of action in it, and this Mr Harris gave them, as he would have readily given them performing elephants, a mermaid, or a monster baboon, if he had thought such matters equally attractive. It is, however, very much to be regretted that the success of these unmeaning though bustling melodramas, has produced a crop of like kind at other theatres, and seems to have debased the public taste for this species of amusement, till any kind of incident, no matter how inherently improbable, or even impossible, is calmly introduced by the authors of the present day, and accepted as allowable by the audience. A certain crudity of motive and exaggeration of action, is doubtless indispensable in work of this kind, but there is no more reason for inconsistent action, or irrelevancies of incident or speech, than in any other dramatic work. There is no reason why a melodrama should be less *artistic* than a tragedy or a comedy of the most elevated kind. The difference is only in the point of view. But directly you let your clowns "speak (no) more than is set down for them," the artistic element disappears, as Shakespeare saw more than three hundred years ago.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the inevitable result upon the literature of one nation, by the adoption, throughout the most cultivated classes, of the manner of thought and behaviour, and the artistic sanctions, of an alien race, especially when the national habits of thought are as opposed as in the case in point. On the part of the upper classes there is apt to arise a disdain for their old national prejudices, which almost amounts to shame, and on the part of the lower classes the effect of removing the modifying effect of the example

of their social superiors—of, in fact, bestowing the sympathies of such upon theories and practices about which the *bourgeoisie* know little and care less—will be likely to produce both in literature and the drama a more crude and violent form of national prejudice. Between these ranks the middle classes will be swayed this way and that, now inclining to the earlier faith, now being tempted by the new, in neither case finding a secure resting-place in either. But certainly this exotic growth of sickly sentimental sensualism—for so in plain words should be described these bastard Anglo-French dramas—must be sterile on our soil for all purposes of literature. It has no root deep down in the earth, where alone it could gather nourishment, and only represents the morbid tastes of a rich and over-luxurious caste, who have what Kingsley called “a duty shame of their honest country’s (father’s) honest name.”

No doubt, much of the decadence is to be traced to the above-mentioned cause, but it may be doubted whether the influence of passing fashion and foreign morality could have so wholly destroyed dramatic literature, had it not been for the conditions of the stage itself—the practices, which have gradually obtained, of those who manage and those who write for theatres. I do not doubt in my own mind that good English plays produced to-day—national in sentiment, healthy in tone, consistent in honest decent story, and excellent in literary work—would be even now more popular than the bastard French dramas which our managers foist upon the public, which our writers degrade themselves by adapting, which our fashionable people find to be the only theatrical diet which their enfeebled literary stomachs can digest. It is not a fact, after all, that adultery is the only interesting topic in the world, and that the compound of effrontery, cynicism, and filial affection which makes up the character of the Parisian of to-day, has really very slight affinity with our English tastes, and very little hold on our genuine sympathies. “Ils sont simplement entraînés par le flot qui nous entraîne tous, le flot, d’une civilisation de décadence. Un peuple du décadence est, si j’en mets troppe, un peuple qui n’a plus que des appétits, et il me semble clair, que de haut en bas, nous sommes ensembles, tous là. De haut en bas, la jouissance est aujourd’hui la loi unique, et l’unique loi. Tout autre religion n’est plus qu’une bien-séance.” That is M. Octave Feuillet’s last word about his countrymen of Paris, and it is such a conception of life which the French drama reflects. Why is it that our managers prefer to import such work? It is advisable to give the plain reasons, in the hope that the short-sightedness of such policy may, when it is fully explained, be the precursor of change. To destroy a literature for the sake of a temporary success, is manifestly a very suicidal policy, if it be not even characterized in stronger terms. But it must be remembered that managers are men of business first, and

patriots and literary artists afterwards, if at all, and the reasons for their action in this matter are thoroughly simple. The cost of putting a play perfectly upon the stage, with the enormous amount of furnishing and mounting of every detail which the present taste exacts, is so great, that to the lessee of a theatre it is a matter of financial life and death to economize the risk of producing an unsuccessful play as much as possible. Now, it is evident that there is much less risk in producing a piece which has already succeeded (even in a foreign country) than one which is wholly unknown. The consequence is, that when a well-known Parisian author brings out a work that succeeds, it pays the English managers much better to give them a considerable royalty for the right to produce an English version than to buy an untried English play, which may be a gold mine, it is true, but of which the chances are always doubtful.

True it is that this is somewhat hard upon the English author, but that of course is not the manager's business, as Mr Bancroft said when he removed the pit at the Haymarket, "My first business is to make the house pay." See, moreover, how far-reaching are the consequences of this action. The acting right purchased from the French author, the manager requires some person to translate, and probably to a certain extent adapt, his original, but he can hardly go for this purpose to a first-rate author, by the very conditions of the case, for the first-rate playwright may have had his own play practically rejected in favour of the foreigner, and would naturally be sore on the subject, besides, the manager has already had to pay considerably for his copyright, and can't afford another large author's fee. This leads to the creation of an intermediate class of dramatic authors, whose business it is to know the capacities of the company of the theatre in question, the requirements of their audiences, the amount of morality which they require, and immorality which they will stand, and then cut and trim the original French version till it fits the theatre in which it is to be reproduced. As a matter of fact, this is frequently done by one of the actors in the company, assisted by the manager. The play thus becomes a queer compound manufacture, partly conditioned by French morality and social exigencies, partly by the requirements of an English audience, partly by the necessities of the theatre in which it is to be produced. Is this likely to be, under such circumstances, a work of literary merit? The effect, however, of these intermediate authors, as they may be called, unfortunately does not stop with the production of their adaptations. The habit of writing to fit the theatre in translation, soon leads them to the construction of original or semi-original work of a like kind, and the manager would be more than human if in such a case he did not have a leaning towards parts evidently fitted for himself and his company. *As a matter of fact, many*

*tenths of the plays produced, are written in this way*, and the consequence is that the field is practically closed to the really original cultivated men who write without special regard to the financial success of their plays at a particular theatre. In briefest words, the change in dramatic literature is the change from an art to a trade, and the results are of a corresponding nature. Few plays produced in this way are printed, fewer still are read or will bear reading—the conditions are fatal to good work, and the work is not good accordingly. In a word, instead of having the picked men of the generation—the poets, the philosophers, and first-rate literary workmen generally, as authors, the manager relies upon third-rate craftsmen, who will shape their work exactly to his requirements. And he is forced to do this, because he dare not run the risk of expending a large sum of money in the purchase and production of an original work, since he cannot afford to run the risk of its failure. The only cure for this evil is to return to a simpler method of production, to rely upon the play rather than upon its scenery, its costumes and its furniture.

If it comes to be a question between paying the author, and paying the upholsterer—and that is what it has come to—by all means let the upholsterer remain unemployed. Nothing furnishes a scene so well as good dialogue, and no costume, however elaborate, will give much pleasure if its stage wearer is engaged in trivial or inconsistent action. Authors have to a great extent the matter in their own hands, for if they persistently refuse to follow the prevailing custom, and adapt no more French dramas, but have the courage of their opinions and write original plays, it is certain that, sooner or later—managers notwithstanding—they must have the public with them. THERE IS A POSITIVE OUTCRY AT THE PRESENT MOMENT FOR A GENUINE ENGLISH PLAY, AND SUCH AN ONE WOULD ENJOY POPULARITY OF WHICH ORDINARY SUCCESSES GIVE NO CONCEPTION! If any proof of this were wanted, it might be found in the fact of the popularity of the one genuinely original phase of dramatic production which has been developed of late years—the comic operas of Mr Gilbert and Sir Arthur Sullivan. And it is worth while to speak for a few minutes in this regard of the former gentleman, since he is the one dramatic author of our own day who has proved himself capable of standing out against the hack method, above described, and of producing his dramas from the point of view of works of art. A man of great though peculiar genius, his serious dramatic work has never attained the high place in popular estimation which it undoubtedly deserved, not perhaps so much for its actual achievement, as for the rare promise which was to be found therein. It is, however, in many of its aspects of absolutely first-rate quality, though occasionally there come, alike over its humour and its pathos, strange twists of thought or feeling. Not unfrequently this author substitutes a paradox for a moral, and

veils very true and tender feeling with sarcasm which is almost morbid in its intensity and savage in its scorn. The evil chance which mated him with Sir Arthur Sullivan in an apparently eternal series of comic operas must always be regretted by the real admirers of his genius. No doubt "bosh pays," but we want something more from those who, like our author, might have left an enduring mark upon the age, and have touched the drama of to-day with far finer issues than any with which it is at present concerned. It is certain that the nearest approach to classical work which our time has seen was made by the now nearly forgotten earlier dramas of this writer. Such plays as "Charity," "The Palace of Truth," and "Sweethearts," are worth a million comic operas of the "Iolanthe" and "Ruddigore" type, and will last when the latter have long been forgotten. "Charity" is, indeed, in motive and literary quality, a very notable literary effort, it marks the first attempt to put into dramatic form the problems of nineteenth-century life, and it breathes throughout an amount of scorn for the pretence of religion, and hypocrisy of any kind which makes it resemble in intensity a picture by Hogarth. But the feeling was too strong, the lack of compromise too entire, to render the work popular. The religious people were offended at its tone, the conventional at its freedom. Every kind of Chadband and Tartuffe in the land felt his position threatened, and the work, after but a short life, was withdrawn, and has not since, I believe, been reproduced. Then came the so-called fairy dramas, "The Palace of Truth," "Pygmalion and Galatea," "The Wicked World," "Broken Hearts," which held their own in the teeth of much adverse criticism, and which have been frequently revived both in England and America. Here for the first time Mr. Gilbert showed the germs of those peculiarities of intellect which have since marked all his work—a love of paradox, a cold deliberate sarcasm, considerable grace of expression, and an absence, or rather an incompleteness, of intention, which is difficult to describe, but clearly felt, in all his later work, as if a man should take another up in a balloon, and then hit him on the head and throw him over the side of the car. This was the manner in which this author treated his audiences. He aroused their expectations in one direction, then dashed them down in another, incongruity lay at the very root of his wit, and a careful analysis of any of his comic operas will show that the action or speech of most of the characters might be in no small degree predicated, by thinking what was the most likely thing for each of them to do or say under the special circumstances, and then expecting them to do or say the exact opposite. And in the literary quality of his work, the mental, physical, and moral contradictions with which he so delights to endow his characters, appear and take their revenge upon the author. His genius is like the



Strephon of his own creation—fairy to the waist, and thence mortal to the feet. The hints of beauty and meaning which I find in all his work, are frequently destroyed and rendered unintelligible by the author's apparent desire to burlesque his own idea—to show you a beautiful thing, only to explain the impossibility of its existence, or the weakness of its character. The defect—the artistic defect I mean—of the work is, that its satire is not reserved to any definite place, it spreads everywhere, and occurs when it is not wanted, as well as when it is consistent and necessary. We feel inclined to move all our intellectual furniture out of the author's way, much as we should do with our actual chairs and tables, if we were talking to a man who might without warning throw a back somersault in the middle of his conversation. So much for the defects of Mr Gilbert's art, of the merits it is difficult to speak (at his best) too highly. A breadth of sympathy stands revealed in his ironies such as few modern writers can boast, of his hatred of sham and artifice I have already spoken, his wit speaks for itself, but a word should be said on the point which frequently escapes notice—namely, the tender way in which this master of sarcasm touches genuine emotion and suffering. There is in the English language no more perfectly tender, beautiful play than the little two-act dialogue—for such it practically is—which is called "Sweethearts"—a play which no one without a genuine respect for true feeling could possibly have written,\* and from Mr Gilbert's other plays numerous instances of similar tender feeling, though none perhaps so sustained and so perfect, could be given. Even in the "Bab Ballads" themselves, almost the only serious poem—"To a Dancing Girl"—is instinct with penetration into the true pathos of the incident.

I have wandered somewhat away from the decline in dramatic literature, but it seemed necessary fully to recognize the merit of the one author who has done good service in this cause, and who might have done far finer work had he not found that what the public wanted was, not the best thoughts of his brain, but the lightest froth, that he was too contemptuous of their opinion, or perhaps too bitter in his spirit, not to give them the trivialities for which they asked, is a matter of unfeigned regret, for an artist should be bigger than his audience, but much excuse may be made for a writer whose best work has not received a tithe of the popularity of his least important, and even, with all drawbacks, Mr Gilbert has proved that original writing, English in motive, of distinct literary quality, is still possible on our stage.

Still, it must be confessed that plays of this kind are hardly to be

\* There is only one point in "Sweethearts" where Mr Gilbert seems to have allowed his cynicism to get the better of him and that forms the one defect of the play. This is almost the end of the second act, where Sir Henry Spreadbrow expresses his great surprise that his old sweetheart should have kept the rosebud he gave her "all these years!"

paralleled at the present time, that the majority of our dramas are destitute of literary excellence to an extent that cannot be accounted for by the adoption of French motives and inferior workmanship, but seems to spring from some deeper cause. Can this cause be the reflection on the mimic life of the stage, of the social life of the present day—of its unrest, its lack of belief, its cynicism? If this be the case—and it is very possible—we have at once a very clear and sufficient reason for the decline in literary excellence. Great dramas are almost invariably founded upon a single and generally a simple motive, the broad humanity of which supplies the foundation upon which the dramatist builds. But what broad, simple motives can the playwright find to-day in general society? No doubt, the old sanctions and feelings are still there, but they lie below the surface, covered up with a cloak of affectation or indifference. No man to-day shows his love or his hate, he neither toasts his mistress at the “Kit-cat Club,” nor shoots his rival in Lincoln’s Inn Fields. If he believes in anything, that is the one thing of which Society forbids him to speak, if he regrets anything, he must assume indifference, if he wants anything, he must walk in the opposite direction to that in which it may apparently be obtained. What scope does behaviour of this sort afford for dramatic representation? How are the materials of a great play to be found in this concealment of feeling, this pretence of indifference? Obviously the only two ways in which it can be treated on the stage are either the cynical or the humorous, and accordingly we find that the most successful modern plays are those in which one or other of these elements prevails. Take a young man or woman of the present day from club or drawing-room, and set either down in a theatre to a performance which strives to enlist their sympathies, in what our fathers would have called and thought a legitimate and straight way

d! they are bored, or if not, they pretend to be. Why? Simply because the interest presented to them is not one which they wish to recognize—one which they can square with their every-day professions of faith, or no faith. What! this girl, deceived and betrayed by her lover, hiding her shame in flight! This brother seeking revenge! This son selling his ancestors to the Jew money-lender! “Pooh! pooh! My dear fellow, it’s all bosh. What a fuss to make about nothing! Girls don’t make such fools of themselves and who ever heard of revenge nowadays? Why shouldn’t the beggar sell those snuffy old ancestors? I would, jolly soon, if I got the chance.” That is the sort of comment which the Society youth would make. He goes to the theatre to be amused, not to be interested, and he resents seeing, even upon the stage, the cloak plucked away from those springs of action and feeling which he daily endeavours to persuade himself are “all sentiment, don’cher know.”

It may be urged that this, after all, applies to but one section of a small class of the community, and that amongst the elder generation, and the middle and lower classes there exists but little of this "nil admirari" tone, and this is to a certain extent true. It must be remembered, however, that it is necessarily the younger generation for whom the proprietors of the play-houses have to cater; they must be abreast of the newest popular feeling. Besides, it is the younger Society men and women with whom the actors and managers of theatres enjoy their social distinctions, and from whom they, either consciously or unconsciously, derive many of their ideas. The middle class, too, insensibly follow the lead of their social superiors, and enjoy seeing upon the stage representations of that society of which they have no other experience, though they may have at heart but little sympathy therewith. In the lower ranks of the middle class, and those immediately beneath them, the result of these Society plays has been to force them into the other extreme, and it is probably for this reason that there never was a time upon the English stage wherein melodrama of the crudest kind was so popular as it is at present.

To sum up the above scattered observations I venture to suggest that the causes of the decline of our drama are in the main to be found in the endeavours alike of the fashionable public, of the authors and of the managers of theatres, to form it upon a foreign rather than a national basis, for dramatic art can never have any true life except in the life of the country in which it is produced. If we could make England France, perhaps we might have fair plays formed upon French models and French theories, but till we can effect this, we must be content to have no dramatic literature at all, or to have it as it springs from the hearts and brains of our countrymen. So alone it will bear fruit, so alone it did bear fruit for three hundred years in the roll of great names, whose thoughts, even now "enrich the blood of the world"—men who in their morality, and even in their immorality, were outspoken, honest, and sincere, who had their faults and brutalities, their narrownesses of prejudice, which belonged to their nation and the times in which they lived, but who had at least not sunk to the depth of sneering at every virtue, and finding their only interest in the most morbid aspects of humanity. Surely, with all the advances of thought and science, and all the political progress of the present day, there may be found motives for a nobler drama than ever found favour upon the Boulevards, if once our playwrights turned their attention to the matters which are going on before their eyes in their own country.

HARRY QUILTER

## CAPTAIN CONDER AND MODERN CRITICS

IT is not without hesitation that I have resolved to say something on Captain Conder's paper, in the March number of this REVIEW, entitled "Ancient Monuments and Modern Critics." The survey of Western Palestine, in which Captain Conder had a large part, was a real service to Biblical studies, and though no scholar can be blind to the grave defects of the work, its merits are so considerable that one would be glad to say nothing but good of those who took part in it. A man may be an excellent surveyor without being a Biblical scholar, and an accomplished Engineer officer without knowing Hebrew and the cognate dialects. Nor is it reasonable to expect that one who has not been trained to exact linguistic historical and critical knowledge shall acquire such scholarship by living for some years in Palestine, and going up and down the country with a theodolite. If he is an acute and observant person he can hardly fail to bring home, in addition to the results of his surveys, a mass of very valuable notes and a considerable insight into Eastern life, but the rough-and-ready knowledge which he has picked up will not save him from the usual mistakes of an amateur, or enable him to speak with authority on questions which are not to be mastered save by a long course of systematic study. Captain Conder is a genuine enthusiast, who, like most enthusiasts, is apt to go beyond his last, and within certain limits his vagaries may fairly claim the toleration which has generally been accorded to them. Those who knew better have shrugged their shoulders and said nothing. But there is a point beyond which toleration cannot go without compromising the interests of truth, and in the matter before us this point has been reached. When a half-informed person comes forward with pretensions to authority, when he claims to judge and condemn those who really know, and to do so

from a standpoint of superior intelligence and information, it is not amiss to point out his mistakes, and if he has got the ear of the public it is sometimes a duty to do so. It is because Captain Conder's recent utterances are mischievous as well as futile, that I have resolved to show, by a very few examples out of many which I have noted, that when he discourses about Biblical criticism he is not to be listened to or argued with, but simply passed by as a man who is speaking of things which he does not understand.

In his attack on modern Biblical criticism Captain Conder selects as his antagonist Professor Wellhausen of Marburg, representing him as a typical specimen of the critic whose views are founded on the Old Testament literature only, and "uncontrolled by independent knowledge of Oriental history, antiquity and thought" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1887, p. 377). Wellhausen is charged in detail with ignorance or neglect of the cuneiform monuments, the Egyptian inscriptions, the Phœnician inscriptions, the Mishnah, the present state of comparative Semitic philology, and many other matters of equal importance, and in conclusion Captain Conder tells us that he "wants to take our critic out of his study and to set him on a camel in the wilderness, to surround him with human beings in all their primitive conditions of society and of thought, to humanize and to Orientalize the student" (p. 389). The remedy seems singularly inappropriate to the disease. Does Captain Conder think that to be set on a camel in the wilderness will give a man "an independent knowledge of Oriental history, antiquity and thought?" Most of us have supposed that this knowledge is only to be acquired by hard study of the documents of Oriental antiquity, and it is a new doctrine that the most meritorious field-work will make a man a linguist, an epigrapher, and an historian. Even the inaccurate second-hand knowledge which, as I shall presently show, makes up the staple of Captain Conder's contributions to Biblical science, was not gathered in the field but drawn from books, and I fail to see that the German critic in his study is at a disadvantage as compared with the English amateur. Both draw from the same documents, but Professor Wellhausen reads them in the original, and Captain Conder in translations and popular manuals.

To this difference, which to ordinary minds will not seem unimportant, Captain Conder does not advert, it does not even occur to him to mention that he himself is ignorant of Hebrew, though he incidentally makes the fact plain to us by giving, on p. 379, *shannah* instead of *shanah* as the Hebrew for "year," and on p. 385 *nebi* instead of *nabi* as the Hebrew for "prophet." These are elementary blunders which in Germany would not be tolerated in a schoolboy who had been learning Hebrew for six months, and their occurrence

is not calculated to make us welcome with much enthusiasm the essayist's remarks on the considerable revision which current views on Hebrew grammar "will probably have to undergo in face of the new knowledge derived from Phœnician and Assyrian inscriptions" It is almost cruel to criticise words to which the writer himself plainly attaches no definite meaning, but as Captain Conder really seems to think that a study of Phœnician monuments would lead to the rejection of the linguistic arguments used by modern critics of the Pentateuch, I may remind him that M Renan is not only the editor of the great Paris *Corpus* of Phœnician inscriptions, but the author of a series of papers lately published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in which the modern theory of the Pentateuch is ably expounded And if Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's "Einleitung" had fallen within the compass of our essayist's studies, he would have known that the German scholar, whose ignorance of epigraphy he repeatedly and loftily rebukes, has made excellent use of the oldest inscriptions for grammatical purposes

It is indeed a piece of singular ill luck for Captain Conder that he has pitched on Wellhausen of all men as an example of a scholar whose "very narrow line of research" is confined to "purely literary study of the Hebrew Scriptures" Every Orientalist knows and esteems Professor Wellhausen's work in departments of Semitic history and literature which lie outside of Biblical studies, and the chair which he now adorns is mainly a chair of Arabic and the ancient history of the East in general It is not therefore surprising that a distinguishing feature of his work on the Old Testament consists in his constant apposite use of the general analogies of Semitic speech, manners and history

But it is not necessary to defend Wellhausen, let me rather present some specimens of what Captain Conder's own knowledge is And first of all, I would point out that he has not made himself acquainted with the critical views which he pretends to refute He tells us, at p. 378, that "the critical school of Graf do not believe that any tabernacle (Opel) existed in the wilderness" But Graf himself ("Die Gesch Bucher des A T" p 57 sq) and Wellhausen ("Prolegomena," cap 1 § 3) say the very opposite, while they contend that the tabernacle described in the older narrative, the historicity of which they do not question, was quite unlike the elaborate structure spoken of in the later priestly part of the Pentateuch Again, at p 379, we are told that Wellhausen regards "the use of incense and the table of shew-bread as evidences of a late period of writing" But I do not find this in Wellhausen, what he says is that in ancient times there was not a golden altar as well as a golden table in the holy place The antiquity of the shew-bread is not only admitted, but made the founda-

tion of an argument in his "Prolegomena" (cap. ii § 2, p 71). Again, at p 379, we are told that Wellhausen regards "the observance of the moon as an innovation during the captivity." On the contrary, Wellhausen regards the observance of the new moon by the Hebrews as of prehistoric antiquity ("Proleg" cap iii § 4). "His theory," we are told (*ibid*), "finally lands him in the error that the year used in the time of the Kings to begin in autumn on the tenth day of the seventh month—a palpable absurdity, an absurdity certainly, but not due to Wellhausen, who, on the contrary, points out that if in the exile the New Year's feast was celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month—and that it was so we know from Lev xxv 9, Ezek xl 1—this is an evidence that the feast had been separated from the actual commencement of the year. The whole paragraph which Captain Conder devotes to the calendar is absurd. He tells us that all the old Semitic peoples used a lunar year (apparently thinking that lunar months imply a lunar year), and yet says that Abib must have always been a spring month, which is as much as to say that after all the year was solar. In a system of lunar years each month must run through all seasons, as in the Mohammedan calendar.

A notable specimen of the misrepresentations that disfigure the article occurs at p 379. "Surely, when endeavouring to construct a scheme of chronology, the critic might have found it useful to compare the dates derived from cuneiform records, to which he does not refer, preferring simply to assert that certain numbers are impossible." Captain Conder never gives references to passages of Wellhausen's works, but I believe I have read them all, and I know of only one place in which the German scholar forms a scheme of Hebrew chronology in the Assyrian period—viz, an essay in the *Jahrb fur deutsche Theologie*, 1875. This essay has for its very foundation an elaborate comparison of the Assyrian dates. Captain Conder may perhaps be excused for not having seen a paper in a foreign theological journal, but a very little attention might have shown him that the dates given by Wellhausen, in his article ISRAEL in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," imply full acquaintance with the results of Assyriology in this department and full recognition of their value.

Unfortunately, Captain Conder is not in a position to give intelligent attention to such things, because he does not know the subject at first hand, and so fancies that every one must be ignorant of the Assyrian monuments who does not draw from them exactly the same conclusions which he has got at second-hand from some popular English book. It is no desire to mislead, but sheer ignorance and

\* The pages in this and subsequent references are those of the edition of 1883, from which the English translation was made.

incapacity, that are the source of Captain Conder's strange misrepresentations of Wellhausen. Thus in the matter of the tabernacle and the shew-bread, already referred to, no one who understood the general methods of Pentateuch criticism could for a moment have supposed it possible for critics of the Grafian school to make the statements he ascribes to them, for the tabernacle and the shew-bread are mentioned in parts of the Bible whose superior age and authority is the essence of their theory. Or again, when at p 383 our critic rebukes Wellhausen for asserting that the "archers" in the blessing of Jacob (Gen xlix 23) "must needs on account of their weapons be the Assyrians," he not only makes a gross blunder—what Wellhausen actually says ("Prol," p 341) is "the Syrians of Damascus"—but shows that he has failed to realize the whole point of the argument in the passage referred to. Wellhausen did not need to be reminded that pictures show the early use of the bow among the tribes of Canaan. Why appeal to pictures when the Bible itself is full of proofs of the early use of the bow—a thing for that matter which no man in his senses could ever dream of doubting? What Wellhausen says is that the enemies who press Joseph hard, but cannot overcome him, must be the Aramæans (Syrians) of Damascus, to whose attacks Israel was exposed for a century. The reasons for this opinion are stated at length in a note to the "Geschichte," p 357, which is not reprinted in the "Prolegomena," but the allusion to Damascus and to the hundred years' war would have saved any one who knew the history in 2 Kings from changing Syrians to Assyrians. In like manner, Captain Conder thinks it necessary to teach Wellhausen from the Egyptian monuments that Baal was not a purely Phœnician deity, and that Baal worship was not first introduced in Israel by Jezebel. The needless appeal to Egypt seems to show that Captain Conder has forgotten the Baalim worshipped by the Hebrews in the time of the Judges. Wellhausen makes no such slip ("Prol," p 249), and expressly speaks of Jezebel as introducing the worship of the *Tyrian* Baal or Melcarth ("Proleg," p 297) \*. The adjective is overlooked by Captain Conder, because he supposes that Baal was "a deity worshipped by all the Semitic peoples from Assyria to Egypt." But every scholar knows that Baal is not a proper name designating one definite deity, but a title (Lord), regularly used with the definite article, applicable to the god of any tribe or locality, and in old times often applied to Jehovah himself. \*In this sense the golden calves were the Baals of Dan and Bethel, and other local sanctuaries had their own Baals, which were often in their origin Canaanite. The innovation of Jezebel and Ahab

\* In "Encyc Brit," xiii 407, "Syrian" stands for "Tyrian" by a misprint, which is corrected in the German edition of the article, p 32, and ought not to puzzle any intelligent reader.



was that they built a temple for a foreign Baal—viz, the Tyrian Melcarth. Thus, when Captain Conder supposes himself to be rebuking "the survival of an old error," he only succeeds in showing that he himself has not unlearned the old error of taking Baal as a proper name.

This is not the only blunder made by Captain Conder when he discourses on Semitic religion—a difficult subject, on which it is not wise to speak at random, but which seems to have a dangerous fascination for amateurs. He tells us, for example, that it appears from the Moabite stone that the Moabites adored Ashtoreth as well as Chemosh (p 388). But Ashtoreth is not mentioned on that stone, and Chemosh is the only Moabite deity named. It is true that he is once called by the compound name Ashtar-Chemosh, but Ashtar is a male god, as we know from the Hymyarite inscriptions, and it is perfectly gratuitous to suppose that because Chemosh receives a compound name he was worshipped along with a goddess. On the same principle, it might be argued that Louis Philippe necessarily had a wife *Louisa*.

But perhaps the most surprising thing in the article is the treatment of the name Jehovah (Yahwe). Among other wonderful things we are told that "it frequently appears on Phœnician gems, not only in Syria or in Cyprus, but even in Malta and other Mediterranean islands." As usual, no evidence is offered, though Captain Conder ought to have known that evidence is called for, when the learned editor of the *Parisian Corpus* tells us on the contrary that there is no certain example of a Phœnician man's name derived from Yahwe ("Corp Insc Sem," fasc 11 p 163). The evidence, however, on which our essayist relies is given in his "Syrian Stone Lore," p 75, and it may be worth while to examine it in detail as a specimen of the kind of stuff of which that volume is made up. "We have in the British Museum a coin with the name Yahu over a divine figure in a chariot." True, but the coin is held by authorities to have been struck at Gaza, not earlier than the Greek period, and is therefore no evidence as to the Phœnician religion. It dates from an age of religious syncretism, when elements from various religions were constantly mixed up together, and belongs not to Phœnicia but to a district closely connected with Judæa. "We have again a Phœnician gem from Beyrout, with the name Isaiah ('Jehovah the Saviour') as a legend." The legend is not Isaiah, but Yish'a NYW. There are many Phœnician proper names of similar form as regards their termination,\* and it is not improbable that (in part at least) they are contractions of longer compound names, but there is no reason what-

\* See on this difficult class of names "Corp Insc Sem," Nos 10, 11, 13, 52, and my note on this gem in "P.E.F. Quarterly Statement," 1885, p 131, which Captain Conder seems to have misunderstood in his usual fashion.

ever for supposing that the longer forms were compounded with the name Yahwe

Captain Conder proceeds to quote gems or inscriptions with the names "Joshua, Hoshea, Yaazer, and Yual (Joel)" The first of these is simply  $\text{יְשָׁע}$ , and may be read *Yeshā'*, "deliverance" Hoshea also means "deliverance," and Yaazer "he gives help," as Captain Conder might have seen by consulting a Hebrew dictionary The Ya is the ordinary prefix of the imperfect, as in Jacob (Yaacob) . No one who knew the elements of Hebrew grammar could suppose that these words contain the name Yahwe "Yual," as he chooses to write it, is more obscure, but the *Corpus* does not admit that it has anything to do with Jehovah Prof W Wright, the leading English authority on the subject, is of the same opinion, and it is to be noted that the form occurs as the first element of a compound  $\text{יְאֻל־עַל}$  ("Joel hath wrought"), which leaves little doubt that it was the name of a god, presumably identical with the Arabic Wāl (see my "Kinship in Early Arabia," p 301) Last of all, Captain Conder has the courage to cite the name of Yehawmelek from the inscription of Byblus, though every one knows that Yehaw with the letter *heth* (not *he*) cannot have the remotest connection with Yahwè The name means "he to whom the king gives life" (see the *Corpus*, No 1, p 5)

I must ask the reader to remember that Wellhausen is charged with ignorance because he has not made this series of blunders, because he knows the Hebrew alphabet and does not confound *heth* with *he*, because he knows Hebrew grammar, and does not confuse a grammatical prefix with the divine name

After these examples, the reader will hardly be surprised that, at p 387, Captain Conder denies that Obed Edom the Gittite (2 Sam vi 10) was a Philistine, apparently not knowing that Gittite means "man of Gath," or that, at p 381, he speaks of the well-known Mesopotamian town of Haran or Carrhæ as "a certain Haran in Syria," and evidently supposes that Wellhausen places it to the west of the Syrian desert, though in the "Prolegomena," p 330, the words used are "das Mesopotamische Haran (Carrhæ)"

To the critical questions which are the ostensible subject of the article Captain Conder contributes nothing, because, as we have seen, he does not understand the contention and arguments of the critics For the most part he confines himself to raising objections to isolated statements which he has seen, or imagines himself to have seen, in such of Wellhausen's writings as are published in English But he makes also a few broad assertions of the same flimsy and unintelligent description as the specific statements of which I have given examples Thus, he tells us that "a critical axiom, generally accepted, yet open to grave objection, is that which regards repetitions in a narrative as evidence of plurality of authorship" (p 386), and cites the Assyrian

tablets to show that repetition is but part of the Oriental style. No one, however, supposes that all kinds of repetition prove plurality of authorship, the case of the critics is that the Pentateuch (for example) often tells the same story twice with differences that cannot be due to "Oriental style." If Captain Conder will turn to Dean Perowne's article on the Pentateuch in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," and read the analysis of the story of the flood given there, he will see that the argument from repetition, when properly stated and limited, is not to be disposed of by a hasty generalization from "the narratives of Assyrian tablets." For my own part, I confess that I do not see what the Assyrian tablets have to do with the matter. If such tablets are meant as contain the Izdubar legend, &c, we know nothing about their authorship, and can translate them only imperfectly and with much guesswork, and the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, which are better understood, contain nothing that has the remotest similarity to the repetitions in the Pentateuch. Let the Old Testament be compared rather with the written chronicles of other Eastern nations—say, with those of the Arabs. Captain Conder cannot refuse this comparison, for one of his main points is an exaggerated assertion of the practical identity of the ways of the ancient and modern East, but he will not find it to serve his argument. On the contrary, it will be seen that the editorial process of building up a composite narrative from the words of heterogeneous sources, which Biblical critics detect in the Old Testament, is characteristic of all the historical narratives of Semitic peoples. Captain Conder himself refers to the Samaritan chronicles, he tells us that we know how they were composed, that each High Priest in succession recorded the most striking events of his tenure of power, and he supposes that Hebrew history was written in the same way. Captain Conder can never have read the Samaritan chronicles, or he would not appeal to these tissues of absurd fable as proofs of the methodical and trustworthy character of Eastern historiography. If the Old Testament is to stand or fall with them it is in an evil case. But, in point of fact, no one doubts that some of the materials of the Old Testament history are drawn from the records of the Temple, or other narratives of contemporary events. The question is whether the whole Old Testament history is merely a transcript of such records. There are a thousand and one proofs that it is not, and Captain Conder does not even touch one of them. He tells us only with a broad and magnificent reference to "the great collections of the Egyptian rituals, the Zendavesta, the Vedas, the Talmud, the Targums," and the aforesaid Samaritan chronicles, that "to edit, and in arbitrary fashion to curtail, summarize, or mutilate older documents, was not only never the practice of the ancient scribes, but would have appeared in their eyes to be little short of sacrilege." How does Captain Conder know that the Zendavesta and the Vedas

have never been tampered with by editors, never mutilated and interpolated by accident or by design? The students of these documents will welcome any evidence he possesses on the subject, which will certainly be new to them. Of the earliest vicissitudes of some of the writings he cites we know nothing, while of some of them—*eg*, the Targums—we do know for certain that they have undergone many editorial changes of a drastic kind. And, as regards the Old Testament, how does his theory consist with the existence of the Book of Chronicles side by side with the Book of Kings, from which it embodies large extracts, with the variations between the Hebrew Book of Ezra and the Greek Ezra (the Esdras of the Apocrypha), or with the existence of apocryphal additions in the Esther and Daniel of the Septuagint? The author of Chronicles does not deal less freely with the extant Books of Kings than critics suppose the editors of older books to have dealt with sources no longer extant. And none of the interpolations which critics detect in the Hebrew Old Testament are so bold as those which orthodox Hellenistic Judaism admitted into its Bible. Captain Conder may, if he pleases, shut his eyes to all historical evidence, and fall back on the old position of unquestioning faith in ecclesiastical tradition, but truth and honesty forbid him to ignore the historical evidence that lies next to his hand and take  
 \* refuge in an appeal to obscure and remote analogies, derived from literatures of whose history the best scholars know very little, and of which he himself cannot read a line in the original. It is not an honourable occupation to throw dust in the eyes of the English reader. Captain Conder is incapable of dishonesty, but in the public mischief which it does such recklessness as I have brought home to him is hardly less evil than deliberate untruthfulness.

W. ROBERTSON SMITH

## FOR BETTER FOR WORSE

“**F**OR better for worse” How many young creatures repeat these words, unthinkingly, or thinking that the future will be all better and no worse—that marriage is a kind of earthly paradise, and those only are to be pitied who stand without the gate. They are, for a single life is necessarily an imperfect life. But a perfect married life, though there is such a thing, is the rarest thing under the sun. Of the thousands who have known the rapture of love, even of satisfied love, there are only tens, nay units, who live to know what the poet calls “comfort of marriage”—the unity of interests, the entire reliance, the constant, faithful companionship, the peaceful habitual affection which replaces passion, which month after month, year after year, sits every day at the same board, and lays the tired head every night on the same pillow, quite certain and quite content in that certainty, that nothing but the inevitable “till death us do part” will ever involve separation.

It is only those who understand and believe in such marriage who have a right to speak on a much-discussed subject, which has been viewed in many phases, but all chiefly from the worldly side—the man’s side. I wish to say a word or two on the moral and spiritual side—and the woman’s.

There is a difference between the two. A man makes his own marriage. It is he who is supposed to take the initiative to woo, ask, and win. If the union turns out a mistake, he has, ordinarily, no one to blame but himself. But there are myriads of women who, by persuasion, of friends, or of the lover himself, by the self-delusion and self-sacrifice which “the weaker sex” is constantly prone to, from poverty, pride, or disappointed affections, and other less pitiable and more ignoble motives—marry in haste and repent at leisure.

wake up from a temporary hallucination to find themselves in the position of a creature fallen into a bog, where the more it struggles the deeper it sinks. All the deeper that its struggles are, for the most part, dumb.

Not always. It is a curious fact that while a man who has made an unfortunate marriage is generally totally silent on the subject, women, if they utter no open outcry, often secretly complain, and those most who have the least to complain of. For such there need not be felt the slightest pity. If their life is destroyed, they destroy it themselves, not merely by the first foolish step—which many take, for the average of marriages are not ideal, but result only in a convenient mutual toleration—but because they will not make the best of things, will not take in the vital truth that happiness—or perhaps I should say blessedness—consists, not in obtaining what we crave for, but in turning to noble uses that which we have.

Many a wife goes about making “a poor mouth” about mere trifles. Her husband has not given her the position she expected, he likes town and she the country, or *vice versa*, he has a good heart but a bad temper, his relatives are unpleasant, or he takes a dislike, just or unjust, to hers, all these minor miseries silly women dwell upon, instead of accepting them like the husband, “for better for worse,” and striving by all conceivable means, by patience, by self-denial, by courage when necessary, and by silent endurance always, to change worse into better. This can be done, and often is done. If we, who have lived long enough to look on life with larger eyes than the young, are often saddened to see how many of the most passionate love-marriages melt away into a middle age of misery, we have also seen others which, beginning in error, and possessing all the elements of future wretchedness, have yet by wise conduct—generally on the wife’s side—ended in something not far short of happiness.

Every woman who takes upon herself the “holy estate”—and it is indeed holy—“of matrimony” has to learn soon or late—happy if she learn it soon!—that no two human beings can be tied together for life without finding endless difficulties, not only in the world outside, but in each other. These have to be solved, and generally by the wife. She must have a strong heart, a sweet temper, an unlimited patience, and above all, a power to see the right, and do it, not merely for the love of man—“as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord” (a state of things belonging to a polygamous and not a Christian community)—but for the love of God, which alone can tide an ill-assorted couple over the rocks and quicksands of early married life into a calm sea and a prosperous voyage.

I state this, that if what I am about to say be somewhat iconoclastic, it should be clearly seen that I wage war against false idols.

and not against true gods. And I write, not for those whose matrimonial lot is the average one, neither very happy nor very miserable, who having made their bed must lie upon it and make the best of it; but for those whose lot has turned out—as the man said of his bad wife—"all worse and no better," who are tied and bound, not always by their own fault, with a ghastly chain, the iron of which enters their very soul, and from which they have no hope of escape but death.

The question I wish to raise is, how long a woman should endure that chain; how far she may righteously put up with the husband, whom, under whatever circumstances, she has taken "for better for worse," and found hopelessly "worse." The opposite question, as to how a good man should deal with a bad wife, I do not enter into. Men are the law-makers, and can be trusted to take care of themselves.

In ancient times, most nations were polygamous, including the Jews, upon whose marriage laws ours—rightly or wrongly—are founded; witness St. Paul's advice on the text of Sarah—"whose daughters ye are"—in our marriage homily. Women were held to be the mere goods and chattels, first of father, then of husband, and bought and sold accordingly. Early Christianity, while raising the woman to the level of being "one flesh" with the man, absorbed her in him, as "bone of *his* bone and flesh of *his* flesh," giving her few or no rights of her own. Only of late years has she been recognized as a separate entity, with feelings, duties, rights; man's partner and helpmeet, but in no sense his slave, as, though outwardly treated as a goddess, she really was, throughout all the Middle Ages of Europe. Now, public opinion has changed. The much-lauded "Patient Griseldis" would be scouted in most modern society as a woman whose conduct showed a cowardice absolutely criminal; and in many honest minds even Tennyson's lovely story of "Enid and Geraint" leaves an ugly doubt behind whether the man was not a brute and the woman a simpleton.

Yet still, despite advancing civilisation, there is in some people a lurking feeling for the brute and against the simpleton; a clinging to the letter of the law—"Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder"—forgetting that many marriages seem made not by God, but, if I may say it, by the devil. Even the marriage service itself warns us that "as many as are coupled together otherwise than as God's word doth allow, are not joined together by Him, neither is their matrimony lawful."

\* There are many marriages which, "if the secrets of all hearts were disclosed"—I quote still from the marriage service—are unlawful from the first; and many more that become unlawful afterwards, to continue in which is far more sinful than to break them. Besides infidelity, the one cause for which law, though, I shame to say, not always social opinion or custom, justifies a woman in quitting her husband,

there are other wrongs, equally cruel, and equally fatal in result, which Society allows her to endure to the bitter end. A man may be a confirmed drunkard, a spendthrift, a liar—a scoundrel so complete that no honest gentleman would admit him within his doors, and yet the wretched woman his wife is expected to “do her duty”—to “stick to him through thick and thin”—so goes the phrase. She must shut her eyes to all his sins, and make believe to herself and the world at large that none exist, continue to “obey him and serve him” according to her marriage vow, be the mistress of his house, and—most terrible fate of all!—the mother of his children. And the world, even the virtuous half of it, will uphold and praise her, affirming that she only does what every loyal wife ought to do—and is quite right to do it.

I say she is wrong—culpably wrong, that her noble endurance, falsely so-called, is mere cowardice, and her conjugal submission a degradation as sinful as that of many a woman who omits the marriage ceremony altogether. A woman, married to a thoroughly bad man, and making believe that he is a good man, must be either a hypocrite, lost to all sense of right and wrong—or a fool. Her patience is an error, her self-sacrifice a crime, for neither ends with herself alone.

And here I draw the line—which law as well as public opinion ought to draw—where endurance is bound to end. A childless wife may, if she chooses, immolate herself, like a Hindoo widow, in the moral suttee which many good people still hold to as a part of the Christian religion, but when she is a mother, the case is totally different. There is one “cause for which marriage was ordained”—I still quote from the Prayer-book—which has been overlooked by our legislators—namely, the children.

The divorce laws in all countries make the grounds of separation personal between husband and wife, and the question of duty is held to lie solely with these two. Whereas, for both, and beyond both, is a higher duty still—that which they, and Society, owe to the innocent creatures whom marriage has brought into the world, who did not ask to be born, and yet must support existence, tainted by the sins and darkened by the sufferings of parents who primarily never thought of them at all.

I may startle many by affirming that the first duty of every woman who deliberately chooses the lot of Mother Eve is—her children. Nature herself upholds this law. In most brute beasts, from the time the double life begins the mother is wholly a mother—and solely, the father having nothing at all to do with his offspring. Higher forms of existence recognise the double parental tie, but still the claim of child upon mother and mother upon child, begun through physical sufferings and joys of which men are equally ignorant, and continued through years of patient care of which they are in general



quite incapable, constitutes a bond like nothing else in the world. I do not hesitate to say that it is a closer bond and a stronger duty than that towards any husband; unless it be a husband who fulfils all *his* duties, and is as truly a father as the mother is, or ought to be—a mother. And when these two duties clash, as duties often do in this world, I believe the mother ought to choose first the duty to her children. A man can take care of himself—can ruin or save himself; for, however she may imagine it, very seldom can any woman save a thoroughly bad husband. Nor, though she married him, is she responsible for him, beyond a certain extent; she is responsible for her children from the hour of birth—nay, for the very fact of their existence.

It would be entering on too wide a field of discussion to open the question whether those who are stricken with any hereditary taint should marry, or be allowed to marry, at all. And this paper is meant to deal with a woman's position and duty after marriage; when time has proved without doubt that the marriage was not "made in Heaven," but—in the other place. Is she justified in destroying not only herself but her helpless children, in that hell upon earth which a bad man can create around him by his unrestrained vices?

That word *vices*, answers the question. No mere fault or misfortune, such as incompatibility of temper, hopeless sickness, or worldly ruin, does in the least abrogate that solemn covenant "for better for worse"—but vice does. Confirmed drunkenness, evil courses of any kind, ingrained lack of principle, cruel tyranny, and that violent temper that is akin to madness and equally dangerous—whatever compels a woman to teach her children that to serve God they must *not* imitate their father, warrants her in quitting him, and taking them from him. Whenever things come to that pass that the vileness of the father will destroy the children, physically and morally, then the mother's course is clear. She must save them, nor suffer their father's sins to blight their whole future existence.

For—let me dare to utter the plain truth—they ought never to have existed at all. To make a drunkard, a debauchee, a scoundrel of any sort, the father of her children, is, to a righteous woman, a sin almost equivalent to child-murder. And she slays not only their bodies but their souls; entailing on them an hereditary curse, which may not be rooted out for generations.

Therefore, for any good woman married to a scoundrel there is but one duty—separation. Not divorce. This, by permitting remarriage, which the victim would seldom or never desire, would allow the victimiser to carry into a new home the misery he has inflicted on the former one. But legal separation—*a mensâ et thoro*—giving to the wife exactly the position of a widow, and to the children the safety of being fatherless, for a bad father is worse than none—ought to be easily and cheaply attainable by all classes.

The question of income and maintenance would have its difficulties, but, as a general rule, a wife who thus voluntarily leaves her husband should only take away with her what is absolutely her own. She wishes to be freed from himself, she does not want his money. Also, though this may sometimes fall hard, I think the support of the children should devolve upon her. This removes the possibility of mercenary or worldly or vicious motives for the separation, and places it entirely on moral grounds. Money, wrung legally out of a bad father, would, in most women's eyes, only bring a curse with it, and there are few mothers who, if put to the test, would not prefer the hardest poverty for themselves and their children, rather than the misery of a home in which the name of husband and father is a mere sham, where—sharpest pang of all—they have to sit still and see their little ones slowly contaminated by one to whom the hapless innocents owe nothing but the mere accident of existence.

By the outside world, this condition of quasi-widowhood, if sad and difficult, should be held in no way dishonourable. To it would attach none of the degradations and foul revelations of divorce, indeed, the fact that separation was easy would make divorce all the more difficult, as should be. Easy divorce loosens all the rivets which hold society together, and, while giving no consolation to innocence, offers a premium to guilt. The great safeguard of marriage is its inevitableness, the consciousness that no power on earth can ever place either party in the same position as before their union. Otherwise, only too many couples would separate in the first year of their union. But the mistake, known to be irrevocable, is borne, and sometimes partially remedied. When irremediable, the utmost that both parties can expect and most would desire, is to get free from one another—as free as they can, and save their children from the consequences of their fatal error.

This, and no more than this, I think they have a right to. Neither law, nor public opinion, can place, or ought to place, unhappy married couples in the same position as if they had never committed that false step. One can deeply pity a woman whose husband is transported for forgery, or a man whose wife is shut up permanently in a lunatic asylum, but, though these things involve and justify a life-long separation, they would form a ghastly and dangerous argument for divorce. Nay, speaking as a woman, and for women, I doubt if divorce should ever be permissible. Few of us would either care to become the wife of a divorced man, or feel it right to marry at all while the husband, the father of our children, was still alive.

But the spectacle of a woman who refuses to condone vice and perpetuate evil, who has strength to cut off a right hand and put out a right eye, rather than sin against God and ruin the young souls He has entrusted to her, would be deterrent rather than dangerous. Many a man, who, knowing his wife dare not or cannot leave him, is

\* selfish, tyrannical, brutal, breaking every law of God and man except those for which he would be openly punished, if he thought she *would* leave him, could get rid of him by means short of divorce, and without the odium to herself and the freedom to him that result from divorce—would possibly amend his ways. If not, he would richly deserve the justice without mercy—for mercy to the sinful is often mercilessness to the innocent—which is Society's only safeguard against such men. They are not fit for domestic life, and, though in public life some of them brazen it out to the last, the best that Society can do for them is to save other women from them, help their wives to gather together the fragments of a wrecked existence, and teach their children to cover over with wise and duteous silence the very name of father.

There are fathers—and fathers. Those who deserve the name will not resent my distinguishing between them. And no good husband is harmed by laws which protect hapless women against bad husbands. On the other hand, there are women as unfit to be mothers as wives, and God help the man who has chosen such an one! But, as I have said, the choice is his own, he is—apparently, at least—the active, not the passive agent in his own hard fate. And he generally bears it in heroic silence. So should she. If, refusing to lower her womanhood by continuing to live with a bad man, she has courage to quit him, she deserves not merely pity but respect. But she deserves neither, if, while tamely submitting to her misery, she raises a feeble wailing or a monstrous howling against it. Such women encourage bad men, and injure good men by appealing to the noblest quality of the stronger sex—compassion.

It is to obviate this, to set up a standard by which good men can fairly judge good women, that I write the present paper, starting with the principle that in most cases of unhappy marriage the first thing to be considered is *the good of the children*. Secondly, that while divorce, being undesirable in itself, and dangerous to the community at large, should be made as difficult as possible, separation, restoring to both parties all rights which they had before marriage, except that of re-marrying, should be made easily and honourably obtainable.

What men should do in a similar case, I leave to themselves to say. I speak only for women, hoping my words may strengthen some of them to break through that cruel bondage of body and soul, ending in untold misery—nay, worse than misery, guilt—caused by the false interpretation that so many well-meaning, narrow-minded people put upon the words, most sacred words to all who really understand them!—"for better for worse."

THE AUTHOR OF "JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN"

## THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

**D**OES poverty entitle a poor man to live in another man's house ?  
Such is the question which is considered a conclusive reply to those who exclaim against the cruelty of the Glenbeigh evictions

It is no answer at all, for it assumes that which is the whole point in dispute—viz, that the house really is the property of the other man. Of course if the landlord built it, or bought it from the man who built it, the house is as much his own property as the money it cost would have been, if it had remained in the bank, and no man, rich or poor, has a right to live in it without paying a fair rent. But how if the tenant built the house, inclosed and drained the land, and made all the improvements which converted the five or six acre patch of bog or moorland, not originally worth sixpence an acre, into something worth £3 or £4 a year. The landlord's contribution to the value of the holding is sixpence, that of the tenant £2 19s 6d, is it so clear that the landlord has a right to say, "If you don't pay £3 a year you shall be turned out on the roadside in a winter day, with your wife and children, and a crowbar brigade shall pull down the walls of the cottage you built and set fire to the thatch?" \*

The law says "Yes," conscience and common sense say "No." Which shall prevail? That is the dilemma of the Irish land question

To understand this question, it is absolutely necessary to begin at the beginning, and start with a clear conviction whether it is or is not right that rent should be levied on a tenant for his own improvements. Until quite recently English law emphatically affirmed that it was right. The soil, and whatever stood on the soil, was the landlord's absolutely, subject only to any covenants he might have made in parting with the temporary use of it, and if the tenant had

not protected himself by proper legal covenants, so much the worse for him, it was a case of *caveat emptor*. But English law, which for centuries has been made by Parliaments of landlords and lawyers in league with them, has pronounced many things to be right which the more sensitive conscience and improved intelligence of modern times has pronounced to be wrong, for instance, property in negro slaves. And the confiscation of tenants' improvements has come to be considered morally wrong, and its injustice has been recognized by the general current of modern legislation, especially by the Irish Land Act.

The other fundamental point upon which it is necessary to have a clear understanding is that of contract. It is said, and said truly, that the chief function of a civilized State is to enforce the observance of contracts. But here also the whole question is begged in assuming that the relation of a poor cottier to his landlord is that of contract. Even the English law, harsh as it is in advocating the extreme rights of the stronger party, makes freedom on both sides the condition of valid contract. In the case of infants, married women, and persons under strong spiritual or other compulsion, the law does not hesitate to set aside contracts. It says, in effect, that unless the parties meet on fairly equal terms, and make their contract voluntarily and with their eyes open, it is no contract.

Now, to apply these principles to the Irish question. The facts are as follows.—The population of Ireland is, in round numbers, 5,000,000, of whom about 2,500,000 consist of cottiers or small farmers and their families, living on patches of land too small to support them by agriculture. Of these more than 2,000,000 represent cottiers paying less than £10 a year of rent, and therefore, practically, not farmers but labourers with allotments.

Of the whole of this class of small tenants, comprising half the population of Ireland, two things may be affirmed with absolute certainty.

First, that the rents are, in an immense majority of cases, too high.

Secondly, that these rents are, almost without an exception, levied on the tenant's improvements.

I can speak on these points with great confidence, for it happens that I own a small property in my native county, Orkney, where the conditions of small holdings are very similar to those which prevail in the poorer districts of Ireland, and having paid repeated visits to those districts during the last five or six years, I was led to make a great many inquiries as to the scale of rents and conditions of tenure, as compared with those of my own county. I took my own rents as a standard of comparison, for they represent a fair average of those on larger estates, and I do not know that I am either a better or a worse landlord than Colonel Balfour, Lord Zetland, and other large landed proprietors in Orkney.

The result was this from a return which I had made four years ago, when Mr Gladstone's Land Act was before the House of Commons, I had thirteen tenants paying rents ranging from £2 to £60 a year. The average rent was 15s 2d per acre, of which 4s 6d was interest on outlay for farm-buildings made by the landlord at the tenant's request. This left 10s 8d, of which quite half represented interest on further outlay by the landlord in making roads, main-drains, and allowing the tenants for a long series of years to pay part of their rent by draining. The rent proper for the land without improvements was certainly not more than 6s or 7s per acre, equivalent to 9s or 10s for the Irish acre. And this for land very far superior to the average land of small Irish holdings. The best test of the quality of land adapted for grazing and green crops is the sort of cattle it will rear. My tenants used to get £12 to £11, and in some cases as high as £16 to £18 a head for two-year-olds until the great fall of prices which began three years ago. They now get from 25 to 30 per cent less.

I believe you might search the West of Ireland through, from Donegal to Kerry, and hardly find a single small holding where the rent is as low as this for land of the same quality, and you would find thousands where it is far higher for vastly worse land.

I had not been long in Ireland before I arrived at the conclusion that, apart from all question of tenants' improvements, Griffiths' valuation was a high rent for small holdings, and when I heard conflicting opinions as to the goodness or badness of particular landlords, I solved them for myself by asking whether their rents were above Griffiths'. I speak of the small holdings only, for I have had no practical acquaintance with the state of things among the larger farmers in the more fertile counties of Ireland. I can only give my impression that the scale of rents of these was generally too high, and only paid by the tenants putting up with worse lodging, food and clothing, and living generally at a lower and more penurious standard than that of farmers of a similar class in England or Scotland.

But as to the small holdings, I have no doubt whatever that the rents were excessive. In whole districts they averaged 30 or 40 per cent above Griffiths' valuation, and on many estates they had been screwed up to double. This is no new opinion, for four years ago, when the Land Act was being brought into operation and rents were reduced 20 per cent, there was a great outcry against the Sub-Commissioners for making excessive reductions. I had a long conversation on the subject with the late Mr Forster at the Secretary's Lodge in Phoenix Park, in which I told him that I felt certain that instead of reducing too much, they were reducing too little, and that, unless the next two or three years were years of agricultural

prosperity, the Land Act would infallibly break down because the judicial rents could not be paid

The result has more than verified this prediction. The price of cattle, butter, oats, and (all the produce on which an Irish tenant depends, has fallen fully 30 per cent. English and Scotch landlords, with good farms and substantial tenants, have had to choose between giving abatements of 20 to 40 per cent., or having their land thrown on their hands, and have often found it impossible to get tenants on any terms.

Guy's Hospital, with an income of £100,000 a year, derived mainly from fine farms in Lincolnshire, has had to appeal to the public for subscriptions because its income was reduced to £50,000. How is it possible that poor Irish tenants on miserable patches of reclaimed bog or mountain can pay their old rents, or judicial rents fixed two or three years ago on the basis of 15 or 20 per cent. above Griffiths' valuation? And this irrespective of the question that, at the very least, two-thirds of the rent is levied on the tenant's own improvements. It may be difficult to find small holdings in the West of Ireland rented as low as those I have referred to in Orkney, but it would be more difficult to find one in which anything like the same proportion of half the rent represented interest on actual expenditure by the landlord in useful improvements.

In point of fact, the rents of these small holdings have hardly ever been paid from the surplus produce of the soil. They have been paid mainly from three sources.

First, harvest labour in England and Scotland.

Secondly, remittances from relatives in service, or employed as labourers elsewhere in Great Britain.

Thirdly, remittances from relations who had emigrated to America and Australia.

The latter source has paid a large part of the rents of districts like Glenbeigh for many years past. Having assisted Mr Vere Foster in his scheme for female emigration, I ascertained from him the following facts. He has aided in all 18,000 single young women from the poorer parts of Ireland to emigrate to America. Those 18,000 young women have remitted home to their parents in Ireland no less a sum than £200,000. Certainly not less than half of this has gone in paying rents, which otherwise must have remained unpaid. Is it right that landlords like Lord Clanricarde and Lord Dillon should be drawing their £18,000 to £20,000 a year from the savings of poor servant-girls in America? Again, law says "Yes," conscience and common sense say "No."

There remains the question of contract. If tenants are fools enough to agree to pay impossible rents, why should they not suffer

for their folly? Better this than that the sanctity of all contracts should be impaired. I wish I could transport the most rigid economist who insists on the fulfilment of contracts to one of the outlying districts of Kerry or Connemara, and put him for one week in the place of one of the poor cottiers. He would find that the contract amounted to this. Poor Pat, or his father before him, has built a poor hut and reclaimed a few acres of mountain waste, on which he grows a few plots of potatoes, and keeps a cow and a pig. He has been paying, say, £3 or £4 a year rent. Some fine day the landlord, who is pressed for money writes to his agent, and the agent, who is paid by a percentage on rents, calls on Pat and says, "You have a snug little farm here, it is well worth £5 a year, and £5 you must pay or turn out." What is Pat to do? If he says "No," he has nothing to fall back upon. There is no work to be had even if he were willing to work for 6d a day. Emigration costs £5 a head, and is practically impossible for a man with a family. Eviction means practically a sentence of death. If he says "Yes," he may have a good potato crop, sell his cow well, or trust to the chapter of accidents to pay the increased rent. If the worst comes to the worst the rent falls into arrear, he is no worse off, and has at any rate kept a roof over the heads of his wife and children for another year. I fancy our political economist would say "Yes," and would have his eyes considerably opened as to what constituted a free contract.

We are now in a position to understand better what is really meant by the "Plan of Campaign." To read the hysterical utterances of London editors, sitting at home at ease, one would suppose that it is a universal conspiracy to aid and abet dishonest tenants in refusing to pay any rents beyond those they choose to fix. In one leading article of one leading newspaper I counted the other day in thirty-six lines thirty-five adjectives, one more portentous than the other, denouncing the criminal illegality and disgraceful dishonesty of such a proceeding. But strong adjectives generally mean weak arguments, and in this case the difference between the imaginary and the real "Plan of Campaign" is really ludicrous. So far from being a conspiracy against rents generally, it has been confined to some thirty or forty cases out of 9000 Irish landlords. So far from being an attempt by tenants to fix their rents at an arbitrary figure, it has been confined to asking for reductions rather below than above those given by neighbouring landlords, and by all good landlords not only in Ireland, but in England and Scotland. On the Dillon Estate the Plan of Campaign led to a compromise, by which the landlord got his rents less 20 per cent, while certainly 25 or 30 per cent might have been reasonably asked. I doubt if a single instance can be adduced where the plan has been adopted by solvent tenants, where the landlord was willing to give a reduction of 25 per cent, a reduction which



is certainly moderate, having regard to the fall in prices and the reductions given on the Devonshire, Fitzwilliam, and other large Irish estates. It has been, in fact, exclusively directed against the few exceptional cases of bad landlords, who were either unwilling or unable to do as other landlords are doing—that is, to meet their tenants half-way, in a time of severe depression, by reasonable reductions. As such it may be illegal, but certainly not immoral, as is conclusively proved by the fact that all reasonable and right-minded Englishmen who have come in actual contact with the real state of things, have condemned the conduct of those bad landlords, and have worked in the same direction as Mr Dillon and Mr O'Brien. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, to his great honour, used the influence of his position to prevent evictions. Sir Redvers Buller did the same. In fact, the strongest proof of the impossibility of maintaining extreme landlord rights in Ireland by coercion, is furnished by the fact that the men who are sent from England to uphold the law shrink from the task, and when brought face to face with the facts, become something very like Land Leaguers and Home Rulers. It has been so with Lords Spencer, Carnarvon, and Aberdeen, with Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir Redvers Buller, than whom it would be difficult to find better specimens of honourable, intelligent, and fair-minded English gentlemen. Of the English and Scotch members of the House of Commons who have visited Ireland during the last two years, how many have come back Coercionists? I do not know of one, and I know many who have come back more than half converts to Land Reform and Home Rule, who, if they were on a jury to-morrow to try Mr Dillon and Mr O'Brien, would hesitate to convict them, and whose verdict would probably be, "Legally wrong, morally right." The fact is that the Plan of Campaign is closely analogous to what in the days of slavery in the United States, was known as the "Underground Railway." Ardent abolitionists like Mr Garrison conspired to defeat the law by organizing a system by which runaway slaves from the South were smuggled across the Northern States and landed as freemen in Canada. This was denounced by the advocates of slavery in almost the same terms as are now used about the Plan of Campaign. It was called an infamous conspiracy to defy the laws and rob honest men of their property, and those who sympathized with it ran great risk for many years of being tarred and feathered in the South or boycotted in the North. But the verdict of history is not so clear that the Legrees were right and the Garrisons wrong, and the Garrison policy has in the long run prevailed over that of the Southern chivalry. Of course, all these combinations against existing laws are dangerous weapons and liable to abuse, whether they take the form of Land Leagues, boycotting, or resistance to Church rates, and the Plan of Campaign would be specially objectionable if it were ex-

tended to all rents, and not strictly confined to strikes against exceptionally bad landlords who refuse obviously reasonable reductions. Nevertheless, the fact remains that where the moral sense of communities is opposed to laws which work injustice, the laws are doomed.

So, also, the system of land tenure in Ireland is doomed. Conservative Ministers like Mr Matthews, Liberal Unionists like Mr Chamberlain, four-fifths of the Liberal and Radical parties in England, Scotland and Wales, and five-sixths of the representatives of Ireland, unite in condemning it, and a continuance of the present system, enforced by rigid coercion, has hardly an advocate outside of Orange Societies and London Clubs.

Unfortunately, the solution is difficult, and the agony of Irish landlordism is protracted. There are three parties who have to be consulted in any settlement—the Irish tenants, the Irish landlords, and the British taxpayers. The tenants say, and in many cases truly, “We have already paid for our holdings many times over, by unjust rents levied in past years on our own improvements. We are not going to stereotype this injustice, and run the risk of falling markets by buying out our landlords at anything like fifteen or twenty years’ purchase of present nominal rents.” The landlords say, “We bought our estates on the faith of Acts of Parliament, or inherited them under laws which were supposed for centuries to be sacred, and are we to be sacrificed without compensation, because you have changed your policy, and rival parties bid for the Irish vote?” The British taxpayer says, “What is that to me? Land has had the best of it for a great many years, and now it is getting the worst of it, am I to be taxed to compensate every one who, by bad luck or bad management, finds himself landed with a bad investment?”

There is force in all these contentions, and, as generally happens in practical politics, the only possible solution is in the way of compromise. The tenants must pay more than the strict prime value, the landlords must take less than the paper price based on old figures which can never be realized, and John Bull must be prepared to run some moderate and measurable risk in the way of aiding by his credit the transformation of dual into single ownership in Ireland.

Mr Gladstone’s land scheme failed because it was too ambitious. He proposed to give the Irish landlords too much, and to throw the whole burden of what would have required £150,000,000 on the British taxpayer in the first instance, subject to getting it back with the somewhat doubtful co-operation of an Irish Parliament. The taxpayer, who is in the last resort master of the situation, was alarmed, and threw out the Bills and the Government, the Irish

landlords gaining a party triumph, but losing their last chance of a liberal compensation

Any scheme which has a chance of success must, I think, follow the more modest lines laid down by Mr Giffen and myself, of confining the pledge of British credit to an amount for which the British Government would hold the security in its own hands, by withholding the grants now made to Ireland for education, police, and other local objects. These grants now amount to £3,794,000 a year, the principal being—for Law and Justice, including Police, £2,239,000, Education, £767,000, Public Works, £200,000. There is no prospect of their being diminished while things remain as they are: on the contrary, they are more likely to be increased. There is a fund, therefore, of at least £3,000,000 a year to be saved, equal to the interest on £100,000,000 Consols, if landlords are bought out to this extent, and a rental of this amount paid as feu-duty by the enfranchised tenants and made over to an Irish Parliament in lieu of the present grants. The British taxpayer would not risk sixpence, for he has in his own hand a saving equal to the interest he has to pay. Ireland would gain financially, for there is no doubt that many of the local objects could be carried out more economically by a local government. Police, for instance, need not cost half as much if agrarian difficulties were removed. The Irish Constabulary is practically an army corps, kept up to suppress political agitation and enforce evictions. There is less ordinary crime in Ireland than in England, and a small civilian police would be ample to suppress it, while the army would remain as an irresistible reserve-force to suppress any formidable riots. But the financial gain would be the least part of it, the political and social advantages would be enormous. Half the population of Ireland would be converted into landed proprietors, subject to the payment of a fixed feu-duty of about half the old rents. This feu-duty would be a national fund, administered by a national Parliament for national objects. Such a Parliament would enforce its collection, for it would supply the only fund for these objects. Public opinion would no longer go with those who failed to pay their reduced rents, and by their failure throw an extra burden on their neighbours. It would be enlisted in favour of free sale, and against the subdivision of holdings, which tended to pauperize Ireland by increasing local destitution. It would no longer be opposed to emigration, and would favour all rational attempts to relieve the congested districts. Above all, it would exchange Irish local knowledge for English ignorance in dealing with the Irish land and other Irish local questions. English legislation has failed lamentably in dealing with Ireland, not so much from ill-will as from ignorance. Years ago, O'Connell, Sharman Crawford, Butt, told us what we now all recog-

nize to be truths, and bitterly regret not having adopted Parnell and Healy's criticisms on Gladstone's Land Act have been verified by the event, but we would not listen to them. And now Dillon and O'Brien are telling us other truths in an irregular and disagreeable fashion, which make our London editors stop their ears and shriek with passion. It is not the first time they have done so, but passion is no match for reason in the evolution of human societies. Catholic Emancipation was passed, tithes abolished, the Protestant Church disestablished, the Irish franchise extended, and so surely will the system of Irish land tenure, which is the real root of bitterness and obstacle to the reconciliation of the two countries, disappear before the growing conviction that it is unjust to evict tenants because they do not pay rack-rents on their own improvements.

S. LAING

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN GERMANY

SINCE I wrote last in July Germany has passed through an agitated period, beginning with the abdication of Prince Alexander and reaching its climax in the recent elections for the Reichstag. It is not necessary to relate now the history of that infamous plot of August 21, worthy of the times of the Borgias, suffice it to say that the cynical indifference with which the German government press regarded the fall of a chivalrous prince, who certainly has done honour to Germany, roused general indignation, and that the supposition that by this event the maintenance of peace had been secured, soon proved a signal mistake,\* it is more easy to pick a hole than to fill it up! True, the maintenance of peace for Germany is the only aim of Prince Bismarck's foreign policy, and to it he sacrifices everything. He cannot consequently have any predilection for a government like the Russian, which jeopardizes that boon by its subversive policy. As soon as he sees a way to a coalition before which Russia will yield without war, he will join it. When the independent papers reproached the Government with subservience to Russia, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* replied that the whole situation would be different if England had only looked for a partner to resist the Russian action in the Balkan peninsula, a declaration which was followed by a storm of indignation on the part of the Pan Slavist press against the false friend at Berlin. Somewhat later the same paper maintained that no necessity had compelled Prince Alexander to abdicate, and that if he had remained no one would have interfered against him. But as no such combination was to be found, and the Chancellor knew the intense hatred of the Czar against

\* The *North German Gazette* had the following paragraph "Every thinking German must have felt convinced that there was something dangerous for Germany in the person of the Prince of Bulgaria, inasmuch as he might offer a handle to English diplomacy, to compromise the relation between Russia and Germany by dynastic relations in a future, when German policy may be directed by less firm hands"—a broad hint at the matrimonial projects of an august lady.

† The plot of the 21st of August has become the starting point of the whole complication, which threatens Europe with a war such as she has not seen since the Napoleonic

Prince Alexander, whom the autocrat used to style "ce cochon de Bulgarie," as further our Emperor, with whom the Prince formerly stood in the highest favour, had completely turned from him since he joined the revolution of Philippopolis, the German Government gave free play to Russia, and assumed a position of supreme indifference to all that passed in the Balkan peninsula. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that Bulgaria is quite as much Hecuba to Prince Bismarck as he says, in itself it may be so, but it is not so for Austria, and the treaty of 1879, if it does not oblige Germany to assist Austria against every attack of a foreign power, yet guarantees her territorial *status quo*. His aim therefore must be to mediate between Russia and Austria, and to keep back both from extreme resolutions. To do this effectually he was obliged to appear in St. Petersburg as a friend, and that is the reason why in his great speeches in the Reichstag he emphasized the German friendship with Russia. In pursuance of this difficult task he has succeeded in tiding over many critical moments. So, also, when the waves of indignant Magyar patriotism rose high in the Hungarian delegation, and threatened to produce a crisis, Count Kalnoky, who, personally, has strong Russian leanings, was compelled to make his declaration that Austria would not suffer an occupation of Bulgaria, nor even that Russia should take in hand the government of that country by a commissioner. It was on this condition alone that Tisza consented to declare himself at one with Kalnoky. When even this did not satisfy the Magyars, and Count Andrassy prepared for a new and vigorous onslaught upon the policy of Russia, Prince Bismarck used all his personal influence at Vienna to prevent it, and the Count kept his speech in his pocket. On the other hand, he tried to calm the indignation which had been stirred at St. Petersburg by Kalnoky's declaration, coupled with his ironical remarks on General Kuibars' mission—that it was destined to remain an episode of no consequence, and would serve only to make Russia unpopular in Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians popular in Europe. When the Bulgarian delegates came to Berlin, Count Herbert Bismarck advised them to come to an understanding with Russia, and in the debates on the Army Bill the Chancellor gave the warmest expression to the German friendship for the Emperor Alexander.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding his consummate diplomatic skill, he has failed in the end. And this is but natural, for no reconciliation is possible between the ultimate designs of Russian policy in the Balkan peninsula and Austrian interests. If a partition of European Turkey between those two Powers were possible, it would have taken place long ago. Joseph II. once tried to arrive at it by making common cause with Catherine II., but the attempt was entirely unsuccessful, he died in despair over it, and his successor was obliged to make the humiliating peace of Sistow (1791). As an anonymous author in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,\* of February 15, in an article, "Les inquietudes du jour," observes, the preliminary condition of a partition is that the shares of the partitioning Powers can be well defined. Such was the case in the first partition of Poland, Frederick II. wanted the territory necessary to join Eastern Prussia with Brandenburg, Pomerania and Silesia. Maria Theresa took Galicia, Catherine II. the province adjoining Russia. But

\* Perhaps the Duc d'Aumale.

no such partition is possible in Turkey, because Russia wishes to be sole master in the peninsula. She must have Constantinople, and the Balkan States will then be under her exclusive protectorate, as the secret treaty of Cettinje, of July 25, 1885, expressly states. The great crime of the treaty of Berlin, in Russian eyes, was that it established permanent Austrian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, when the Chancellor had spoken of his endeavours to mediate between Austria and Russia, Katkoff, the most powerful man in the empire after the Czar, answered that there was no room for mediation, and that if Germany really wanted to remain on good terms with Russia, she had simply to signify at Vienna that Austria had nothing whatever to do with the Balkan peninsula, which was the legitimate and exclusive field for Russian influence, that is to say, that Austria should not only leave free play to Russia in Bulgaria, but should evacuate Bosnia. Between such aspirations and Austria's vital interests no accommodation is possible, and therefore Prince Bismarck's endeavours have ultimately broken down. Undoubtedly, he exercised a considerable influence over the Czar, since he succeeded in proving to him that the black designs on the Baltic provinces, ascribed to Germany by the Pan Slavist press, were utterly unfounded, and at the interview at Danzig in 1883, after a long conversation, the warmest expressions of friendship were exchanged between the Czar and the Chancellor. But the influence of the latter was most unpopular in Russia. Katkoff constantly tried to prove that in the three Emperors' league Russia had been the dupe, that Germany had used that league only to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of Russia in order to further those of Austria, and that the only trustworthy ally of Russia was France. Moreover, in the beginning of August, he directed in his *Moscow Gazette* a violent personal attack against Prince Bismarck, whom he designated as the most dangerous enemy of Russia. A more moderate expression of these sentiments of dissatisfaction was given recently by a Russian diplomatist in a conversation with a distinguished German personage. "When you made war upon Austria," he said, "we remained neutral, and did nothing to curtail your success, when the war with France broke out in 1870, we not only observed a benevolent neutrality, but covered your flank, by informing Austria that we would not allow her to intervene in favour of France, now, in the present crisis, you tell us that you are most friendly to us and wish us all possible success, but that you have a friend, Austria, whom we must not touch. Now, is this reciprocity? Did we in 1866 and 1870 speak of a friend whom *you* must not touch?"

The fact is, that in the long struggle for influence at St. Petersburg between the Chancellor and the Slavophil party, the former has finally been beaten. He has himself helped to bring about that result by the threatening attitude he assumed towards France. It is perfectly true that he never for a moment thought of attacking France. There is a powerful military party at Berlin, headed by Count Moltke, which maintains that, as war will be unavoidable between the two countries sooner or later, we had better have it soon, before the French have completed their armaments. But that party will never prevail against the firm resolution both of the Emperor and the Chancellor not to make war. The latter has, even in the Reichstag, stated that to force war upon France in order to have it under more favourable conditions, would be an immoral policy which he would never take up, and observed that he did not pretend to

know whether God would not take means to prevent such a horrible conflict. He further expressed his conviction that the present French Government would not attack Germany. Indeed, the new French ambassador at Berlin was received most cordially, and in delivering his credentials he spoke of the many common interests of the two countries, and said he was convinced they would find in these interests the proper ground for an understanding advantageous to both. He expressed his desire to develop these elements, the more so as he was deeply imbued with the ideas of peace, thrift, and stability which animated the French nation and dictated the policy of its Government. The Emperor answered in the warmest manner that the ambassador had given expression to his own thoughts, and that he should be happy to second M. Herbette's endeavours to maintain and develop friendly relations between the two countries. The ambassador and his family were constantly treated with the greatest distinction at Court, and even when the Government press waged war against France, M. Herbette exchanged amicable declarations with Count Herbert Bismarck. If, nevertheless, the Chancellor in his speech used threatening language against the French war party, if he said that the last war would be mere child's-play compared with a future one, that Germany, if she saw that she could not remain at peace with her neighbour, would apply to him the process of the "*saigner à blanc*," it was to intimidate the French and to prevent war. Besides, if he is bent upon maintaining peace, he will not suffer provocations. When in May last General Boulanger had the preposterous intention of manœuvring with two *mobilized* army corps on the Alsatian frontier, which, intentionally or not, might easily have been transgressed, Count Munster was instructed to demand that this should not take place, and M. de Freycinet yielded. Had the answer been different, war might have been unavoidable, for the orders for mobilization were ready to be posted with the dates filled up. In a lesser degree there have been during the last few weeks disquieting movements on the French frontier provinces. The troops were increased, and large barracks built. But all this has been greatly exaggerated by the Government press. The *Post* sounded the war-trumpet by an article "*On the edge of the knife*," asking for the resignation of General Boulanger. The *Cologne Gazette* denounced the French purchases of horses and pigs, and the smaller papers, following in the wake, kept up a constant fire of alarming news. All this noise was nothing but an electioneering manœuvre, and there was not for a moment any danger of war. But this show of danger had two consequences, which the Chancellor had probably not taken into full account. As for France, she maintained a calm attitude, and in the press simply tried to refute the German accusations. But the latter served to strengthen the weak Goblet Ministry, and it became impossible to dismiss General Boulanger because the *Post* demanded it. As for Russia, the threatening language against France served Katkoff to turn the scale in his favour, and eventually to overcome the Czar's disinclination to enter into a compact with the Republic. M. de Giers—finding himself in a dead-lock on the Bulgarian question when the delegates at Constantinople declined to entertain Zankoff's proposals, and when his master would not alter his position towards the Regents as usurpers, and yet did not dare to enforce his demands at the risk of a great war—yielded to the Slavophil influence, and General Martinow was



'sent to Paris After repeated conferences with M Flourens, there appeared in the Brussels *Nord* (Feb 21) a letter from St Petersburg, written at the Foreign Office, and sketching a new programme of Russian policy The gist of it was, that Russia should aim before all things at maintaining the peace of Europe, but if that should prove impossible, must see that the balance of power is not disturbed to her disadvantage The Bulgarian question is not to be solved off hand, and it has become less important than the situation in the West If unfortunately war should break out between France and Germany, Russia would not assume the same position as in 1870 She would probably not make common cause with France, but she could not afford to let her be crushed, and thus herself be left alone with the then all-powerful Germany The only resolution therefore which Russia could take would be to manœuvre in such a way as to prevent the conflict from assuming dimensions which would be tantamount to the destruction of France Therefore she must keep her hands free for the decisive moment, and must neither be fettered by an alliance with Germany, nor allow her forces to be consumed by a war with Austria Hungary and England

That is to say, if war between France and Germany break out, Russia will not march with France against Germany, but will concentrate such an army on the German frontier as would oblige us to divide our forces, and she will not permit that "saigner à blanc" of which the Chancellor spoke This, then, is the end of the Russo-German friendship The alliance of Russia and France, in preventing which Prince Bismarck's diplomacy had hitherto been successful, is virtually sealed in case of war No illusion on that point is entertained any longer at Berlin The language of the Government press has entirely changed When Katkoff denounced Germany for having supported Prince Alexander, as was manifest from the English Blue-book, the North German *Allgemeine Zeitung* reproduced Sir E Malet's despatch of Sept 3, in which it was said "Prince Bismarck is of opinion that, though Prince Alexander was placed on the throne of Bulgaria by the great Powers, it is not incumbent on them, either jointly or separately, to maintain him there," and concluded "that M Katkoff did not either understand English or had told a lie"—an alternative so stringent that the powerful one who inspired it is easily discerned

I do not, however, regard this change as unfavourable, and I believe that, at least for the present, it will favour the maintenance of peace If the French were really disposed to attack us, the Russian manifestations might incite them still more to do so, now that they can expect that Russia will shield France against the worst consequences But I do not at all believe that the nation is in a warlike mood, or that they will allow Boulanger to jeopardize peace by any imprudent step For if they reflect a little, they must see that in a war with Germany they would run the maximum of danger, and their ally would have the maximum chance of profit They would have to bear the enormous sacrifices of a long struggle with a doubtful outcome, for supposing even that the German armies could not pierce the armoured girdle with which France has surrounded herself since 1871, we are surely strong enough to repel any French attack, leaning upon fortresses such as Strasburg, Metz, and Mayence Russia on her side says expressly that she will not make common cause with France in the field, but will only manœuvre so as to

prevent her from being crushed. She will concentrate an army on the German frontier, but, freed from the hated control of Germany, which will then be occupied by a heavy struggle, she will direct her whole force against Constantinople. This is the policy by which Catherine II induced Russia and Austria to enter into the insane war against the French Revolution. She directed a high-sounding proclamation against the subversive principles of the French regicides, but did not move a soldier towards the Rhine, for, said she, "J'ai encore beaucoup de petits projets, qui ne sont pas terminés." Russia sees that Germany will not abandon Austria, she will no longer depend on Germany's benevolence, but force us to let her have free play in the East, and that aim can only be reached by a Franco-German war, just as she availed herself of the war of 1870 to denounce the neutralization of the Black Sea. But is it in the French interest to pull Russia's chestnuts out of the fire at an enormous risk, whilst her ally risks nothing?

If we hope that such reflections will prevail with sober-minded French statesmen, it appears pretty certain that the Russian change of front will contribute to strengthen the alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and if Lord Salisbury, who in 1879 hailed it as good tidings of great joy, will not formally accede to it, as the other three Powers would not be able to guarantee the British Colonial Empire, it cannot be doubted that England will be found on the side of this league of peace. Besides, this change offers a plausible pretext for Russian inactivity. The Emperor Alexander will not give up one jot of his Bulgarian programme, and yet he hesitates to enforce it by any decisive action which might produce war, he hopes still that the hated regency may be overthrown by some interior movement such as the insurrections in Rustchuk and Silistria, aided by Russian money and intrigue. He has become so stout that he can only with difficulty maintain himself on horseback for any length of time, and a Czar who cannot march at the head of his army would be a novelty. He may also know that his army is far from being as formidable as it appears on paper, for if it has increased in numbers, its quality has been lowered. The discipline has been thoroughly loosened by insufficient pay and bad nourishment and equipment. Five consecutive ukases of the present Emperor did not succeed in enforcing the order that the officers should salute even their superiors. The common soldier is so wretchedly clothed, that generally twenty men of a company are sent on leave in order to gain something to buy new garments. The transport system, notwithstanding the railways, is such that in the critical days of Plevna a few batteries of artillery took five months in transit from St Petersburg to the front, and one of them absolutely disappeared on the way. The ranks of the army are full of men who know little or nothing of the effective use of the arms of precision with which they are furnished. The commissariat is in alliance for stealing wholesale and retail by the army contractors in collusion with administrative chiefs. In the Turkish war the Grand Duke Nicholas was convinced that whole regiments had cartridges filled with sawdust. On the Shipka Pass a regiment with such cartridges was obliged to defend itself by throwing stones against the Turks. The compressed hay-cakes were found to contain fifty per cent of clay, so that the horses died by hundreds of hunger. The food was so bad that even the Russian soldiers would not touch it.

The late Emperor ordered a trial of the principal contractors, but the accused Jewish firm threatened to unveil the exalted rogues who had shared in their plunder, and escaped with a nominal punishment. Since 1878 matters have even changed for the worse: no honest military leaders and administrators have been found, and Russia has not produced a Manteuffel for the reorganization of her army. The only able generals are Gourko at Warsaw, for large operations, Annenkow as engineer, and Duchonin for fortifications. The Grand Duke Wladimir, who takes an eager interest in military matters, has as yet given no practical proof of his talents, and is not liked in the army on account of his rude behaviour. It is unnecessary to speak of the hopeless condition of the finances. Russia, who last year had to bear a loss of fifty millions of roubles on the exchange in paying the interest of her foreign loans, would be bankrupt on the eve of the war, the rouble, now worth 1s 9d, would go down to a shilling, and all expenses would be paid in paper.

An *illuminato* like Katkoff may write as if Russia was invincible, practical men know better. Her victories achieved over Asiatic nomads prove as little for a great war as the success in Algeria did for the French army. The common Russian soldier in himself is brave enough, but, knowing his inferiority in armament, having no confidence in his officers, and with an empty stomach, he will not fight with confidence, and I have no doubt that in a war with a great military power Russia would suffer a crushing defeat. Some misgivings to this effect may be believed to exist in high quarters, and act as a warning not to put to too crucial a test the military *prestige* of the empire.

On the whole, therefore, I think that the outlook is more pacific; and though, in the unsettled condition of the East, at any moment some untoward incident may arise which would act as the spark setting fire to the mass of inflammable matter agglomerated by the strife of national passions, one may believe that it is just the magnitude of the threatening struggle which will keep back the sword in the scabbard.

The danger of war naturally leads us to the German elections, which took place amidst the clatter of armaments. Prince Bismarck and Count Moltke declared that the final rejection of the Army Bill meant war. The passing of the Septennate Bill will certainly make the French more inclined to pause before attacking Germany, and it will enable the empire to defend itself all the better if assailed, but it will do nothing to check the increase of French armaments, and will do very little to remove the real causes of danger to the peace of Europe still prevailing in the East. It can have no influence whatever on the incalculable temper of the Czar, on the internal condition of Russia, on her relations to Austria, on the development of the Bulgarian question, or on the formation of a Franco-Russian alliance. Yet these are the factors on which peace or war in Europe depends. For the moment the Septennate does not even increase in any way the fighting strength of the German army. It appears to be clear, then, that there were other reasons which prompted the Government to make the Septennate their cry for the elections. The Chancellor's aim has long been to get rid of the Reichstag, the hostile majority of which constantly thwarted his designs, and he only looked for a favourable occasion to proceed to new elections. Now, nothing could be more favourable for this purpose than a military

question of a national character which allowed of the opponents of the Chancellor being represented as bad patriots. The political situation was disquieting, French armaments were proceeding on an increasing scale, it was but natural that Germany should not allow herself to be outstripped. But in introducing the Army Bill the Chancellor did not mean the late Reichstag to pass it. No one would have been more disappointed than he if it had been carried by a large majority. It was to be rejected in order to form a good cry for the elections. This is proved by the way in which the Government treated the question. As long as the Progressists objected to the number of the men to be added to the yearly contingents, the Government papers declared that everything depended upon the number, and that the time for which the augmentation was voted was a matter of comparative indifference. The wily leader of the Centre party, Dr Windthorst, discerned at once that the aim of his great adversary was dissolution, and in order to thwart that design he succeeded in persuading the Progressists to vote the whole number. As soon as this became manifest, the Government changed their position, and insisted that everything depended upon the time for which the increase was to be voted, that the existence of the army was not to be submitted to the changing majorities of every new Reichstag, that the Septennate was a compromise sanctioned by tradition, and that the Opposition, by asking to reserve the decision of a future Reichstag after the lapse of three years, wanted to encroach upon the rights of the executive and to turn the army from an imperial into a parliamentary institution. The Opposition did not comprehend this. If the Chancellor's aim was dissolution, they ought not to have given him a pretext for it. In sticking to the term of three years they showed themselves bad tacticians, the more so as the tradition of a double renewal of the Septennate was in favour of the Government demand. It is, however, pretty certain that the Bill would have passed at the third reading, but the Chancellor would not give his adversaries that chance. The vote for the second reading was scarcely taken when he rose to read the imperial decree dissolving the Reichstag.

The weeks preceding the elections were a period of agitation such as Germany had never before seen. Every nerve was strained in order to obtain that Government majority for which the Chancellor has striven so long. The Conservatives were forced to conclude a treaty with the National Liberals, which bound both parties not to oppose each other's candidates. They submitted with rather bad grace, and often complained that the treaty was not loyally executed, the National-Liberals claiming to exclude some of the leading Conservatives, such as Stoecker, Wagner, and Cremer, under the pretext that they were too extreme in their politics. A significant article in the *Kreuzzeitung*, "The Coming Man," preludeing Bennigsen's accession to power, showed by its melancholy resignation that they expected the result to be a material defeat of Conservative policy. On the other hand, the National-Liberals were in high spirits. The previous election had reduced them to a small fraction in the Reichstag. Their principal leader, Bennigsen had four years ago retired from parliamentary life after a quarrel with the Chancellor on the new ecclesiastical policy. He had told the latter that he was on a wrong road, and would be led from concession to concession, which the Chancellor angrily denied,

and finally advised him to emigrate to America. When Bennigsen now came forward from his seclusion and declared himself ready to accept a parliamentary mandate, it was evidently because he saw better times in store for his party. His more able friend Dr Miquel, burgomaster of Frankfurt, even tendered his resignation to the council of that city, in case they should think his parliamentary labours incompatible with the proper discharge of his municipal duties. The union of these two curious bedfellows, the Conservatives and National-Liberals, with the accession, of course, of the so-called Free Conservatives, whose name seems to indicate that they are free of conservatism, presented already a considerable force. It was greatly increased by the war rumours. The German electors were assured in the most solemn manner by their great statesman and their great captain that if a majority unfavourable to the Septennate were returned, war was certain. However unfounded that might be, and although it was evident from international reasons that the acceptance of the Army Bill could not secure the continuance of peace, the people were not disposed to fly in the teeth of such warnings, and it must be conceded that undoubtedly the situation would have become very bad if, after the decisive position the Government had taken, its proposals had been definitely rejected by the nation. Besides, the Army Bill had been voted in its entirety by the late Reichstag: what difference would it make to extend the term from three to seven years, it being certain that after three years it would have to be renewed? That was the reasoning which, increased by alarmist speeches, alarmist leading articles, and concocted alarmist rumours in home and foreign papers, drove the people over to the Government. They wanted to secure peace before everything, for if the fears of war had already inflicted heavy losses upon industry and commerce, what would be the state of things if war itself ensued? Particularly in Western and Northern Germany, which would suffer most from a French invasion, this reflection prevailed over all others. Besides, the Chancellor's reversion to the National Liberals made a favourable impression. When the Opposition said that, if the Chancellor obtained a favourable majority, he would press through his monopolies, the Liberal candidates pledged themselves that they would never vote for any monopolist schemes of taxation, and the Chancellor himself asserted that he had no intention of re-introducing them. Similar reasoning in respect to war produced the opposite effect in Alsace and Lorraine, whose inhabitants also feared above all a war, of which their country would be the theatre, and where the Government itself had taken good care to insist on the dangers of such a contest by a speech of the Minister Von Hofmann and a proclamation of the Governor, Prince Hohenlohe. But, knowing the French, the people were particularly afraid of their revenge in case they showed any German sympathies, whilst under the present Government they would not fare worse, so they reasoned, if they voted against the Septennate. Thus the vote in Alsace and Lorraine went entirely against the Government, and the only candidate who had declared for the Army Bill, although an Alsatian of the purest blood and of an old family, Baron Zorn von Bulach, was beaten by an obscure opponent. This feeling, and the imprudent stress with which the Government tried to exercise pressure, account for the result of the elections in Alsace and Lorraine. They show neither a special predilection for France, nor a

particular disinclination towards Germany. At present, the people of those parts want to be neither French nor German, but are simply *Alsatian Particularists*. They have belonged for two hundred years to France, and such a past cannot be wiped out in sixteen years. On the left bank of the Rhine, which belonged to France only for twenty years, the Prussian Government was disliked even up to 1848, how can it be expected that the Alsatian should within a generation turn out a patriotic German? He has maintained his German nationality. During the twelve years I spent in Alsace, I never heard a peasant speak French. Even among the higher classes, the Alsatian "*Dietsch*" is the common language. They read the German Bible, the sermon and the Prayer Book are German, and the German Christmas-tree is found in every house. But a long common history has imbued the higher classes with French ideas, and it will take time to reunite them with Germany. It is not so with Lorraine, which, with the exception of some border towns, such as Diedenhofen, Finstingen, &c., is really French in language and manners, and the inhabitants of which have nothing in common with the Alsations, who call them "*Welsche*," *i.e.*, French.

If, with this exception, the fear of war told in favour of the Government, it was different with another factor, from which the Chancellor expected much, and which proved barren—I mean the interference of the Pope in the elections. From the very first the Chancellor had asked for that interference in his favour. When he met Monsignor Masella at Kissingen in 1878 he told him that he was ready to make concessions to the Church, but that if he was to supplant the Liberals the Pope must furnish him with another Parliamentary contingent, and order the Centre party to vote with him. The Nuncio answered that such a course would be entirely opposed to the traditions of the Curia against interference in political affairs having no connection with religion, and the negotiation broke down. When it was resumed some years later at Vienna, Prince Bismarck, in his despatches to Prince Reuss, Ambassador at that Court, insisted again that it was impossible for him to revise the May Laws so long as the Centre party maintained their hostile position towards the Government. But the Curia on her part maintained her "*non possumus*," and Parliamentary necessities obliged the Chancellor to deviate from his customary principle, "*Da ut dem*." One concession after another was made, without the hierarchy giving anything in return. It was the affair of the Carolines which wrought a change in Leo XIII's mind. The Protestant Chancellor had realized his dearest dream of becoming the arbiter between nations. The Pope decided in favour of Spain, but he wrote to the Chancellor a most flattering letter, and conferred upon him the Order of Christ, which the Prince was proud to wear, although in former years he had made the Emperor forbid all Prussian subjects to accept Papal decorations. A genial temperate having thus been established between the two parties, a Bill for the revision of the May Laws was introduced last spring, which broke down their most effective provisions, and all the amendments introduced by Bishop Kopp were backed by Prince Bismarck, and became law. Nevertheless, much of what he called the "*rubbish of the May Laws*" remained in force, and, in order to obtain a new Bill which would do away with these last remnants, the Pope decided to yield to the long-standing demand of his new and powerful

friend On January 3 the late Cardinal Jacobini addressed a letter to the Nuncio at Munich, advising the Centre party to vote for the Septennate The essence of this letter being communicated to the chiefs of the party, Dr Windthorst and Baron Franckenstein, the latter replied, in a letter to the Cardinal, that it was impossible for them to comply with the demand, but that if the Holy Father was of opinion that a dissolution of the party would serve the interests of the Church, all its members would be ready to resign their seats Placed before this alternative, adroitly managed by the Baron, the Pope recoiled In a second and longer letter of January 21, Cardinal Jacobini said that his Holiness fully appreciated the eminent services of the Centre party and of its leaders (on whom the greatest praise was bestowed), that, the party having still much to do, the Pope wished its conservation, that they retained their entire liberty of action in political questions, that he had not issued an order, but only expressed a wish, and that his wish to see the party vote for the Septennate was founded upon three reasons—namely (1) the acceptance of the Army Bill would contribute to secure European peace, (2) the vote of the Centre party would favourably predispose the Prussian Government to grant a final revision of the May Laws, (3) the party's favourable vote on this question might influence the powerful German Government to bring about an amelioration in the present painful position of the Holy See

The Centre party did not think it necessary to comply with the wish of the Pope In a large assembly at Cologne, Dr Windthorst explained that they were the obedient sons of the Church, and submitted in all ecclesiastical questions to what the Curia thought best, but that in purely political matters they must retain their liberty of action, and that they could only appeal "a Papa male informato ad Pipam melius informandum" It is quite true that the party formerly took a different view As late as 1884 its organ, the *Germania*, spoke in these terms—"If the Pope judges political questions, he does so because he decides whether certain matters belong to the political domain or touch religion and morals, whether they are just or unjust, good or bad If the Pope gives his 'Approbation' to a political doctrine, this is simply the result of his pontifical power and plenitude of teaching, and if he says 'Non licet tibi,' this is the decree of a mouth whose words no power in the world can stifle In a Christian State there is no such thing as separation of politics from morals and religion, the latter being the vivifying blood and the very marrow of the whole body politic and its members" But the Centre party has never piqued itself upon clinging rigidly to certain formulæ, and knows how to avail itself of the double Jesuit moral, legitimizing the means by the end Did not the great champion of Papal power, the Comte de Maistre, call Pius VII a miserable buffoon, after he had consented to crown Napoleon? The result of the elections proved that the leaders of the party did not overtax their strength Notwithstanding the two letters of Jacobini and the mild exhortations of a few bishops, nearly the whole Catholic electorate voted for the Centre candidates, and the party has returned to the Reichstag in its old strength, having scarcely lost a seat

I consider this interference as the first great fault of Leo XIII's pontificate He has broken with the secular tradition of the Curia against interference in merely political questions, he has obtained

nothing, and suffered a moral defeat much more grave than was the refusal of the Irish bishops to obey the Pope's commands

The alleged motives for this step will not bear an impartial scrutiny. The influence of the passing of the Army Bill on the maintenance of peace is very slight, the distribution of German parties has no effect whatever on the temper of the Czar, on the development of the Eastern question, and on the formation of a Franco-Russian alliance, which, as may be shown, are the main factors upon which peace or war in Europe depends. As for the revision of the May Laws, it would have come without any interference, as it had been solemnly promised by the Government, and as regards the last motive, which probably is the most important for the Pope—viz, the amelioration of his position, Prince Bismarck will do nothing, because he can do nothing. He knows perfectly well that this is a question in which Italy will not suffer the interference of any foreign power, which it is resolved to consider, as Mancini said in his despatch to Count de Launay of January 11, 1882, "of an order strictly internal, and depending only on the national sovereignty." To bring about a change in the temporal position of the Pope a war with Italy would be required, and the Chancellor does not even think of raising a diplomatic difficulty with a Power whose friendship he values highly in the present condition of politics. Besides, what could this change be? The plan, which has been mooted, of giving the Leonine city to the Pope, with an outlet on the sea, even if Italy would consent to it, is perfectly impracticable, for nothing is more certain than that, if that part of Rome were given to the Pope, the inhabitants would rise at the first opportunity and shake off the Government of the *Papa Re*, which would deny them the liberty of the press and of religion—a liberty established throughout the whole kingdom, but denounced by the Pope in his allocutions as a public shame for the city of the Apostles. If the motives are worthless, the consequences of the Pope's interference are positively detrimental to the authority of the Holy See. He has deeply offended the Centre party, but has failed to make it yield. They respectfully decline to comply with his wishes, and assert their independence in political matters, thus refuting the former accusation of their adversaries, that they were a mere tool of the Curia and obeyed the summons of a foreign priest in German affairs. The refusal of the leaders has been ratified by the electorate, the Jacobini letters have been abortive. Before the elections much weight was given to a manifesto of some twenty Catholic nobles declaring for the Septennate, but they are a staff without soldiers. With universal suffrage the masses decide, and the Catholic masses are influenced only by the lower clergy, with whom they are in daily contact, and who support the Centre candidates. This was strikingly shown at the Dusseldorf election, where the National party had proposed Prince Hohenzollern as their candidate. The Prince is a good Catholic, a cousin of the Emperor, and most popular in the city, where he has lived for years, yet he was beaten by his obscure opponent, the Centre candidate. Thus, in Germany the net result of the Pope's interference is the satisfaction expressed in the Speech from the Throne, at "the manifestation by which the benevolent interest of his Holiness for the German Empire and its internal peace is proved." In Italy, on the other hand, it has revived the spirit of hostility against the Pope, because he tried,



though ineffectually, to induce a foreign Power, by coming to its aid in internal questions, to intervene in the relations in which Italy will suffer no intervention, and, besides, he has roused anew the dissatisfaction of the dissentient cardinals, who openly disapprove this step as a fatal complicity.

As to the effect in Germany, it is sufficient to remember that the whole former legislation tended to make Papal interference impossible, and that the reversal of this policy has proved for the present completely ineffective. It is really wonderful to hear the same men and the same papers, which formerly praised the Chancellor for having emancipated Germany from the Roman yoke, accuse us unfaithful to their Church the Catholics who dare to disobey the Papal wishes for the Septennate. The *Post*, once foremost in the ranks of the *Kulturkampf*, now quotes the famous Bull "Unam sanctum" of Boniface VIII, of 1302,\* as obliging every Catholic to obey the Pope in whatever he says, "he being the source of all jurisdiction, of all infallibility, and of all power, temporal and spiritual," and goes on to quote Jesuit writers who declare that "the Pope is the head of the world, and therefore not only the Church but the world *in virtue*." Whoever, this involuntary humorist continues, in face of such proofs opposes the Pope is a Gallican. Windthorst and Franckenstein deserve a decree direct from the tombs of the apostles condemning their contradiction as offensive to pious ears, smelling of Gallicanism, Febronianism, and Josephinism, and most suspicious of heresy.† *Sapienti sat*. It is quite conceivable that these journalists, accustomed to change constantly not only their coat but also their skin, have acquired a gift of servility which is insensible to any feeling of shame, but it is incredible that they should not perceive the grotesque humour of their position as new-fangled champions of Papal infallibility. We are not likely to have any new decree of the Pope launched against the Centre party, on the contrary, in article in the *Osservatore Romano* tries to appease their resentment. A small number of the Centre party have voted the Septennate, which would have passed without their help, and, afterwards, the party will be united as before. Prince Bismarck can boast of having induced the Pope to abandon the old tradition of the Curia, but in believing that he could dominate the Centre party through the Pope he has fallen into the same error as Napoleon I, who hoped that by the Concordat Pius VII, "calmera les esprits, les réunira sous sa main et les placera sous la mienne" (Thibaudeau, "Mémoires sur le Consulat"). The Chancellor by his *Kulturkampf*, as well as by his negotiations with the Curia, has only shown that he does not know the Catholic Church. He has never lived in a Catholic country, and has never been at Rome. And, whilst obtaining nothing, he has, by inducing the Pope to interfere in the elections, introduced a most dangerous precedent. If the Government itself asks the Pope to interfere in secular matters in its favour, how can it oppose him if in future the Pope pretends to intervene *against* the State? It is a fact not sufficiently noticed, that by this step Leo XIII strains the Papal infallibility so as to make it cover everything. Evidently, if there ever was a purely secular question, it is that of the Septennate. The Pope can bring it within his reach only by extending to it the category of moral questions.

\* "Porro subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanum creaturam declaramus, dicimus definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis."

† The *Post*, March 1

But then what other political question may not be classed as a moral one? It was exactly the same reasoning which prompted the interference of Innocent III in secular contests, "*non quia judico de feudo, sed quia judico de peccato*"

In the Reichstag there will be indeed a change, not because the Centre party has become submissive, but because it can no more, as it formerly did, command a majority by uniting with the other parties of the Opposition. The majority is now with the three parties to the treaty—the Conservatives, the Free Conservatives, and the National-Liberals. The losers have been the Progressists. In 1881 they mustered 1,078,443 votes, in 1884, 997,004, now they muster only 543,302, whilst the National-Liberals have increased from 997,033 to 1,658,158, the Conservatives from 861,063 to 1,194,501, and the Free-Conservatives from 387,687 to 693,195. The Socialists have lost a number of seats by the exertions of the other parties, and it is particularly remarkable that in Saxony, which was considered to be their stronghold, they have not been able to carry a single election, but their votes increased from 519,990 in 1881 to 774,182, and in Berlin alone they cast 90,000, over 20,000 more than in 1884.

On the whole the three National parties will muster about 215–20 votes, and the Opposition 175–80. The question is now, of course, what will the Chancellor do with his new majority? The Septennate no longer excited any interest, as it has passed by a large majority. But the expense of the increased army must be provided for, and therefore financial questions will become most important. The Chancellor stated in a speech of February 15, in the Prussian Upper House, that for a reform of the Prussian finances he was waiting "till the policy obstructing our financial resources shall no longer have the majority in the Reichstag." He has declared during the contest that he does not intend to reintroduce the monopolies of tobacco and brandy. I believe him to be perfectly sincere. If he attempted to do so, he would destroy his new majority, for the National-Liberals have pledged themselves not to vote for any monopoly. He will, therefore, try to steer a middle course in fiscal questions, and will probably begin by a Bill combining the present tax on spirits with a new consumers' tax on brandy. In fiscal as in social questions he will scarcely be able to continue a decidedly agrarian policy, which would be resisted by the National-Liberals. It is true that, according to former practice, he might count upon another majority, formed by the union of the Conservatives and the Centre, and he will avail himself of that possibility in order to keep the National-Liberals pliable, but it is still doubtful whether the Centre, embittered by the last struggle, will not in future refuse its aid. However, financial and social questions, important as they are, were not the real motive which prompted the Chancellor to obtain, by every means in his power, a majority. His aim was a much higher one. The Emperor is ninety, and everything the Chancellor does is calculated with a view to the new reign. For that event he wants to have all the aces in his hand, and to be able to lean upon a majority which may be said to represent the country. For this very reason he re-admitted the long-suffering National-Liberals, and will probably be as ready to throw overboard Messrs von Puttkammer and Scholz as he formerly abandoned Lippe and Muhler, and to replace them by Bennigsen and Miquel.

The principal question still pending is the new Ecclesiastical Bill, which, as last year, has first been introduced in the Upper Prussian Chamber, and, as Prince Bismarck then said, is destined "to clear away the remaining rubbish of the May Laws." It contains new and large concessions, but presents no final settlement of the ecclesiastical controversies, and for this reason, although it bears the date of February 13, it has been made public only after the elections, as it might have strengthened the Opposition policy of the Centre party. The memorandum accompanying the draft says, indeed, that the Government, in its negotiations with the Curia, has succeeded "in finding the basis of a Bill which aims at establishing relations between the Church and the State on a footing satisfactory to both parties," but as several contentious questions remain unsolved, it is evident that the Curia considers this Bill, like its predecessors, merely as a further instalment.

Politics are just now absorbing all attention in Germany, and thus I can give only a passing notice to the most remarkable feature in the artistic domain, the Jubilee Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts at Berlin, which was designed to celebrate the centenary of the Arts Exhibition. Opened May 20, 1786, in three modest rooms above the Royal stables—partly interrupted by the wars, 1806–15, it was continued from 1820 to 1874 biennially, and has since been held annually up to the present time. The increasing number of exhibiting artists soon outgrowing the space afforded by the Academy, provisional accommodation was found in a shed. Now, the State has erected a permanent Crystal Palace near the Lehrte station, which offers a worthy and sufficient home for German art. The recent exhibition was international, and most civilized countries were represented, France being almost the only exception, and sending only two pictures. Of course by far the largest number of the works belonged to Germany. An historical division represented the development of German art from 1756 down to the present time in the schools of Berlin, Dusseldorf, Dresden, Weimar, &c, where works of Cirstens, Graff, Chodowiecki, Cornelius, Genelli, Lessing, Kaulbach, Menzel, Kruger, Richter, Schadow, Schinkel, Schirmer, Schnorri, Knaus, Bendemann, the two Achenbachs, and others were to be seen. The spacious gardens represented a reconstruction of the front of the Temple of Olympia, with a glowing panorama of Pergamon. All the other rooms were devoted to living artists. Of foreign countries England and Austria were best represented. England shone particularly by her portraits, some of which formed a special attraction, and this was the more welcome, as hitherto modern English painting had been known to Germans who had not visited England only by the engravings of Landseer's stags and dogs. In the first rank is to be named Heikomer's "Miss Katherine Grant," a picture of indescribable charm, in conception as well as execution. You never tire of contemplating this face, looking "like a story," with its pensive traits and unfathomable eyes. The only drawback is perhaps the ugly long Danish gloves covering the arms. Sir J. Millais sent three first-class portraits, "A Beef-eater," "Miss Bischoffsheim," and, above all, that of Mr. Hook, the painter, modelled and executed in a style quite equal to the best specimens of Van Dyck's brush. There were also three other very good portraits—"Baroness Burdett-Coutts" by Edwin Long, "Mr. Lloyd Norman" by W. Oulless, and

"A Browning" by R. Lehmann, a born German. The historical pictures were less fortunate. Alma Taden~~ia~~ sent a reading from Homer, which looks cold, and one called "Oleander," which shows a girl smelling at a sprig, broken from a large tree which has no smell. E. Burne Jones's "Annunciation" is an entire failure. The Virgin looks stupid, and the angel is hovering on the wall in an impossible situation. If Poynter's "Diadumene" gives at least an idea of Aphrodite's charm, the harsh traits of Sir F. Leighton's brown-red "Phryne" do not correspond with the traditional beauty of that too famous lady. Much better are two blooming girls with flowers and fruits by Calderon, from the dining-room of Mr. John Aird, and Thomas Faed has given us two capital scenes from life, "In Time of War" and "From Hand to Mouth." Among the sculptures we mention Boehm's very speaking statue of Carlyle, the busts of Lords Sydney and Wolseley by the same sculptor, and the most elegant and characteristic statue of Lord Beaconsfield by Thornycroft.

I will only add that the exhibition, which was a genuine success, contained 8,500 works of art, it was visited by hundreds of thousands of people, it offered a faithful picture of contemporaneous art, and was certainly a source of information and noble recreation for all visitors.

The ethnological collections of Berlin, ranking amongst the richest existing, have now found a suitable home in the great museum for ethnology, which was opened in December by the Crown Prince. They contain the Trojan collections presented by Dr. Schliemann, those of Dr. Nachtigall, P. Reichard, R. Flegel, Emin Bey, Schweinfurth, and others, and, above all, those of the indefatigable director of the museum, Dr. Bastian.

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# CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

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## CHURCH HISTORY

ONE of the most interesting and hopeful features in the East is found in the literary activity of the Greek Church. The name of Philotheos Bryennios, the Metropolitan of Nicomedia, is now famous all the world over through his discovery of the Epistle of Clement and of the Teaching of the Twelve. But there are other diligent workers in that Church whose labours are proving fruitful. There is a small wooded island in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, named Chulche, containing two convents—one dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the other to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The former has since 1811 been used as a theological college, the latter since 1831 as a classical school. Both contain large libraries—that of Trinity convent containing 7,000 volumes and considerable collections of theological manuscripts, which have yielded some valuable fruits. Thus, a short time ago, Dr Basilios Georgiadis found in the convent of the Holy Trinity the long-lost Four Discourses of Hippolytus of Rome upon the Prophet Daniel, which he has published in great part in the Greek Church journal, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, Constantinople, 1885, vol. 1 pp. 10–24, 49–60. Other scholars have found letters of Photius, the learned Patriarch—the convent of the Holy Trinity having been, according to tradition, the residence of Photius just one thousand years ago—and various pieces of mediæval Greek literature, while the indefatigable scholar Papadopoulos Kerameus has discovered there a number of hitherto unknown letters of the Emperor Julian and of Libanius. In my Record of November last I briefly noted this fact, but since then M. Pap. Kerameus has come forward and published the letters in a Western Review, with some very interesting comments and notes, for which the reader must consult the “*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*,”\* Hft. 1, 1887, pp. 15–27. Considerable progress has been made during the autumn and winter with the Fayûm MSS at Vienna. In the “*Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*”† of October last I find a list of new discoveries quite sufficient alone to make the fame of any collection. Among the Egyptian and Coptic documents committed to Professor Krall we have a beautifully preserved hieratic manuscript containing a description of the town of Pt-Ramses, founded about 1300 B.C. by Ramses II, the Sesostris of classical authors, in the eastern delta. Dr Wessely has discovered a large number of private rolls and leaves, going back to Ptolemaic times, and dating from the first half of the second century B.C., which throw much light on the social life of that epoch. Classical scholars will be still more interested to hear that Wessely has found the remains of a codex of Æschines belonging to the fifth century A.D., being thus far older than any hitherto known MSS of that author. Eight columns of this codex, containing chapters 178–186 of the third oration, have been published by W. v. Hartel.

\* “*Rheinisches Museum*,” 1887

† “*Oesterreichische Monatsschrift*” Vienna, 1886

There have also come to light fragments of one of the orations of Isocrates, containing chapters 48 and 49 of his fifth oration, of a lexicon for the Meidias of Demosthenes, and of an unknown grammarian of the first century A D. The history of the empire, too, has received considerable illustration from Wessely's researches. A series of private documents illustrate the times and mention the names of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Aurelian, El Severus, Maximinus Daza, and Julian the Apostate. He has found the oldest imperial document yet discovered among the Fayûm MSS in an edict of the year 83 A D, and a legal process of the year 118, which is most important, as showing the development and application of Roman law in Egypt. Two papyrus rolls help to determine disputed points in chronology: one relates to the length of the joint reign of the Emperors Papienus and Balbinus, A D 237-238, the other fixes the exact time of the celebration of Constantine's Decennalia to A D 313, while as to the Arabic MSS, Karabacek has discovered the oldest document connected with Islam, in a splendid papyrus, about eighteen inches long by nine or ten broad, dated April 25, 643 A D, or the 22nd year of the Hegira. The company of scholars to whom the work of investigating the Fayûm MSS has been entrusted have now tried a new undertaking. In my last Record I told of the "*Corpus Papyrologum Raineri*," the first volume of which was published last autumn. They have now started an additional work in connection with these documents, in the shape of the "*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*,"\* edited by Professor Karabacek. It is a periodical with which all colleges and universities must necessarily provide themselves as soon as they ascertain its true value. The prospectus describes as its object the collection in one journal of studies, inquiries, and reports derived from the investigation of the specialists engaged upon the MSS. In the "*Corpus*," in fact, we shall have transcripts of the documents themselves, in the "*Mittheilungen*" we shall have the ideas and theories gathered out of the documents by those who have had the best opportunities of studying them. The first number of this journal fully bears out the promise of the prospectus. Karabacek discusses the somewhat mythical personage called Mokaukis, who figures largely in the narrative of the capture of Egypt by the Saracens. Karabacek identifies him with George, the Christian governor of the Egyptian Babylon, who, influenced by theological jealousy, betrayed Egypt to the Saracens, and got from them the name Mokaukis, which the Viennese professor regards as the Arabic form of the Greek title of honour, Μεγαυχης, or "the glorious one." The second article deals with the Egyptian Indiction, and is important not only from a chronological but also from a social point of view. The first use of the indiction calculation is usually attributed to Constantine the Great. Krall shows reason to think it much older, and attributes its invention to Egypt. His article has also interesting notices of the rise of the Nile, and of a perpetual hanging gale of rent, which existed in Egypt under the Pharaohs, the Romans, and the Mahometans, the State being in each case the universal landlord. Wessely then takes up the same subject in his article on the Nile Indiction, dealing with it from the point of view of the Greek MSS, where on p. 28 he points out that the indiction period of fifteen years was known as early as the Emperor Hadrian's time. The remaining articles deal with

\* "*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*," Vienna, 1886

what we might call the system of bookkeeping and accounts which prevailed among the Copts, and with the Hebrew MSS found at Fayûm and the Jewish liturgical fragments contained therein. Some brief notices of the latest finds conclude a journal every word of which is rich in materials derived by honest workers from virgin soil. The subscription is ten shillings a year, two numbers will appear annually, and Karabacek is the editor. I do not think I need say more to recommend it than to note that the second number is to contain articles, among others, on the Fayûm gospel fragment by Bickell, on Greek literary fragments from Fayûm, and on the first mention of Goths and Bulgarians in the papyri by Wessely, and on the oldest Arabic ciphers by Karabacek.

Among the larger volumes which this winter has seen published, a work of Lipsius on the apocryphal acts and histories of the Apostles \* takes a foremost place. I have noticed in various Records the publication of different portions of this work. We have now the first half of the second volume, the second half having been published more than two years ago. The whole of the present volume, embracing nearly 500 closely printed pages, is taken up with the acts of SS Peter and Paul, and the apocryphal acts of Paul and Thecla. It deals with a subject which has been often discussed of late years—viz, the traditions about St. Peter's residence and episcopate at Rome. It enters very fully into the question, gives all the ancient traditions about Peter and Paul, quotes all the passages from the Fathers, discusses the remains of the Gnostic and Catholic traditions, the local legends and churches of the city of Rome. I need not say it is very exhaustive, but, save to experts in ecclesiastical history, it is scarcely very interesting. Harnack's "Texte und Untersuchungen" continue to issue from the press at a very rapid rate. I noticed the issue of some volumes in my last Record, and now we have a very exhaustive treatise on Leontius of Byzantium, a Greek author of the sixth century, whose writings are most important for the history of Christian sects and heresies †. It is a striking evidence of the different points of view from which the same writer can be viewed when we notice that Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. iii p. 692, gives but four lines to this Leontius upon whom Harnack and Loofs spend 320 pages, and the work is not concluded, for Loofs promises another volume, which will deal with Leontius of Neapolis and some other literary personages of the same name. Loofs' interest in Leontius naturally arose out of the original shape of Harnack's volumes, which dealt with Greek apologists, and specially with Irenæus, whose work against heresies naturally led to the study of those later writers who dealt with the same subject and used his materials. The five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Heidelberg University last August gave birth to a useful work on Christian Archæology, dedicated to the theological faculty by a German pastor, Dr. Adolf Hasenclever ‡. This writer joins issue with the great Roman archæologist, De Rossi—not, indeed, as to his facts, because they are incontrovertible, but as to De Rossi's interpretation of the facts, which is open to debate. In his view, De Rossi and his school set out with two chief theses which they maintain

\* "Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden." Von R. A. Lipsius. Zweit. Bd., Erste Hälfte. Braunschweig 1897.

† "Leontius von Byzanz." Von Fred. Loofs. Buch I. Leipzig 1887.

‡ Der Altchristliche Graberschmuck, ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Archæologie von Dr. A. Hasenclever. Braunschweig 1886.

at all hazards—viz, that the carving, sculpture, &c, of the catacombs arose under clerical guidance, and that these sculptures embody and teach a definite system of Church doctrine identical with the present Roman Catholic system. Hasenclever discusses his subject very thoroughly so far as German and a few French authorities are concerned, but does not seem to be aware of the existence of any English writer dealing with his topic, later than Bingham. It is indeed an extraordinary fact that, with all the German facility for acquiring English which our neighbours display in commercial matters, they are content to remain ignorant of English literary work, with the exception of that new school of students represented by Harnack and his friends. Even in the matter of purely German authorities Hasenclever is scarcely up to date, as in dealing with the Jewish catacombs at Rome, which were the models on which the Christian ones were formed, and from which much Christian ornamentation was borrowed, he takes no notice of Di Schurer's treatise, published in 1879, styled "*Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*," not to speak of the learned Arcoli's work (in Italian) on the Jewish Sepulchres of Naples, published in 1880. Hasenclever's work will be found, however, very useful. It is arranged in admirable order, has an exhaustive table of contents, and is, like almost all German works, totally devoid of an index—a fault for which reviewer and reader alike ought to devise some very severe penalty. Two other works must terminate our notice of German literature. One is a Roman Catholic volume, written by a priest named Joseph Kolberg, of the diocese of Ermland, where a brave attempt is made to prove that Tertullian held the modern Roman Catholic view of the Church and Church life.\* Tertullian's is indeed a hard fate, he is claimed by the extremes on both sides, for one party he is an Ultramontane, for the others a Quaker or a Plymouth Brother, as far at least as the ministerial office is concerned. The other work is Herm Schiller's "*History of the Roman Empire, from Diocletian to Theodosius the Great*"† This is one of Perthes' series of handbooks of ancient history, embracing the stories of the Phœnicians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks. They are massive handbooks certainly, as this one volume, dealing with one century alone of Roman history, contains 498 pp. It is well done, it embraces a period very interesting to the Christian historian, the last great persecution and the triumph of Christianity, upon which Schiller brings to bear the light of modern discoveries in archæology, numismatics, and architecture. Librarians wishing to furnish their libraries with the best modern editions of the third and fourth century writers will find his exhaustive statement of his sources very instructive, as a full list of authorities is set out in the preface.

Among English contributions to Ecclesiastical History the Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission takes precedence. The Tenth Report appears rather late, as it is dated 1885. It deals with the MSS in possession of the Marquis of Ormonde, the Earl of Fingall, the Sees of Dublin and Ossory, and the Corporations of Waterford and Galway. These manuscripts are Irish, and connected with the history, ecclesiastical and secular, of Ireland between the

\* "*Verfassung, Cultur u. Disciplin der Christlichen Kirche nach den Schriften Tertullian's*" Von J. Kolberg, Doct. der Theologie. Braunsberg 1886.

† "*Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*" Von H. Schiller. Gotha 1887.



twelfth and the eighteenth centuries. The Ormonde MSS tell of the Government of the great Duke of Ormonde, who ruled Ireland in the reign of Charles II, the Fingall MSS deal with the reign of James II and of William III, the principal one, "A Light to the Blind," being a vindication of James II, and of his conduct towards the Church of England, together with an original account of the wars of William III and James II, narratives of the battles of the Boyne and Anghim, and the sieges of Athlone, Galway, and Limerick. The pages dealing with the episcopal archives of Dublin and Ossory are very interesting to the ecclesiastical historian. The See of Dublin possesses an ancient MS which Mr Gilbert, the editor of the Appendix to the Report, thus describes: "The oldest of the Dublin records is that designated 'Crede Mihi.' It is the surviving portion of a register book of documents connected with the See of Dublin, and all the contents are in Latin. On the inside of the parchment wrapper is a memorandum by James Ussher, Primate of Ireland A.D. 1624-56, in which he assigns the transcription of the MS to about A.D. 1275. It was annotated about 1530 by John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin, who was killed by Silken Thomas, Earl of Kildare, in his revolt against Henry VIII." In this Appendix Mr Gilbert has given us a full calendar of the "Crede Mihi," but the Government ought to print it in the Rolls series, as it contains most valuable information concerning the early ecclesiastical and secular history of Ireland, from the time of Henry II. The very first document in it is a letter from Pope Alexander III, A.D. 1159-1181, written to Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin when Henry II captured that city, and who ruled that See from 1162-1181. Thorne, a Roman antiquarian, published all the documents connected with Ireland in the Papal archives, at the suggestion of the late Cardinal Cullen. He had previously published "*Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*" and "*Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*," and then, in 1861, he followed these up with "*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*." The earliest document found at Rome connected with Ireland dates from 1216, so that the MSS collated by our Commission are some fifty years older. It is a great pity that the Rolls series does not contain more of these great Anglo-Norman documents preserved in Dublin. There is the "Crede Mihi" with the Archbishop, the "Liber Albus," the "Liber Niger," and the "Repertorium Viude" with the Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, and Alan's "Liber Niger" at Trinity College—all full of information about the mediæval history of England and Ireland, but at present practically useless, and in some cases inaccessible. If they were printed they would be most useful, even from a Government point of view, as the "Liber Niger" contains the Acts of Parliament passed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Dublin Parliaments were then often held in Christ Church, and these Acts exist nowhere else. If these books were printed, they would be at once placed beyond the manifold perils of fire, neglect, and robbery—neglect being perhaps the greatest—to which they are otherwise exposed. The MSS calendared by Mr. Gilbert from Galway and Waterford contain very striking and at times very amusing pictures of the life of communities founded by the Anglo-Norman settlers in very opposite parts of the kingdom. While writing on this point, it is fitting to call attention to an ecclesiastical history published by a former Lord Chancellor of Ireland and an eminent

canonist in days when lawyers were students of the civil and canon as well as of English law Dr. John Thomas Ball was well known in the House of Commons ten years ago He was for many years the chief lieutenant of the late Mr Disraeli, by whom his solid learning was appreciated He then became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and now, retired from the strife and din of politics, he has returned to the studies of earlier days, and as the result has produced a History of the Church of Ireland \* covering much the same period as Bishop Mant in his two large volumes Dr Ball's work is much more concise and vigorous than the learned prelate's His is the work of an eminent lawyer and it therefore takes a thoroughly legal view of the late Irish Establishment and the fortunes of the English Government in Ireland Perhaps the most interesting part of it for very many will be found in Dr Ball's survey of the Revision movement, which followed upon Disestablishment In note HH, p 350, is contained a very accurate statement of all the changes made in the Irish Prayer-book, of which Dr Ball was perhaps the most competent expositor, as he was the trusted adviser of the late Primate Beresford, who consistently opposed every change, and therefore must often have debated every proposition with his vicar-general Dr Ball treats of many questions of general interest, as for instance, concerning the succession of bishops at the Reformation both in England and Ireland, as well as the history and origin of Convocation Dr Ball's work wants an index, but has a very exhaustive table of contents prefixed, but what shall we say to a Life of Baxter, † of nearly 500 solid octavo pages, without either a proper table of contents or an index or an authority quoted in the notes? There is really no excuse for such neglect A writer after revising his proofs could compose an exhaustive table of contents in two or three evenings, and as for an index to such a work, it merely involves a fortnight's careful work, which will be amply repaid in the thorough revision of spelling, &c, it involves But in this busy age writers have absolutely no claim on the public patience or respect who offer them a work like that of Mr Davies, with a table of contents such as we find on pp 7 and 8, which any child of ten years old might compose As for the body of the work, it is too large and too minute for its subject A picturesque Life of Baxter, which would take certain epochs of his life, and paint them vigorously, would be very attractive, for he was one of the most interesting of the Puritans Effective biography is, however, a very difficult work Writers become immersed in their subject, and they think the public takes the same interest in every petty detail as they do themselves Mr Davies' work labours under certain drawbacks, not the least of which is his omission of all reference to his authorities Still, it presents a careful and loving picture of a great and good man's life, and as such has its own value Mr Hore's History of the Church in England ‡ is written from a very different standpoint, or rather from the very opposite standpoint, to that of Mr Davies. Mr Hore offends against none of our canons He gives admirable tables of contents, good indices, and his volumes are very

\* "The Reformed Church of Ireland (1537-1886)" By Right Hon J T Ball, LL D, D C L London Longmans 1886

† "The Life of Richard Baxter" By John H Davies, B A London Kent & Co 1887

‡ "The Church in England, from William III to Victoria" By A. H Hore, M A London Parker 1886

handy for reading. Still, they are tendency-volumes, in the language of German criticism. They are controversial and written in a controversial spirit, to put the same in plain English, and so long as the historian is a controversialist he can scarcely be quite fair. Mr Hore writes as much from the extreme High Church as Mr Davies from the Low Church standpoint, and while his volumes are interesting and chatty, they are often one-sided and prejudiced.

We have space just to mention a few other works. Mr Conder's "*Syrian Stone Lore*,"\* dedicated to Prince Albert Victor of Wales, is a valuable and interesting contribution to history, by an observer who has lived and worked where ecclesiastical history was made. His pages deal with Palestine and Syria during the pre-Christian and the post-Christian age alike, his narrative being brought down to the times of the Crusaders. Mr Conder's work is valuable because he gives us the results of his own immediate observations. Hasenclever, in his work on the catacombs, reviewed above by us, would have derived much profit from them, but when he wanders into the field of ecclesiastical history pure and simple, Conder makes sad mistakes. Thus, on p. 274 he dates the first General Council of Nice in 327, while Clinton or any other authority would have told him it was held in 325, fixes (on p. 276) the controversy concerning the uncreated light of Mount Tabor to the fifth instead of to the fourteenth century, as Gibbon would have told him in his sixty-third chapter, and asserts (p. 296) that the Christians had no churches till the time of Constantine, though the first edict issued by Diocletian in A.D. 303 prescribed the destruction of all Christian churches, as he might have learned from Eusebius. Apart from such errors, which have no necessary connection with the text, Mr Conder's work is to be recommended to students of the Bible and of Church History.—Two very thorough works have lately been published, the one comes from England, the other from Scotland. Mr Chase's "*Chrysostom*"† is styled a study in the history of biblical interpretation, but it is much more, it is a careful and elaborate monograph on the great preacher of Constantinople, based on a conscientious investigation of the original. It was originally a Kaye Prize Essay at Cambridge, but has been worked up by a three years' study of the subject into a scholarly work on Chrysostom as a preacher and expositor of Holy Writ. It is not, however, a popular work, but one written by a scholar for scholars.—Dr Mitchell, a late Moderator of the Church of Scotland, has published another work of the same character on "*Puritan Catechisms*"‡. He is Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Andrews, and has devoted years to this somewhat obscure subject. The Westminster Catechism has had a great influence in shaping the religious and social character of England, Scotland, and America, and is worthy therefore of careful attention on the part of the secular as well as the ecclesiastical historian. Dr Mitchell's work will be found the best guide to the original sources. But why did both the English and the Scotch divine abstain from the labour of making an index?

GEORGE T. STOKES

\* "*Syrian Stone Lore*" By E. R. Conder, R. E. London: Bentley & Son, 1886.

† "*Chrysostom*," a Study on the History of Biblical Interpretation. By F. H. Chase M.A. Cambridge, 1887.

‡ "*Catechism of the Second Reformation*" By Alex. F. Mitchell, D.D. London, 1886.

## OXFORD AFTER FORTY YEARS.

THAT Oxford changes faster than any other place is not a new remark, and it is a true one only within certain limits. As concerns the outward look of the place, buildings and the like, change has almost wholly taken the shape of addition, a great deal that is new has been built, but very little that was old has perished. A new city, one might say, has grown up round the old one. There is that wonderful city of villas, which seems to spread daily further and further along the roads which run northward from old St Giles. And suburbs of less pretension, endless rows of small but decent-looking houses, have sprung up along every other road out of the city. But all these have sprung up where before there was nothing, and the old Oxford still abides in the middle of it all. In that old Oxford itself much that is new has arisen, but very little that is old has passed away. Nearly every college has thrown out some new building or other, but very few colleges have destroyed anything over which one is inclined to weep. The new is often fantastic and incongruous, but the old is for the most part there still, with the advantage of having the new as a foil. Balliol stands almost alone in any serious act of destruction. The new hall, which lifts itself up like a tall bully over the quiet and harmless, if not beautiful, inner quadrangle of Trinity, does not add to the fault of its existence the further fault of having supplanted anything much better. But the new chapel has come into being only by mutilating one of the most perfect pieces of design in the whole University, a chapel, library, and turret, modest enough, but the work, it was plain, of some consummate master of his art whose name has passed away. The yet more monstrous barbarism of destroying the old buildings of Merton forward threatened, and never happened, it is enough to have built

the new At Christ Church we can forgive some things that might be regretted, in satisfaction at the really great work which has made the cathedral church of the diocese something better than when, forty years back, it was practically only the chapel of a single college The new schools are a wondrous sight in the High Street, but they supplanted only the Angel Inn, though, to be sure, it might be said that the honest commonplace of the Angel Inn did not draw the eye so irresistibly to it as the amazing piece of architectural perversity which has sprung up on its site And there are quarters in the University where we can come a good deal nearer to actual praise Where Wykeham and Waynflete built of old, somewhat of their taste and spirit still dwell They built in plain English, before men had been dazzled by Ruskinian or Jacobæan vagaries And their successors have the sense to turn away from Ruskinian and Jacobæan vagaries, and to build in plain English still

But it is not of the outward look of Oxford, of its architecture, old or new, that I wish now chiefly to speak The changes in graver matters have been wonderful, and yet, like the architectural changes, they have left the kernel of the old fabric in the midst of modern additions Coming back, as I have done, to Oxford, after a non-residence of thirty-seven years, I find change in almost every detail, and yet, after all, I find much that is the same In some points I have found the return to Oxford more puzzling than if I had gone to a place of which I knew nothing before In another place I might have had to learn a new language, in Oxford the difficulty is that old names have got new or modified meanings But when I speak of a non-residence of thirty-seven years, I ought perhaps to explain myself It is certain that from 1817 to 1881 I lived elsewhere than in Oxford, but I had much more to do with Oxford than most non-residents Three appointments as examiner brought me largely to the place, and enabled me to watch the working of one part of the system pretty thoroughly for a good many years I seldom missed the gatherings of my own college on Trinity Monday, and at one time I not uncommonly paid visits to friends at Oxford For a good many years I watched the course of Oxford legislation very carefully, and often came up to vote, now and then to speak The changes which followed the appointment of the first Commission I watched perhaps as narrowly as any man, but a time came when, instead of an important change coming once in a year or two, two or three such changes began to come in every term With fortnightly revolutions it was impossible to keep up, my interest in and my knowledge of Oxford matters flagged, and—what I now deeply regret—I took little heed to the doings of the last Commission. I therefore came back to Oxford hardly prepared for the merciless havoc of these last changes I had not learned how much heavier were the scores of

the last Commission than the mere whips of the first. Above all, I had not learned how wonderfully a movement, whose aim was the encouragement and even the endowment of research, was by some malicious ingenuity turned about into an iron code by which research has been made well nigh penal.

One of the most striking outward changes in Oxford is the outward expression of a most important change in the general state of things. It has been put epigrammatically, that formerly nobody in Oxford was married except the heads, but that now the heads are the only people who remain unmarried. The great increase of professorships, the permission of marriage to fellows of colleges, and the flocking to Oxford of not a few who are not professors or fellows, has utterly changed Oxford life from what it was forty years back, or much less than forty years back. The old college life is all but destroyed. The unmarried fellow, living in his college rooms and making the college his home, is now becoming exceptional. Yet the old college life was a very good life, it gave the best possible opportunities for work, opportunities of which many took advantage, and no state of life was so well fitted for forming genuine and disinterested friendships. And in those days one could really see something of one's friends. This was "society" in a very good sense, but "society," in the sense in which that word is commonly understood, could not be said to exist in Oxford forty years back. When I was scholar and fellow, we very seldom saw the inside of a house as distinguished from a college. In fact there were very few houses, save those of the heads and a few married professors and tutors, to see the inside of. Oxford society was before all things a society of fellows of colleges, of men necessarily unmarried, and a large majority of them clergymen. It is a great mistake to think that all fellowships were clerical, there were a great number of lay fellowships in the University, in some colleges all or most of the fellows might be lay. But many fellows were non-resident, and many causes made non-residence more common among lay than among clerical fellows. The lay fellow was more often than not a barrister, and, if he practised, he was necessarily non-resident. The resident fellows then were mainly either clergymen or men intending to become clergymen. But Oxford society was not clerical society in the same way in which a society so largely made up of clergymen would be anywhere else. The clerical fellow was fellow first and clergyman afterwards. The average fellow—there were, of course, other types on both sides of him—was not unclerical in any bad sense, but his clerical character was not put forward in the same way as it commonly is with clergymen elsewhere. The college was to him a home, but not a permanent home, in most cases he looked forward to exchanging his fellowship for a college living. He was

often a tutor, in many cases an able and diligent tutor. But his tutorship was an adjunct to his fellowship; it was the business of the fellows, or some of them, to do the tutors' work of the college. But it certainly did not come into the head of the fellow and tutor of those days that he was a member of a tutorial profession.

The changes which followed the first two University Commissions went far to break down this state of things. The old college life did not perish, but it received some severe blows. Many more fellowships were opened to laymen, the resident lay fellow, acting as tutor or not, became a more usual character. On the other hand, non-residence spread more widely than before, it was in some sort looked on as the right thing, the notion that a fellow of a college could have any duties as such was put aside as old-fashioned. The consequence was that many colleges numbered very few residents, it was sometimes said that fellows of Oxford colleges were to be found everywhere except in Oxford. The allowance of marriage too began to creep in, but chiefly in the case of fellowships attached to professorships. Still, as a whole, the changes of those Commissions left the old college life in being, though somewhat modified. The number of resident fellows was lessened, but those who were left lived much after the old sort. But meanwhile the academical population outside the colleges was growing, and the changes of the last Commission, allowing marriage to a much greater extent, have gone far to root up the old ideal. Large traces of it are left still, but it exists as a survival; it is kept up by a kind of effort, because it has left a kindly memory behind it. The life of the thing is gone.

In my day it was a regular saying, made with more than one purpose, but anyhow perfectly true, that there was no "ladies' society" in Oxford. Now nobody can say that there is any lack of it. I remember in my youth some men complained of the old lack. But the object of an University is study, and it may be doubted whether the new social state is so conducive to study as the old. The new state has led moreover to a foolish imitation of London ways, London hours, and much that was utterly unknown in the simpler days of old. Above all, it has surely had something to do with that direct glorification of idleness, the amazing importance attached to mere amusements, which strikes one who comes back to Oxford in the new state of things as the most wonderful change of all. Many men in my day were idle enough; but they were not idle by authority. Now all kinds of amusement seem to be recognized as part of the business of the place. A boat race, a cricket-match, a foot-ball match, seems to be treated by quite grave persons as a serious business. Everything of the kind is solemnly chronicled and discussed in more than one academical periodical, alongside of class-lists and lectures and

debates in Congregation. Formerly men did not appear in the streets unless decently apparelled, now the official dress of this or that sport seems to be accepted as a fitting substitute for the discarded cap and gown. There was formerly some regard to the proprieties of things and places, now a ball in a college hall is a common thing, and we have seen a new University building solemnly opened by dancing. Then, beyond all, there is the portentous rage for play-acting. For the better encouragement of idleness, a playhouse is opened in the University, and a grand house-warming takes place in the presence of the chief resident officer of the University. A fashionable player is invited to lecture, and the young men who have been spending their time in amateur attempts to practise his art are presented to him, as promising young scholars might be presented to some renowned master of learning\*. Then there is the yearly madness of Commemoration, increasing each year in intensity and in extent of time, till it seems to be acknowledged that Trinity term is to be an admitted term of idleness. There may be some good reason for all these things, they may be improvements or developements which the men of a past generation cannot judge of, at any rate, to the men of a past generation they seem passing strange.

With regard to amusements, athletics and the like, the line seems easily drawn. Everybody, in an University or anywhere else, needs bodily exercise, he needs it, especially if young, if only to keep himself in such a case as to be capable of intellectual work. And every man must judge for himself what kind of bodily exercise best suits his own constitution. In itself there is no more objection to rowing on the river or playing at cricket than there is to a simple walk or ride, but there is a danger about them which there is not about the simple walk or ride. The walk or ride is mere exercise, it cannot become a matter of business or a matter of excitement, it is not looked forward to beforehand or dwelled upon afterwards. The walk or the ride too may be made directly helpful to many forms of mental improvement. But the other forms of exercise are looked forward to beforehand and dwelled upon afterwards. And when a form of exercise or amusement becomes in this way a business, when it becomes a matter of serious thought, when success in it is looked on as at least as important as any of the honours of the University, it has surely got out of its right place. Such a position given to any form of mere amusement is at least dangerous. It might be too much to say that it is formally inconsistent with real study, with real serious work of any kind, for there certainly are men of strong wills and strong bodies who contrive

\* Mr Irving's lecture was reported in many newspapers and was made the subject of many leading articles. About the same time Mr Goldwin Smith gave a lecture in his best manner—and we know what that is—on the Political History of Canada. Not a news paper reported it.



to combine the two But for ordinary men the combination is at least dangerous, if study and amusement clash, study is likely to go to the wall And again, the balls and the play-acting, with all the various forms of excitement which they lead to, are far more dangerous than sports which are at least forms of healthy outdoor exercise But there is no need to sit in abstract judgement on any of these forms of amusement, it is enough that they are not wanted in an University The academic year is less than six months long, and those six months are not continuous To do without balls and plays for three periods of eight weeks each is surely no very great sacrifice, when more than half the year is left for every one to take his fill of them wherever else he pleases

But the permission of marriage to fellows works in another way which more directly concerns the life of the colleges It blocks up the succession to fellowships It does so, both in the cases where fellowships are attached to professorships and in those where marriage is allowed in any other shape I speak as myself a married fellow, but I cannot help myself I cannot afford the expense of six months' residence at Oxford without an increase of income, so I must take the income of my professorship in whatever shape it comes Now I had no kind of objection to a certain suppression of fellowships for the endowment of professors, or for any other needful University purpose The number of non-resident fellows showed that there were many more fellowships in Oxford than were ever likely to be filled by the class of men who ought to be holders of fellowships, and there was no possible harm in getting rid of the overplus But they should have been simply suppressed, they should not have been annexed to professorships I find my own position as a fellow of Oriel an anomalous one I have indeed been welcomed by the fellows of that college as one who was not their own choice could hardly have expected to be welcomed I have become a member of a body to which it is a gain and a pleasure to belong Still I am out of place I cannot enter into the general affairs of the college, I cannot get the same knowledge of them, or feel the same interest in them, as I might even if I had been restored to a fellowship at Trinity With a fellow elected in the usual way, but the tenure of whose fellowship allows his marriage, this must be different. But he blocks the succession just as much as I do The lay married fellow, the lay married head, is likely to stay for ever There is nothing to call him away, as Church preferment called away the clerical fellows in times past, and as marriage called away fellows both clerical and lay. The succession therefore is blocked A young man who has done well in the University has not the same chance of a fellowship as he had in times past. And this, I am sure, is bad A man who has passed through a good undergraduate career, and who designs to make study

his chief object, should have a fair chance open to him of succeeding to a fellowship. Now his chances are small. The prevalence of marriage makes the number of vacant fellowships small, and those that are left are clogged by restrictions hardly designed for the promotion of learning. I could point to men, older and younger, men of exactly the class for whom fellowships were founded, real students, real scholars, who hold no fellowships, and are never likely to hold any.

In fact the marriage of fellows has worked together with many other causes wholly to destroy the old conception of a college. A college is before all things a foundation. It is a house built and endowed for the dwelling and maintenance of students. The students so maintained and dwelling together form a society, a brotherhood, of men living a common life and having many things in common. The college may rightly enough serve other purposes also, but this is the first purpose, and with this no other purpose should be allowed to interfere. The ideal of the college is a beautiful one, perhaps too beautiful to be ever quite perfectly carried out. I am very far from saying that it was perfectly carried out forty years back, or that it was ever perfectly carried out at all, but it certainly was much nearer to being carried out forty years back than it is now. There were several colleges where the members of the foundation did really feel as members of a foundation. The scholars of Trinity certainly did so. Nor was the original purpose of the founders of scholarships, to give a maintenance to students who could not maintain themselves, wholly forgotten. I do not say that the scholars of Trinity forty years back were exactly the "*pauperes et indigentes*" that we perhaps ought to have been. But I do not think that we were any of us sons of men of large fortunes, we lived in a quiet way, and most of us were glad of our scholarships—I certainly was glad of mine—as helps to living as we did live. Of course the scholarships were "prizes," in the sense that there was keen competition for them, but they were not mere prizes, we felt that we had not merely got something to show that we were clever fellows, but something which made us members of a body, dwellers in a house which was our own. The colleges again, with a general likeness in their constitution, had each one some peculiarities of its own. These were interesting as studies of foundations, and I believe they had a real practical use. Take for instance my own two colleges. Trinity had both fellows and scholars, both equally members of the foundation, that is, the society consisted of an elder and a younger class. The elder of course formed the ruling body, but the younger were as much at home as the elder, and they had a strong preference for election to the elder class. At Oriel there was no distinct class of scholars apart from fellows. *scholar* rather than *fellow* is the correct

title of the members of the one-bodied foundation. There was therefore no younger class from whom fellows were to be chosen by preference. The fellows of Oriel might come from any quarter. Now I hold that distinctions of this kind were good to preserve. Each mode of election had something to be said for it, and something against it. Oriel had a wider choice of fellows, but there could not be the feeling of having been academically born and bred in the house, of being *ὁμοσίπυροι καὶ ὁμογάλακτες*, which there was at Trinity. It would surely have been better to keep on both systems side by side. And so with other peculiarities of particular colleges, some fellowships were perfectly open, some were confined to particular schools or counties, some fellowships were clerical, some were lay, some admitted younger men than the average, some admitted older, most fellowships were for life, those at Wadham were terminable. Of these peculiarities, if some were mischievous, many were harmless, many were useful, many met particular cases. And I never could join without some qualification in the cry against fellowships and scholarships where the electors were under some restriction as to schools or counties. Why should not a founder, in making a benefaction for the maintenance of students, specially provide for some class in which he took a special interest? I am far from defending all the details of the old system as it stood. Many restrictions, many rules of other kinds, worked very badly, a thorough reform was needed. But I hold that that reform should have gone on the principle of boldly changing anything that actually worked badly and showed no likelihood of being made to work well, but of changing nothing for the mere love of change. Reform should not have taken the shape of a reconstruction of the colleges after a single model, and that a model in which the real object of the foundation of colleges is quite put out of sight.

A college in the University, in its original conception, is not primarily a place of education, the University itself is. The University is not wholly a place of education, education is only one of its objects, and hardly the highest, but a place of education, directly and primarily, it is and ought to be. In it the education of the young and the learning of the mature should both find a place. The young who seek for knowledge, and the elder who, having already much knowledge, still seek for more, ought, besides the help which the place gives in other ways, to find personal guides able to help them in their several objects. The primary object of a college is not the teaching of anybody, it is the maintenance in an incorporated society of some of those who come to profit by the teaching and other advantages of the University. When the foundation takes in a younger class, scholars as well as fellows, the elder brethren are the obvious teachers of the younger. And I am far

from saying that a college should not take in other members besides those on the foundation. In some colleges at least so to do was contemplated from the beginning. By the original statutes of Trinity, besides the president, twelve fellows, and twelve scholars, there might be twenty commoners. And when the colleges had largely swallowed up the old halls, and when a later statute obliged every member of the University to become a member of some college or hall, it became absolutely necessary that the colleges should very largely take in other members than those on the foundation. But it strikes the man of forty years back as strange that the relaxation of this necessity, the allowance of various forms of membership of the University without membership of a college—unattached students, private halls, specially the large and populous hall called Keble College—now followed by Mansfield—should have been followed by the astonishing rage, not for enlarging the foundations of colleges, but for enlarging the buildings of the colleges, so as to take in yet more members not on the foundation. The foundation, in short, as a foundation, gets forgotten, the old corporate feeling dies out, the scholarships become mere prizes, to show how clever the lads are. And the great law of all modern educational reform comes in—endowments meant for the poor are turned to the use of the rich. Then, by a kind of remorse, by a slight *Ayenbite of Inuyn*, to make up somewhat for this perversion of the endowments of the scholarships, exhibitions, not scholarships, are set up for the benefit of those to whom the scholarships ought to go. The scholarships are now used as baits to tempt men to this college or that. Now scholarships—that is, exhibitions under the name of scholarships, for they carry with them no membership of a corporation—are founded with that avowed end. College A cannot compete with College B unless it has more scholarships, unless it changes the time of election to scholarships, or what not. It is really the feeling of the shop over the way. Each college wants to be as big as it can, it becomes in short a great school, wishing to attract boarders. The fellowship is no longer the maintenance of a student, a student who in many cases may well be also the teacher of his own younger brother, it becomes part-payment of a teacher of any who come to the school. One hears the teaching fellows of a college spoken of as members of a “profession,” as if they were schoolmasters or ushers. A student-fellow who uses the bounty of his founder for the purposes for which his founder meant it is now an exception, perhaps the ideal student-fellow was always an exception, but now he is becoming nearly an impossibility. The various kinds of fellows, in the statutes put forth by the last Commission, are so many and so complicated that they almost need a special professor of *sociology* to explain them. But it would seem that for the kind of fellow whom founders wished for,

the man who is before all things a student in some branch of learning, there will soon be no place at all

If the competition between colleges seems strange to the man of the past generation, the combination between colleges seems stranger still. Such and such colleges have lectures in common, and, what seems stranger still, they elect scholars by a common examination. Now if the object of a college is simply to prepare undergraduates for an examination, if scholarships are simply prizes for those who can pass the best examination, I can believe that these are means well adapted to those ends. But they go far to destroy the old idea of the college as a foundation, a house, a family. Indeed the whole system on which the last Commission went with regard to the colleges, the way of looking at education as their first object, of looking at the college as a kind of school, at the fellow as a kind of usher, a being for whom there is no place or excuse unless he does "college work"—a work of which the improvement of himself seems to be no part—all this naturally tends to a very much greater change even than any that the Commissioners have made. If the colleges are to cease to be houses, families, brotherhoods, if they are to be merely so many schools, the question at once suggests itself, Is there any need for these independent schools? Would it not be better to have only one great school, namely, the University itself? With the Commissioners' notions, the colleges are in the way, it is quite certain that no one setting out with their notions would ever have set them up. It is simply old associations which have hindered them from being swept away. On the principles of the Commissioners, the buildings of the colleges may be useful as boarding-houses, but there is no reason for the existence of the colleges themselves as separate corporations, with separate constitutions, separate endowments, separate governing bodies. The English University with colleges is one thing, the German or Scottish University without colleges is another thing, each doubtless has some advantages and some disadvantages. Each country, I feel sure, will do best by sticking to its own system and working it as well as possible, rather than by imitating the system of the other. But the Commissioners have given us something which is neither the one nor the other. The extreme development of the two severally is where all teaching is done by college tutors, and where all teaching is done by University professors. But in the present system neither the college tutor prevails nor the University professor, but the combined lecturer. He has shoved the college tutor aside, and he tramples the University professor under foot.

Now let no one think that I in the least wish to see this system carried out further, that I wish the colleges to become mere boarding-houses. *Μὴ γένοιτο*. I have that affection for the old college

system that I would cleave to every scrap and survival of the separate being of those noble foundations, that grand series, from Merton in the thirteenth century to Wadham in the seventeenth, the like of which no other land has to show. But I do say that the last Commissioners, and any who approve—there must be some who approve—of the doings of the last Commissioners, would have been only consistent in sweeping away the colleges as independent bodies. If each body of fellows is to be a mere company of ushers, there is really no need for the elaborate system of separate constitutions and separate endowments. Now I wish the colleges to be, if possible, as they used to be, something better than companies of ushers with their pupils. I can conceive higher objects than “college work,” as “college work” seems now to be understood. The combined lecturer is beyond me, but when we come to the old question between the college tutor and the University professor, I firmly believe that between the college tutor, as the college tutor was of old, and the University professor there need be no rivalry or opposition whatever. The fault in my day was, not that the college tutors stood in the way of the professors, but that the professors did hardly anything at all. Not but that many of them were perfectly ready to do something, if they had had the chance, but nobody went to them, or was encouraged to go to them. But the wider and more general teaching of the professor was just what was wanted to supplement the narrower teaching of the college tutor. And be it remembered that the college tutor is not a mere teacher, he is, or ought to be, a guide as well. His office is a domestic one, he stands in a personal relation to his pupils, in which the professor does not stand. I can conceive that, with a well-organized professoriate, a man who was no very brilliant scholar might still make a very useful tutor, if he did his personal work well, and supplied any deficiencies in his own teaching by sending his pupils to the proper professors. Now I do not forget that both college tutors and University professors are comparatively modern. By the old theory of the University there is an inherent right and duty of teaching in every doctor and master, “professor” is in truth merely another equivalent for those two synonymous names, the formal style of the doctor in divinity is still “*Sacrae Theologiæ Professor*.” One may stop to remark that, if the right and duty of teaching belongs to every doctor and master, some care should be taken to make every doctor and master capable of teaching. But the immediate point is that, as the colleges grew and their relation to the University was settled, the growth of two distinct classes of teachers, one in the University at large, the other in particular colleges, seems a very natural and healthy bit of evolution. And in my day the old theory did survive in a certain

way, the old private coach was no unfair representative of the independent doctor or master teaching simply as a doctor or master. But under the present system an anomalous class of teachers has arisen who are neither University professors, nor college tutors, nor masters teaching simply as such. The combined lecturer comes under none of those heads, and it is the combined lecturer who now reigns, he goes far to crowd out all the others. Yet his position is an anomalous one, for which no place could have been found in the relation of colleges and University as they stood a few years back. He is not an independent master teaching as such, for somebody appoints him. Nor is he a domestic officer of one college, with duties confined to the walls of that college. Nor is he a public University officer, like the professor or reader. He lectures to members of several colleges, sometimes, I believe, to members of any college. Such a position is utterly different from that of a college tutor, standing in a personal relation to the men of that college. Surely a man holding such a position, lecturing to members of the University at large, should be an University officer, under University rule and control. Reserving the right of every master to teach if anybody will come to be taught, surely all teaching beyond the walls of a single college should be University teaching, the teaching of authorized professors and readers. It is a professor who speaks, and I am doubtless inclined, like all other men, to magnify my own office, but surely the professor of any branch of knowledge, who either is a master of that branch of knowledge or else is unfit to be professor of it, should be the acknowledged head of his own branch. There are subjects studied by so few that the professor himself can do all that is needed in them. There are others which have many students, and which therefore require many teachers. But surely the professor should be the head of those teachers. They should act in some kind of relation to him. He might well take some branches of the subject himself, and allot others to the readers and lecturers, all working together in fellowship. One might even expect that the younger teachers of a subject would be foremost to attend the lectures—presumably of a higher and more general kind than their own—of one whom they may fairly look on as their chief. The actual state of things is far different. There never was a more singular case of a movement being turned about to a result the exact opposite of that for which it was intended, than the fact that the last Commission arose out of a movement for the advancement of research. We heard a great deal about the "endowment of research," sometimes the "subsidy of research," whatever that meant. The Commissioners, everybody thought, were to do something for men of learning as such. Whether the endowment of research was a very practical idea may be doubted;

at all events the Commissioners did not look on it as such. Nearly everything that they have done has looked the other way. Certain fellowships at All Souls' must be excepted, the holders of which are not allowed to be idle and are not required to cram boys, but hold their fellowships by the tenure of doing real work in some branch of knowledge or other. With regard to most other fellowships, the classes of them are endless, but in none does the original object of a fellowship, the maintenance of a student, seem to have been thought of at all. The professors are put under every possible kind of fetter. A number of lectures fixed by statute of course means that no more than that number will ever be given. A man who is fit to be professor must know better than any set of Commissioners could know beforehand the number of lectures, more or fewer, which his subject needs at any particular time. And the odd thing is that, while the number is rigidly fixed, the nature and subject is left to the professor's choice. I may lecture publicly or privately, I may practically lecture on anything I please, for I am bound simply to lecture on "some part of modern history," and the Commissioners do not, any more than anybody else, attempt to define what "modern" history is. As to everything else I am perfectly free, but I must give forty-two lectures in a year, and in two terms out of three I must lecture twice a week for seven weeks. The amount is very far from excessive, left to myself, I should very likely do more. It is the being ordered, the being distrusted, the being treated like an usher, and not like a man who is or ought to be at the head of his subject, which is the grievance. There is, to be sure, the "lecture list," a paper in which the lectures of all professors and other teachers are announced so long beforehand that the announcements have commonly to be altered before the time comes for carrying them out. A vast deal of time is wasted on making this list, which always reminds one of "the number and hardness of the rules called the pie." To arrange the times and places of lectures seems to be a far harder task than to give the lectures when the time comes. The list, when made, contains the lectures of the University professors and readers, jumbled up with the lectures of tutors and lecturers in particular colleges or groups of colleges. The union is odd, for one would have thought that the work of a professor was, or ought to be, something that would interest the University in general, and even some beyond the University, while the lectures of college tutors and lecturers surely matter to no one but the undergraduates of the colleges concerned. And if these two are mixed together, surely the independent master, who does now and then show himself, ought to be admitted also. But for him there is no place. To get on the list the man who is not professor or reader has to be certified by the head of some college or hall.



The list which has so much time and thought spent upon it, and which seems to be always making, is made by a Board consisting of professors and readers sitting *ex officio*, and of other elected members. How those members are elected, and by whom, is sometimes a little mysterious. What is certain is that the most eminent of the elected members have a singular way of disappearing from the Board. It is said, but it is hardly credible, that an eminent scholar has been known to disappear because a single elector met by himself, and elected himself instead of the eminent scholar. Anyhow, however the Board is formed, the professor, no less than the combined lecturer, is bound to submit his scheme of lectures to it. In an usher this may be very well, but hardly in a man who is, or ought to be, at the head of his subject. But hark what follows: the professor must submit his lectures to the Board, the Board may give him advice, if they please, but it is expressly ordered that he need not take their advice. If they disapprove of his scheme, they may report him to the Vice-Chancellor. What the Vice-Chancellor is to do to him if he is reported, the ordinance fails to decree.

These absurd enactments are of course never put in force, for the simple reason that the members of the Board have too much sense to put them in force. Against the Modern History Board I have nothing to say, they have treated me well in every way. They chose me their chairman when they might have chosen somebody else, they chose me personally to several places, notably to a share in the appointment of Examiners, to which they might have chosen somebody else, they have given me no trouble about my lectures, such as the ordinance authorized them to give, the only suggestion which they have made to me has been one which I gladly accepted. The only fault is the waste of time, which is not their fault, but the fault of the Commissioners. I only hope that a body to which I have every reason to be grateful will not be angry with me when I say that I have not yet found out the use of the Board nor the use of the lecture list, nor when I say that I think that, if there is to be a Board of Modern History, the Regius Professor ought to be its *ex-officio* chairman, and to have a voice *ex officio* in appointing Examiners in Modern History. The dilemma is plain: either the professor is the fittest man for these functions, or he is unfit to be professor at all \* \*

\* I had once hoped to have a chance of saying a little more on these points. Not long ago the House of Commons was seized with a longing to know something about the doings of professors. A number of questions were sent out, to most of which the answers were to be found in the Commissioners' book of Ordinances. Thinking the House wanted to know something more than that, I wrote at some length—as if I had been answering a Commission—on several of the points suggested, and I sent, as we were bid, my paper to the then Vice Chancellor. What became of the paper I do not know, and who wrote the answers which appeared in my name I do not know, I only know that I never saw my paper again, and that I did not write the published answers.

It is hardly possible that the last Commissioners, in framing their ordinances, deliberately intended to throw hindrances in the way of research, or to degrade the professors as the representatives of research. They most likely did not think about the matter. The Commissioners, or whoever guided the Commissioners, had somehow got hold of the notion of the University as a mere school, a mere place of education, not a place of both education and research, and they made their statutes accordingly, not for masters of the different branches of knowledge, but for ushers teaching boys. Of the colleges as foundations they seem not to have thought at all, but they were not quite prepared to carry out their own leading idea by turning them into mere boarding-houses, so they left them as other schools provided with other ushers. People used to mock at the minute and rigid statutes by which some of the old founders—not the oldest of them—bound the members of their foundations, here we have statutes just as minute and rigid to bind men who, if they are at all worthy of their places, must know far better what to do than any Commissioners can tell them. We are now in the Jubilee Year, a Jubilee Year ought to be a year of deliverance, a year of setting free the captive. No better form of deliverance could be thought of than a short Act of Parliament annulling the acts of the last Commissioners, and setting the University, its professors, and its colleges, free.

In another article I hope to deal with some other branches of the subject, which do not so much concern the action of any Commission, but rather the action of the University itself, chiefly with regard to subjects of study and examination, during the last forty years.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN

## AN APOLOGY FOR ARMIES

ONE of the brightest visions created by the imagination of poets and prophets is that of a golden age, past or future, an age when there has been, or shall be, no war and no cruelty, an age of wisdom, reason, and gentleness among all mankind. But if we search the depths of written and traditional history, or those older and truer histories, the records of the rocks, there is abundant evidence that no such golden age has existed for man or beast, and if we read the signs of the times without prejudice, it is impossible to doubt, not only that a future golden age is utterly beyond our ken, but even that at this moment the civilized world is passing through one of the retrograde movements which occur from time to time, and are the backwash of the much-vaunted "wave of civilization." It may be admitted that, on the whole, there is progress, but it would be a fatal error to take the desires and interests of a commonwealth like our own, chiefly commercial and with more territory than it knows how to manage, for the general feeling of civilized mankind. And if civilized nations are not yet weaned from the contemplation of war as a necessity and a glory, if such people as the brilliant French, and educated, deep-thinking Germans, are at this moment sharpening and brandishing their swords against each other, how are we to expect that semi-civilized States like Russia, or the barbarous tribes which still occupy so large a portion of this fair world, are to leap at one bound up all the steps of progress in the "enthusiasm of humanity"—steps over which the leaders of civilization have so painfully toiled during the lapse of centuries, and down which some of them are now apparently descending?

Yet, in the midst of the anxieties caused by our panic-breeding unreadiness for war, there are still some individuals so curiously

insular in habit of thought as to spend their valuable time and energies in attempting to propagate the idea that we have no need of an army, and others who ask plaintively to be told for what purpose England requires a military force, seeing that she is surrounded by sea, and therefore, they presume, safe from invasion. At least, these seekers after truth show us a shining example of one great principle of the military art—namely, that the best way to defend one's own ground is to carry the war into that of the enemy. Then question is not unlike the poses set to their elders by children who, during some homily on conduct, will ask "Why is anybody born naughty?" or as if a student, during the demonstration of a difficult problem in astronomy, should refuse to proceed further until his tutor had made clear to him what is the nature and cause of the force of gravity, for, to such original depths must the bucket be sent down by him who attempts to bring to the surface the truth about armies and their necessity. How far shall the argument go back? and how much may be taken for granted? Obviously the task becomes too much for mortal strength if we may not take for granted original sin, or the struggle for existence, or whatever may be the favourite explanation of the fact, that from all time men, like other animals, have fought for love, for hunger—including earth-hunger in man's case—and generally to get by means of force whatever their hearts were set upon, even if it were the conversion of their brother from the error of his religious or political ways. It would be tedious to give the proofs of this fact with which all history teems, and the answer would probably be "We don't need any information about the exterminating wars of savages, or the raids of robber barons, or devastations of religious persecutors, or the scientific campaigns of ambitious princes, the question is, Why, in this era of civilization, intellectual, and commercial progress, and general mildness of manners, it should be necessary to have standing armies, especially in this commercial country of ours?"

Now, on this point turn a great many curious fallacies and misapprehensions of facts. Without denying that we are all gradually becoming gentler and more civilized, it must be confessed that the stage to which we have reached is still inconveniently crowded with police, judges, lawyers, convicts, and even here and there an executioner with his gibbet. And there would probably have to be many more, if it were not known that behind all stands the army, ready in the last resort to support law and order. The quiet scholar who labours at his desk for the advancement of learning, the comfortable tradesman who piles up his guineas in full assurance that his family and fortune will be protected, and, generally, the whole decent peace-loving folk owe to the existence of an army their freedom from daily peril, and, in this country at least, their immunity from forcible calls to pay

with their persons the blood-tax which they grudge to give from their purses. If a proposal were made to abolish the police of this civilized city of London, what a fine outcry there would be at the madness of letting the dangerous classes have their way. Why, then, should they suppose that there are no international dangerous classes ready to take advantage of the absence of those international police called armies? National security, wealth, and freedom to move forward in the path which suits any nation rest entirely on the power possessed by that nation to defend itself against the aggression of the dangerous classes of the world. The day has not arrived, if it ever will, when there are no poor and warlike nations ready to say "I will come with my iron and take all that gold"—gold of wealth, gold of freedom, civilization, and progress. And if we question ourselves honestly as a people, we cannot but admit that slackness of trade, with its threat of poverty, invariably produces outcries for opening up new markets even at the point of the sword. Of all causes for the decline of the military spirit the most powerful has probably been free trade, yet the instinctive desire for forcing our trade was the main cause of our wars in the eighteenth century, and what else but the determination to make and keep trade free has led us lately into Burmah? We go with our iron, and force the presence of our traders on unwilling but weak nations, yet believe that we may be weak and safe.

In time past, before the invention of gunpowder, nothing was easier than to form an army for offence or defence. Nearly every man possessed a weapon, and knew how to use it. There were no standing armies nor any need for them, since the time of Roman discipline, but princes raised levies without difficulty, and the whole gentle-born population consisted either of military leaders or of clergy, both avocations being sometimes exercised by the same individual. But with gunpowder came increased expense, both in the explosive itself and the weapons introduced for its service. The classes from which the private soldiers were drawn could not afford to buy and keep such costly firearms, and, moreover, an amount of discipline and practice not required before became necessary. Hence trained armies began to take the place of the rude militia which formerly sufficed for war purposes. The troops had to be paid, and thus gradually arose the system of armies separated from the rest of the population. The new organization for war had its good and bad side. It was good that the bulk of the people should be free to pursue the arts of peace, but armies became mercenary and addicted to plunder and high-handed measures of various kinds. A separation in habits and interests occurred between them and the people, and a feeling of antagonism was developed, which is at the root of most of the prejudices cherished to this day by the British people.

against the soldiers by whom they are guarded. In other countries the re-introduction of compulsory general service has once more identified the army with the people, and, while weighing to a considerable extent on the productive powers of nations, has yet served in some instances the cause of education, and helped to weld together the different provinces of the same country. Respect for order and authority has been created and fostered, and soldiers going back to their homes, after a comparatively short period in the ranks, have carried with them the germs of virtues which they and their families might never have known but for the education received by them during their term of service in the ranks. How far general service has influenced nations for good is difficult to determine, but the troops of Germany, which first introduced the practice, behaved in 1866 and 1870-1 with a moderation and good feeling for the vanquished, which, if it still left something to desire, was a remarkable improvement on the excesses of the 'Thirty Years' War, the Seven Years' War, and even the campaigns of 1814 and 1815. Englishmen, for good or evil, prefer to keep up a separate army fairly well paid, though the Volunteer movement is a proof that the idea of citizens' contributions to the defence of the country by personal service has fixed some roots in British soil.

The objectors to the existence of armies base their main argument on the supposition that soldiers are the embodiment of the principle of force, and imagine that, if they were got rid off, a reign of peace would ensue. Their syllogism is war is an evil, war is waged by soldiers, therefore, if soldiers were abolished, an evil thing would go with them. But they have first to prove that soldiers alone can make war. On the contrary, the most terrible and destructive invasions have been those not conducted by regular armies. The hordes of Zenghis Khan, the barbarians who overran the decaying Roman Empire, grown luxurious and unwarlike, the tribes of Central Asia which so long made any civilization impossible, were not regular armies, and if it be said that we should let such people as the Kaffirs, the Zulus, the Sikhs, the Mahrattas, or the Burmese go their own way in peace, the answer is that it is not generals, but merchants, who first interfere with them, and the aggressive spirit which the peace party has to put down is not that of soldiers, but of bagmen. It is somewhat inconsistent to talk of peaceful triumphs of commerce, seeing that every step made by commerce is invariably either preceded or followed by the use of arms. The freedom of the ocean was gained by fighting, and the commerce of the British Empire places its throne upon English bayonets. Armies are not the cause of war, but the regulation of it, and reduction to its mildest terms.

A favourite theory of those who attack the existence of armies is,

that the soldiers who compose them are by their enlistment removed from the ranks of producers of wealth, and become drones, living on the labour of the people. There is just enough truth in this to make it a formidable argument in appearance, but it has very little point when applied to such a small force as the army of England, recruited by voluntary enlistment. In the first place, it is untrue that the bulk of recruits would be producers if not enlisted. Every officer whose duty brings him into contact with recruits knows that one of the chief incentives to enlistment is the want of work, and another is the roving spirit which prevents a youth from settling down till he has seen something of the world—that spirit which has moulded the character of the nation and created the vast colonial empire beyond the seas. But supposing it were true, which it is not, surely there is something a little absurd in the supposition that no useful work can be done in a community except the production of wealth. The London Fire Brigade is no producer of wealth, nor are the police, nor the insurance companies, nor members of Parliament, nor Ministers of the Crown as such, they may be anything in their private capacity, and so may soldiers who happen to be possessed of capital. Lawyers, doctors, parsons are not by their profession wealth-producers, and a hundred other instances might be given of useful persons who are not wealth-producers—some of them not even wealth-protectors, and the soldier can at least claim to exercise that function.

But of all people the last who should accuse soldiers of being expensive to the community are the shopkeepers. Does the soldier live for a short term of years on contributions paid by the community which he protects? The shopkeeper lives all his life on the contributions of the community which he tempts to extravagance. When one thinks of the superabundant mass of shopkeepers, all producing nothing, but getting their livelihood out of the toll which they take of goods while passing between the producer and consumer, the cost is startling. When figures are added up, and the annual expenditure of a nation like Great Britain is stated in its immensity, any item appears prodigious. The amount of the earnings of shopkeepers is not within the knowledge of the writer, but on turning to Nuttall's Dictionary of Statistics, it seems that the expenditure of the nation on beer and wine alone in 1881, without reckoning spirits or cider, just about equalled the cost of the whole Crimean War. And this expenditure on drink goes on year after year, though lately it has been diminishing to a certain extent. If a "Retired Sussex Farmer" is to be believed, an extra profit introduced by the butchers has of late years cost the consumers forty millions a year, while the farmers are being ruined. The butchers, then, are pocketing much more extra profit than the whole

cost of the army and navy together All this is not intended to prove that soldiers should be kept up for the pleasure of looking at them, or that shopkeeping should be put down because it is expensive, but when the traders claim to be virtuous, and thank God that they are not as those soldiers, it becomes interesting to try to see where the virtuous economy to the nation comes in

One of the best and healthiest signs of the age—a sign that England, with all her luxury, has not entered on a stage of decline—is the Volunteer movement All honour to those who started and keep it alive! With all the talk about it, there are few who seem to grasp its glorious significance Rightly considered, it is the revolt of common sense against vague dreams—a declaration by the shopkeepers themselves that our national individuality is worth preserving, and that the function of guarding wealth is as necessary and honourable as that of getting it In its hot youth it was perhaps a little difficult to manage, but the good sense and good feeling which still characterize our race have carried it through the follies of childhood and the temptations of adolescence into the disciplined sobriety of working life The creation and preservation of a sort of military discipline, practically enforced by no worse punishment than dismissal and recovery of a small fine, and the eagerness with which the use of arms is studied and the fatigues of field-work encountered by the most respectable and quiet of the English classes, have produced a great moral effect both at home and abroad by showing that the military virtues are neither despised nor neglected in Great Britain, while the stubborn persistence with which the movement grew in strength and importance, in spite of the early application of official wet blankets, is one of a thousand proofs that a nation possessing vigorous life is generally wiser and more far-seeing than the best of Governments A great example has been shown to the civilized world, and may perhaps be followed—in the twenty-first century Be this as it may, the one fact which stands out in history to the credit of the British shopkeepers of this era is, that they recognized and adopted military virtues, and showed in their own person a determination to belie the terrible suggestion contained in that passage of Lord Bacon “In the youth of a State arms do flourish, in the middle age of a State, learning, and then both of them together for a time, in the declining age of a State, mechanical arts and merchandise” It may be the mission of England to show that arms can flourish as protectors of mechanical arts and merchandize If it be not so, Lord Bacon has another pregnant sentence “When a warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war, for commonly such States have grown rich in the time of their degenerating, and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war” The proof of manhood



in the shopkeepers should make to tingle the blood of every Englishman who loves his country and believes in the value of her civilization.

But passing beyond the moral significance of the movement, it must be confessed that the actual protection afforded by the Volunteers to trade during peace is up to this time very slight. By trade is of course meant, not shopkeeping at home, but the great exchange of commodities which is in perpetual action between the nations of the world, and especially between Great Britain and her colonies, or other countries with a maritime frontier. This trade by sea is protected in the first place by the navy, which, by the way, is seldom as strong as it ought to be, but the navy itself depends for its existence, or at least for its power of being useful, on the army. This is no paradox. In Nelson's time a fleet might keep the sea for a very long period without touching at a British port, for its only necessities were water and provisions, which could be obtained almost anywhere. But step by step have come, first steam, auxiliary to sails, then steam as the main motive power, and finally, steam as the only motive power worth naming in most ships, and the only power at all in some. Yet ships of war carry little coal in proportion to their consumption, and are more dependent than merchant vessels on the supplies stored for them on land, at certain spots called coaling stations. Now and then we hear of an enthusiastic sailor who proposes to defend all the coaling stations by ships, but the sober-minded members of the profession know very well that the navy, however strong, would be better occupied in seeking out the enemy and in guarding trade routes, than in hanging about a port to defend it against the stray cruisers of an enemy, any one of which might destroy the port and burn the stock of coal unless it be defended by land forces. Without defended coaling stations the best fleet is helpless, and the naval power of England depends even more upon her practical monopoly of such places—as yet insufficiently prepared for defence, however—than upon the number of her ships. Some of these stations rely on the navy to keep open their communications, but the navy is absolutely dependent on them for the coal, which is the very life of the steamships, and in some cases for the opportunity of repairs and refitment. There is hardly a corner of the habitable globe where a British man-of-war cannot find a British welcome, and, if necessary, shelter under the guns of a British garrison, and the existence of the outlying stations depends upon the fact that reinforcements are never far off, because the army has its great garrisons as well as its small, and possesses the keys of every waterway important to the communications between Great and Greater Britain. It is true that we are less vulnerable in our home than other nations are in

theirs, but the Colonial Empire is very vulnerable, and it is no use blinking the fact that with the colonies would go the command of the sea—that is, the command of the home food supply. The fleet and the army are interdependent, and on the good work of both would depend in war the question of abundance or starvation in the United Kingdom.

As an example of another reason why an army is necessary take the growing interest and importance of Africa, which is probably destined to become in time a great market for our goods. But for the army and the Mediterranean fortresses the whole of the northern portion would by this time be denied to us. The impotence of a fleet beyond its own element was illustrated in a remarkable manner after the bombardment of Alexandria, and the hesitation to use the land forces, which ought to have been brought up from Malta and Gibraltar before a shot was fired, was the first seed of all that crop of troubles which have choked our best endeavours ever since. Those who are perpetually desiring to reduce the army, and asking what is the meaning of it, become responsible for the want of courage in its use displayed by Ministers of the Crown. If the best trade routes into Central Africa are now in our hands, it is due to the English army, and by its moral, or perhaps even physical pressure, will the development of the Dark Continent be achieved, so far as England is concerned.

We have lately heard from the lips of Prince Bismarck an exposition on the state of Europe. He described it as one of tension everywhere, and asserted that nothing but constant readiness for war on the part of Germany prevents a conflagration. Like all thinkers, he has had his dream of conciliating the traditional foe, and sitting down to enjoy the arts of peace. He tells the world that Germany has supported France in everything except her desire to have back the conquered provinces, but that the result of all his efforts to please has been a failure so complete, that if Germany were engaged in any other war to-morrow, France would certainly attack her in rear. It is all very well to say that Prince Bismarck used this language in order to obtain from the Reichstag the increase of the army since granted. This is but touching the fringe of the question. We must go a little deeper, and ask why he wanted such an increase. It would show little acquaintance with his aims and policy if we were to credit him with a love of military glory for itself. His economical views may be mistaken, but he certainly thinks deeply on the means of making Germany prosperous. He has no more fame to win, and might lose all he has if he staked it on a new war. He is a veteran in age and politics, Europe gives him credit for knowing his business as a great master in it. When he and Count von Moltke stand side by side before the German

people, and tell them the truth with firm but sad utterance, we hear the united wisdom of the two old men who are acknowledged to be the first soldier and the first continental Minister of the age. And they tell the world that not only is the condition of Europe now dangerous to peace, but that it must continue to be so for half a century, even if wars come and go meanwhile. War with France there will be, but whether in ten days or ten years the Chancellor cannot tell. And we hear also that one main item in the danger is the weak military condition of the Conservative States, such as Austria and England. Hence Germany has to make up for their deficiencies by a military expenditure under which she labours and groans.

It is common to hear in England the curious question, "On what pretext can a great European war arise, especially between France and Germany?" Pretext! Why there never has been in this troubled world of ours a single difficulty in finding a pretext for a quarrel, either in public or private life. When, in the days of duels, two gentlemen found that their claims to the affections of a lady could not be adjusted amicably, and gallantry prevented them from bringing her name into the affair, one of them trod on the other's toe or remarked that he did not like the shape of his rival's nose. A pretext for quarrels was easy enough to find, the difficulty was to avoid them. So it has been constantly, even in modern Europe. A flimsier pretext than the garden quarrel between the King of Prussia and M. Benedetti could hardly be found, but it was enough to begin a war in 1870, partly for dynastic purposes but chiefly because of national jealousy. The increasing armaments of France on the one hand, or Prince Bismark's speeches on the other, would be quite pretext enough for a declaration of war, nor is it difficult for a clever diplomatic fencer like the Chancellor to manage a quarrel so that the adversary is obliged to take the first step. He has done so already on two occasions, and could do it again if it suited his policy to have war. It is waste of time to talk about the immediate provocation. There is provocation enough in the constant attitude of France and Germany towards each other. It is hardly worth while to heap proof upon proof of the probability of a great continental struggle in our time. None but the wilfully blind can doubt that the fabric of peace is tottering to its fall and cannot be propped up much longer. Every nation, except England, is sadly and anxiously counting up its soldiers and its means of action. Among Englishmen alone is there a vague hope that our proud and virile people will hear unmoved the clash of arms around us, and rest content to see the future of the civilized world settled without any weight being given to our opinion. Or do we imagine that we shall be suffered to husband our resources and come in as arbiters,

when the combatants are exhausted? So thought Napoleon III in 1866. The answer to his dream was the campaign of 1870, the loss of his throne, and the humiliation of his country. Europe has entered once more on an era of force. Between Russia and Austria, between France and Germany, there is in progress a struggle like that of the tug of war, well known to athletes. The rope is at full stretch and the strain is terrible. Eye to eye and foot to foot the nations are even now pulling with quickened breath and starting muscles. The first failure, the least sign of yielding will be a signal for that short and intense effort which we call war, and which will be the crisis in the fate of civilized mankind. No man living, whether statesman or philosopher, can predict the changes which may issue from such a conflict. Certainly all balances of power and other flimsy contrivances of that sort will be upset. Such a war was once coming, and was stopped by the partition of unhappy Poland. Yet we have Englishmen asking for what purpose we need an army. Prince Bismarck has already tried to turn the energies of France against England, and may do so again with better success.

Even some of the deepest thinkers are apt to be led away by a natural error which results from their lack of professional knowledge. They have the idea that England, though unprepared, has such vast patriotism that she would call armies from the soil, and such manufacturing power that she could very quickly make up for past deficiencies. No. Not if every grown man sprang to his feet and called for arms, not if every manufacturer in the country were set to work on producing guns, rifles, and stores of all sorts. Armies are in these modern times as complicated, and require as much careful training, as great commercial systems or political constitutions. Count von Moltke tells the German Reichstag that it will not do to give him the peace increase of establishment which he wants for a short period. It must be permanent. This English trust in the production of armies just when they are wanted, and not till then, ignores two great facts. First, that the training of soldiers, but more especially officers, requires years before efficiency is reached, and secondly, that such stores as guns and other necessities cannot be made under a time which counts by years. Considering that the strain is always on in the international tug of war, and the process of exhaustion proceeding under our eyes, it seems probable that the final crisis will be short and sharp. Certainly it will be over long before a nation which is unready at first could prepare herself to exercise the influence which she claims as a Great Power. Even the lending of money to allies, which is the charming substitute for personal action recommended by some politicians, would come too late. To be of any use the money should be lent while the early stages of the tug are in progress. It is then that the one side can

be kept up When the crisis has actually come it will be too late To those who soothe their anxieties by a blind faith in Governments, we would point to the garrisons in the Soudan which were all to be saved, but fell while our preparations were in progress Is it possible that even the fate of Gordon has not opened the eyes of Englishmen to the fatal tendency of this country to be too late?

In the early stage of the Volunteer movement there were many who imagined that the new organization would become a substitute for a regular army, and perhaps there are some—though certainly not among the Volunteers themselves—who still dream of so happy a consummation But to make the Volunteers effective as an army fit to take the field many things would be necessary They would require much more drill—including tactical exercises—and all the subsidiary organizations which now form part of the army properly so-called The same or greater expense would have to be incurred for fortifications, and, in short, with some exceptions, which might even now be saved in the cost of our military system, the votes would be the same or greater The only difference would be the pay of officers and men, which forms but a small part of the Army Estimates And it is impossible to suppose that officers trained, as they should be, to match those of continental armies could be found without paying them for their whole time Even the men would require more pay They are asking for it now, and would rightly ask for more if increased service were required of them In short, it is more than probable that the expense of the Volunteers made fit for the field would equal those of the present regular army, and it would still be necessary to find garrisons for the fortresses which are the stepping-stones of British power, and those garrisons must be paid At the first international crisis England would find her word set at naught as being unbacked by force, and there would be such a panic and cry for increased armaments as have never been known even in this country Admirable as the Volunteers are, they will be the first to acknowledge that they cannot take the place of a regular army We arrive then at the conclusion that a regular army is necessary for this country because —

First—It guards our food supply, which involves the retention of everything we value—liberty, prosperity, peace itself, and the influence which England exercises over the progress of mankind It is easy to show that England might be invested like a fortress and starved out if the convoys of food could be stopped by an enemy The fleet would guard those convoys, but would itself be dependent on the safety of coaling stations, which must be protected by land forces

Second—We have undertaken a magnificent task in the government and civilization of India Irrespective of the

shame of shrinking back now, and casting the work of a century into the fire of anarchy, we derive large indirect advantages from holding it. If Manchester chafed at the small taxes which slightly protected the internal trade of India, British trade would receive a startling shock if all the ports of Hindostan were closed against us, and our influence as the greatest Asiatic Power were gone for ever. Through India we are even now drawing China to our views. Individuals may talk theoretically about abandoning our rule over India. The instinct of the nation is against any such measure. India pays for an army of about 200,000 men, which on emergency is interchangeable with the home forces. Like the fleet and the army, the army in India and at home support each other, and their task is to protect the advance of English civilization in the cradle of the Aryan Race.

Third—European civilization has arrived at an era when force is once more the guiding power. Every politician of standing expects to see the passions of war and the crash of empires ere long. And the bleeding is to be to the death. It is mere moonstruck madness to imagine that our interests will be considered unless we are at least ready to fight for them. The lamb cannot persuade the wolf. "The prey inviteth, and decay in valour encourageth a war."

Fourth—All new markets, needful enough in these days, are opened up and protected by armies. The missionary and the merchant are the last to be able to do without them. Their moral effect works even when physical power is not called in, and, if England does not throw her shield over such markets, other nations will. Wrong or right, wise or foolish, they will take what we do not protect. Witness Tonquin, Madagascar, and Zanzibar.

Fifth—The acquisitions of other Powers have deprived us of our insular position all over the world. It is merely a question of time when the Sepoy and the Cossack, the British recruit and the French conscript, shall exchange remarks, peaceable or otherwise, over a frontier line. When we can persuade those countries to put down their armies we may dismiss ours—but not till then.

Lastly—The army stands behind the police as the protector of civil order, and upon it as a last resource peaceable folk rely for daily protection.

Hitherto armies have been chiefly spoken of as necessities, things which may be considered what Mr Meredith somewhere calls women, "the baggage of humanity, which, alas! we cannot do without." Really the parallel is not a bad one, for in this country, at

least, we grumble at women and armies when they hamper us, but shriek for their help on those numerous occasions when we need them. Armies and women are the two extremes of humanity, the salt and the sugar. We dislike the salt in our sweet luxuries, and repel the sugar when we have the gout or toothache, but after all they are the great preservatives without which humanity would decay. Suppose that, by some wonderful change in the minds of men, all strife could be put an end to, and the danger of war vanish. It is not quite certain that unmitigated good would result, unless, indeed, the heart of man could at the same time be changed so as to lose all selfishness and tendency to luxury. War and the preparation for war do most surely develop certain virtues—courage, discipline, self-sacrifice. And the ordinary training of soldiers is directed towards the production and cultivation of those virtues. People who have never taken the trouble to learn what modern soldiers are, may indulge in ideas suitable to the Middle Ages. It does not follow that they are right. The modern recruit is trained to put far from him all violence in peace and all individual violence in war. He is to fight when called upon and as called upon, but he is never to fight for himself. There is always to be a cause which his country decides to be just or necessary, and for that cause, and for his country, he is to train his body to endure hardship, his mind to sacrifice the natural passions, and act on a sense of duty. The term a “brutal soldiery” is absolutely inapplicable to him. He is to practise constant self-denial. He is to face pain, sickness, hunger, and thirst, at the call of duty, his very life is not his own, he may neither refuse to give it nor yet waste it, and he must always count it as at the disposal of others. Surely such a training of body and mind is not to be despised, and when one compares the frequent cases of a whole crowd standing by, and seeing a fellow-creature drown because there would be risk in saving him, with the splendid self-abnegation constantly displayed by soldiers, it is impossible to doubt that a little military tone and military discipline would be of more value to the general population than most people think. How often do we read of a ship in danger and the passengers seized with panic, strong men fighting for places in the boats, and letting the weak women and children take their chance? Contrast that with the wreck of the *Birkenhead*, when the gallant fellows put every woman and child into the boats, then fell in on parade and went down with hearty cheers. Who will dare to say that the training which produces such effects is not one which tends to elevate the human race. And even the smart dandyism of the officers is not mere foppery. It has a meaning sometimes. On one occasion a ship was in great danger during a storm, which had damaged her machinery. A lady who was present related afterwards that, when inclined to give way

to despair, she was saved from panic by seeing some officers on board who were on their way to India come to breakfast with their moustaches carefully waxed. The idea may raise a smile, but the action is part of a system. Like the lighting a cigar under a hot fire, it means that the mind is cool and collected, and coolness, like panic, is infectious. These same officers, in the British army at least, are accustomed to put the comfort of their men before their own. At the end of a long march the officer who does not first see that his men have all that they require, and that his horses are fed, before he himself eats or looks after his own comfort is marked for reprobation, and during peace the well-being of the soldier is an object of unremitting solicitude on the part of the officer, who, like the private, has to learn to care for others rather than for himself. An English writer, who has a child-like faculty for going to the root of things, says of the soldier: "Our estimate of him is based upon this ultimate fact, of which we are well assured, that, put him in a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of the world behind him, and only death and his duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front." Death and his duty before him, that is the English idea. We do not talk of glory, and are, indeed, sometimes too careless about it, but to accept death for the sake of duty may perhaps be found eventually to be the real sinews of war, the salt which keeps this nation fresh, a better preservative of her honour and liberties than all the wealth which she succeeds in heaping up, and which has so dangerous a tendency to breed luxury and decay. The one training which tends to produce military manners of a prejudicial character is that of the ignorant people who make difficulties about the introduction of the soldier in uniform to places of public entertainment. They, indeed, are trying to make the army a class apart and antagonistic to the general welfare. There is no such feeling of antagonism in the army itself.

So little notice is commonly taken of the army, that a very important step lately made by the authorities has passed almost without comment. The punishments for trivial offences have been lightened, and the modern tone of feeling has been recognized to the extent of allowing to soldiers of good character an amount of liberty which would have startled our fathers. The system had been previously tested by officers who had the courage of their convictions, and the good moral effect of that trust which begets self-respect has always been manifested. Henceforward, a soldier who chooses to be steady, may count on having little less liberty and vastly more consideration by his employers than his brother workman in civil life. This is an outward and visible sign of a great change which is passing over the army—a change which is bringing it every day more into harmony with our civil institutions. The agencies for elevating the soldier



are numerous and untiring, and the pockets of officers are emptied by contributions to various institutions from which the soldiers reap all the benefits. In short, that unsettled roving class which so largely recruits our ranks, is being trained and civilized in a manner and to an extent which civil employers of labour might find worth their while to study and even imitate.

It is a truism to say that war is an evil, but there are worse. War is a less evil than the stagnation and corruption which it sometimes clears away by its stormy passage. The French, after their late catastrophe, were fain to admit that they had deserved their punishment, and the military training through which the nation has since gone has certainly purified the people and welded together parts of the country which were held apart by jealousies and political disagreement. It has also taught the French some modesty, and a comprehension of the fact that there is no special divinity which helps people who will not help themselves. When one hears weak complaints against having an army at all, it really seems as if the time were coming when England, too, will have her lesson, and rise from some bitter defeat, with grief and rage in her heart, and a rooted desire for revenge. But in such a case she could not rise as France has risen. The fabric of such a trade as ours cannot be reconstructed in a short time, especially as its foundation—credit—would be gone. Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Rome did not rise from their great falls, and in the whole history of the world there never was an empire so great and so scantily provided with defence as the British empire. As long as we remain firm and strong the colonies will be attached to us, but it is contrary to human nature to suppose that they would sacrifice themselves in unavailing attempts to make good what we had lost through carelessness. It is for the people of England to awake and look after their own military affairs. There is plenty to be done in the way of needful preparations, present dangers to be warded off, past shortcomings to be atoned for. Armies, like other institutions, need periodical overhauls by men of business, but these should enter on their task with the intention to reform and renovate, not to destroy what will certainly have to be reconstructed hereafter at enormous expense, if, indeed, the opportunity of reconstruction come before the great day of trial. And, at least, surrounded as we are by volcanoes threatening outbreak, let us not spend our time in fiddling and singing madrigals, till we have looked to the barriers which may keep the lava streams from our pleasant fields.

A MODERN SOLDIER

## HOLES IN THE EDUCATION NET \*

THE industrial employment of children within the school age is a subject that has frequently engaged the attention of Parliament during the last fifty years. The mere mention of the matter carries the mind back to Lord Shaftesbury's efforts, which resulted in the passing of the first really efficient Factory Act, in 1811. The objections that were made to Lord Shaftesbury's interference with the labour of children are now to a great extent forgotten. But his work at its outset, and long afterwards, met with very hostile criticism from those who were usually identified with the party of progress. Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, was blamed as a man who meddled in what he did not understand. The general complaint against him was that, being identified, by hereditary position, with agriculture, and not with manufactures, he ought to have turned his attention to improving the condition of the agricultural labourers, and to have left the factory workers alone. This is a very old story, probably no one in the world ever began to work at a particular social reform without being told by the people who were looking on, with their hands in their pockets, that it was a great mistake not to have attempted something else. When Mrs. Fry began her prison work it was just the same. Teaching children in prison was condemned as an absurdity so long as children out of prison were yet untaught. "I don't like your *Newgatory* teaching," sang good Tom Hood, and nearly all the world joined in the chorus. Not only was Lord Ashley blamed for meddling with manufacturing industry, when he ought to have confined his attention to the welfare of the agricultural population, but it was also said that he was one of the worst enemies the working classes could have, because he sought to deprive them of their children's earnings. Piteous pictures were drawn of a sick

father and struggling mother being rendered still more wretched by being thrust into actual pauperism by the withdrawal from the household income of what could be earned by the factory work of the children.

It is generally confessed now that Lord Ashley was right, and that those who condemned him were wrong. The benefit which began with factory and workshop children was extended in time to agricultural children. The cry about the hardship to parents, in being deprived of their children's earnings, has been proved to be fallacious. The agricultural and factory work of the world has got to be done, and if children of six to ten years of age, earning from two shillings to three shillings a week, cannot be got to do it, better paid labour must be employed, if children are withdrawn from the labour market there is an increased demand for adult labour, and thus the loss to the family turns out to be *nil*. Moreover, the employment of children of tender years in either agriculture or manufactures is now generally agreed to be, from the national and economical point of view, penny wise and pound foolish. A child thus employed very frequently breaks down in health, and becomes feeble and prematurely old. Education, with all the resources it affords of rational and healthy amusement and occupation, is a valuable auxiliary to policemen and magistrates in checking crime. The want of education, on the other hand, predisposes children to crime. The early employment of children, therefore, tends to render them sooner or later a burden on society, either through ill health or crime, consequently, even from the narrowest view of *£ s d*, it is a mistake to turn our babies into wage-earners. We do not always sufficiently remember what we owe already to the operation of the Factory and Workshops Acts, the Act regulating the employment of children in agriculture, and the Education Act. To their influence must in great measure be attributed the diminution in the death rate, the decrease of crime, pauperism, and in the consumption of alcohol which characterize the last ten or fifteen years of our social history.\*

It would, however, be a fatal error to fix our eyes on these flattering statistics, and come to the conclusion that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. It was not by resting contentedly and contemplating our own perfections that we reached the rung on the ladder of progress where we are now standing. It was rather by boldly facing our deficiencies and shortcomings, and endeavouring with all our strength to lessen them. We may learn from our past progress the lines on which our future progress should be attempted.

\* See article by Mr. Mulhall in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1886. The decrease in crime and pauperism in the period referred to (i.e. between 1870 and 1885) was 36 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Within the same period the number of children in school nearly doubled, the money in savings' banks increased from 67 to 94 millions, and the money in mutual societies from 20 to 62 millions.

As education and the postponement of physical strain has done so much for the moral and material well-being of the nation, are we not justified in looking round to see if there is any class of children who slip through the meshes of the education net, who are set to wage-earning industry at a fatally early age, and who suffer morally, physically, and educationally by the life to which they are exposed?

There is much evidence to show that such a class of children exists in those who are trained from a very early age for theatrical dancing, and for casual employment in theatres and pantomimes

\* There is a great anomaly in the present state of the law relating to the employment of children under ten. All the Factory Acts, even the very feeble and tentative measures of 1819 and 1834, are based on\* the fundamental principle of absolutely forbidding the employment, in a factory, of children of tender years. The age at first fixed was nine, later, in the Acts passed by Lord Shaftesbury, it was ten. The employment of children under ten is now absolutely prohibited with regard to all agricultural and manufacturing industry, and the hours of labour in these pursuits are strictly limited for children between ten and fourteen. A child of less than fourteen must not be employed unless he has passed the Sixth Standard. But this prohibition and these restrictions are not put in force with regard to children employed in theatres. A farmer who wants a little boy, of less than ten, to shout at crows in a field, cannot have him. And there are educational restrictions upon his employment up to the age of fourteen. It has been decided by Act of Parliament that the health and education of the child suffer from employment before ten. If the owner of a manufactory or workshop wants a little child of less than ten to run messages or take other light employment, the Act of Parliament, for the same excellent reasons, says "No." But a manager of a theatre is perfectly free to engage the same child and keep her acting or dancing in two performances daily, for months or years at a time, without let or hindrance. Surely it is absurd that a child of less than ten may not be employed, say to pick gooseberries in a garden, but may be employed all the year round, up to ten or eleven o'clock at night, or later, as a performer in a ballet at the Alhambra or the Aquarium.

It is probable that this absurdity is due more to oversight than intention. The Education Act in one of its sections does absolutely forbid, "*except as hereinafter mentioned,*" the employment of any child between five and ten years of age. The fatal words "*except as hereinafter mentioned*" stand like a finger-post to point out the road along which the proverbial coach-and-six was bound to travel. The Act defines the exceptions to the rule against the employment of children between five and ten thus:—"That such employment, by reason of being during the school holidays or during the hours

during which the school is not open, or otherwise does not interfere with the efficient elementary instruction of such child, *and* that the child obtains such instruction by regular attendances for full times at a certified efficient school, or in some other equally efficient manner." The question therefore is reduced to this, so far as children at Board Schools or other public elementary schools are concerned Does their employment at theatres interfere with their efficient elementary instruction? The question may be put in another form "If a little child between five and ten is acting and dancing in a theatre every night to a late hour, is she able to be ready with her school-work the next morning as brightly and well as if she were not thus employed?" There can be but one answer to such a question from everybody who knows anything at all about children But, in order to make no assumptions not borne out by inquiry from competent witnesses, I have consulted a large number of teachers of elementary schools on this point, and have had the opportunity, through the labours of a friend, of learning the opinions of a still larger number They are quite unanimous that the children who act night after night in the theatres are too tired when they come to school to give their full attention to their lessons The head teacher of the Infants' Department of the Hart Street Schools, Drury Lane, says on this point "They (the theatre children) seem very tired in coming to school, and I have never exacted the same amount of work from them as I did from the others" The head mistress of the Board School, Clare Market, gives an instance of a child of twelve, who acts every night in "Harbour Lights" She comes regularly to school, but is "fit for nothing from fatigue" This head teacher says she cannot speak strongly enough of the mischief to the children, mental, moral, and physical, resulting from their early engagement in theatres and pantomimes The head teacher of the Board School, Greystoke Place, Fetter Lane, says "There is no doubt their health suffers" The head teacher of the Board School (Girls' Department), Great Wild Street, Drury Lane, says, "I think decidedly their health suffers, the late hours and extra strain are far too much" The head teacher of the National School in Castle Street, Endell Street, writes in the same sense In fact no teacher whom we have consulted has answered differently This time last year a clergyman sent in to the ladies with whom I have been working on this subject, the name and address of a child, then between six and seven, who, he said, was "dying of overwork," in consequence of having gone through daily theatrical performances, and very frequently two a day, for nearly four months, and at the same time trying to keep up her school attendances This child's teacher speaks of her "numberless colds and lumps in her throat" With all the weight of evidence available as to the degree

to which the employment of children in theatres necessarily interferes with their education, the School Board would probably be able to deal with the matter effectually, if the Act did not contain another loophole through which those who profit by the employment of babies may snatch at them. No offence against the Act is committed if the child employed at a theatre obtains elementary instruction by regular attendance for full time at a certified efficient school "or in some other equally efficient manner." It is through these words "or" in some other equally efficient manner," that the theatre managers and others who make money by the children's labour, are able to evade the intentions of the Act. The more vigorously the School Board and their officers do their duty in insisting on regular attendance, the more surely do those who are profiting by the children's labour say to the parents, "you must take your child away from the Board school or other certified efficient elementary school and send her to a private school." These private schools sometimes exist as a sort of *dépendance* to a theatrical dancing school, the fees are 10d to 1s a-week, for the reason that when the fee is over 9d the school ceases to be an elementary school as defined by the Education Act, and the children attending it are therefore removed from the jurisdiction of the School Board. Many of the School Board officers, including teachers, visitors, and inspectors, wink at very irregular attendance on the part of theatre children, and have even allowed such children, under ten, practically to take half-time who have not been allowed it by the Notice B Committee of the Board, because they are reluctant to drive the children to the sham education of these private schools. An illustration will show how the thing is worked. A theatrical academy of dancing will have a complementary private school at 10d to 1s a-week within about two minutes' walk of it. The proprietor of the academy takes little children as young as four or five, and gets their parents to sign indentures binding the babies to an apprenticeship of nine years. When they begin their professional training these babies are so tiny that they cannot do their steps or throw out their little legs without tumbling over. To prevent this a rope is stretched across the room by which they steady themselves with their hands. Such children are required, from the time their indentures are signed, to attend at the dancing academy from ten or eleven o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, three or four times a week, whether they have an engagement at a theatre or not. By these means their proprietor or proprietress always has a troupe of children ready to be hired to any theatre in any part of the kingdom, or for that matter, outside it. Of course, children who are thus bound to a regular professional training, cannot attend the Board school, nor any other school, regularly. If the parents send them to a Board

school, the officer, supposing him to be efficient, soon begins to call upon the mother and inquire why the child does not make a regular attendance at school. "He (the School Board officer) was constantly bothering me," said one parent, "and I spoke to Madame (the proprietor of the dancing academy) about it. She said, 'You must take the child away from the Board school and send her to the private school over the way, the fee is 1s a week, but the child's earnings will much more than pay for that,\* and I can have her here for the dancing as much as I like.'" When this sort of thing happens, and it does constantly happen with scores of children, their education practically comes to an end. The children thus selected for the theatres are almost always above the average in natural brightness and intelligence, and they are, therefore, able to make the most of the smattering of A B C they get, but from the time they leave the public elementary schools for private schools, for the sake of freedom to take theatre work, they learn next to nothing. Teachers of Board schools bitterly complain of the neglected state of children, who sometimes return to them after one, two, or three years in these private schools. One of the head teachers already quoted gives, as an instance of the worthless character of these private schools, that a child who had attended one of them for a year and a half, had to be put back, on her return to the Board school, into the same standard in which she had been when she left. Another gives a similar instance of a theatre child, who was supposed to be receiving education at a private school, and at the age of eleven or twelve, when she returned to the Board school, she could only be placed in the Second Standard.

Most people were amused to hear that Mr Augustus Harris, the enterprising proprietor of Drury Lane, had started an elementary school within the walls of his theatre for the children employed there. He engaged the services of a certificated teacher (third class), and attendance at this school, at 1s a week, is compulsory on those children acting in the Drury Lane pantomime, over whom otherwise the School Board would exercise authority. It is probably no injustice to Mr Augustus Harris to say that this is his first appearance before the public in the character of an enthusiast for education. It is difficult to repress the suspicion that the object for which the school was started, especially as the fee is 1s a week, was to remove the children from the control of the School Board, with their meddling officers and their tell-tale teachers, who care a great deal more for the children and their education than they do for the profits resulting from the Drury Lane pantomime. No accusation is made that the law is broken, but the net spread by the Education Act has a hole in it through which any one sufficiently

\* Instances are by no means rare in which a child of under ten earns 10s a week. Such wages are only given to trained children, the others are paid 6d or 7d a night.

interested in obtaining the labour of children under ten can do so. The *St James's Gazette* had an article, written in quite a friendly spirit towards Mr Harris and his scheme, about this school, the writer stated that the school hours were only from 10 to 1, and that there was a break for luncheon at 12 o'clock. He certainly did not overstate the time spent by the children in the school, as some of the children did not arrive till 10 30 or later, and some left as early as 12 30. But even if the hours of attendance quoted by the writer in the *St James's Gazette* may be taken as correct, the burden of proof rests upon those who would maintain that three hours at Mr Harris's school provides an education "equally efficient" with that provided by full time at a Board School. It should also be noted that "the school is in a corner of the new paint-room, partitioned off with old scenery and theatrical framework," and that it was closed directly the pantomime season was over. Neither the situation of the school nor its temporary character is favourable to educational efficiency. There were between fifty and sixty children, all girls, between the ages of five and thirteen, in the school last winter. The writer of the article in the *St James's Gazette* said that, while some of the children were babies who could only just walk, others were girls up to eleven and twelve years old. And he also observed, and this ought to be particularly noticed, that some of the elder girls were among the most ignorant, he mentions one in particular who did not even know her alphabet. She had probably benefited by the instructions of some of these private schools which are supposed to be educating the theatre children in "some other equally efficient manner."

People sometimes say, when disagreeable facts about the employment of children in theatres are brought before them, that after all the pantomimes only last a month or two, they associate pantomime in their own minds with the Christmas holidays, and think that six weeks or two months is all that is cut out of the school-life of the little dancers. The Drury Lane pantomime this year lasted for four months, from the 26th of December to the 23rd of April. To this must be added, so far as the performers are concerned, at least another six weeks for rehearsals, and if the two are put together, it will be found that there is very little change left out of half-a-year. Moreover, it by no means follows that the little children will abandon their profession and return to regular attendance at a good school when the pantomime season is over. It has already been pointed out that the mistress of the dancing academy, in a sense, buys the children of their parents, she makes them sign indentures, "apprenticing" the babies to her for seven or nine years. The children, when trained, are her stock in trade, and she has her profit to make out of them, they are obliged to attend her dancing classes three or four times a week all the year round, whether they have an engage-



ment or not Their proprietor is furious with any parent who tries to withdraw a child from her When the pantomime is over, some other performance begins, in which the children are required. Last year there was an open-air ballet at the Crystal Palace, it lasted from May to November, and more than forty children were engaged in it This year a troupe of dancing children have been advertised for the Aquarium Practically, the children are engaged all the year round, or, if they are not actually engaged, they are in training for engagements The serious business of their lives, as wage earners, is allowed to commence at the age of four or five years, and henceforward they take but a perfunctory interest in their education, either disregarding it altogether or treating it as a necessary evil, to be got through anyhow, without putting their hearts into it at all

The child of seven, already referred to, who was seriously ill in March, 1886, from the effects of her theatre work, combined with her school attendances, has been often visited by a lady who has given me the following facts about the case I will give the narrative in my friend's words, written down immediately after seeing the child "The child, when I first visited her, was suffering from a weak throat and general debility, occasioned by the over-fatigue resulting from the performances at Drury Lane in the evening and school in the morning After she had begun to recover a little, she was taken for the open-air ballet at the Crystal Palace She performed in this for four months (six, if rehearsals are included), with forty-three other children of about her own age They performed in the open air, in low dresses and elbow-sleeves, till November The child was sometimes extremely fatigued when she arrived at Ludgate Hill on her return from the Palace The time of her arrival there was usually between ten and eleven at night Her legs and ankles were often so swollen that she could only walk very slowly She felt frightened at having to go through the streets late at night by herself, as her mother could rarely meet her Once, when she was alone, she was attacked by two men in Fleet Street at this instant her mother and uncle, who were on their way to meet her, came up, and her uncle knocked one of the men down, the other ran off Another night a man persuaded her to go with him, and promised her cakes if she would do so The child ran away as fast as her tired legs would carry her After this she said she generally, on her way home, tried to keep behind a gentleman in a high hat who was going in her direction She believed that if any one attacked her, he ' (the St George in a high hat) "would protect her During the last three weeks of the Crystal Palace ballet her mother, who is engaged at the bar of one of the London theatres, and has, besides, other employment during the day, has engaged a girl of thirteen (!) to meet the child and come home with her

"Her attendances at school in May last, during the rehearsals for the Crystal Palace, were sometimes only three in the week, the following quarter they averaged seven, the winter quarter they were expected to be about four

"The child is pretty and attractive, and very intelligent"

This story speaks for itself We seem to see the poor little tired mite coming back alone, night after night, from Ludgate Hill to her home near Drury Lane, hurrying along on her tender, blistered feet to keep up with the manly stride of "a gentleman in a high hat," whom she had silently selected as her guardian! There are few more touching scenes among the tragedies of the London streets One has never till now regarded the high hat as the sacred emblem of knighthood, nor Ludgate Hill as an appropriate scene of romance and chivalry But these are among the things it is good to have the opportunity of learning

With regard to the risks the children run when they accept theatrical engagements, the conclusion is almost inevitable that most parents are very well aware of them Some parents invariably come or send to meet their children at the doors of the theatre to take them home A good many of the children belong to those who are employed about the theatres as supers, stage carpenters, and so on Both these classes of children may be presumed to be fairly well looked after But there are some parents who are entirely careless and reckless as to what becomes of their children This minority of utterly worthless parents really care for nothing except for the money the children earn, they deliberately live in dissolute idleness upon their children's wages The present state of the law makes things easy for parents of this kind It is no answer to say that such parents are the exception If they were not the exception England would be a hell on earth But the very purpose for which law exists is to deal with the vicious exceptions, and make them perforce regulate their conduct according to some other rule than that of their own self-indulgence and viciousness Thieves and murderers are the exception in all civilized societies, and an efficient criminal law tends to render these exceptions rarer and rarer All the laws relating to and limiting the employment of children are based on the right of the State to protect the helpless child from the cruel selfishness of the worst type of parents Just before the pantomime season of the year before last, a father, who was known to be a drunkard, applied to the Notice B Committee of the School Board for half time for three of his children, in order to enable them to accept theatrical engagements One of the three children was under ten, the character of the father was well known as was also the fact that he could earn good wages if he chose to, work He was a "West-end" tailor, and could earn from £2 to £3

a week The application for half-time was refused The children were then removed from the Board school they were attending and were sent to a private school They were engaged at Drury Lane, the joint wages of the three amounting to 35s a week While the children were thus supporting their parents, the father, in order to make the comedy complete, applied for alms to the Mansion House Committee as one of the unemployed The laws that have been already passed have stopped this kind of conduct on the part of parents, where the employment to which the children are sent is agriculture or factory work It is surely most unreasonable not to stop it also where the employment is dancing or acting in a theatre

Severe comments have already appeared in some quarters in the press upon the "cant" and so forth of those who object to the employment of little children in theatres We are supposed to be animated by the narrow-minded prejudice of a certain school of religious thought against acting in itself, and to believe that about everything in a theatre there is what some of that school have felicitously called "a halo of hell" This is only a specimen of the unfair misrepresentation which every one who attacks a vested interest must be prepared for To object to the employment of young children upon the stage no more involves condemnation of the theatre, than to advocate the Factory Acts involved a condemnation of calico Among those who most vigorously oppose the employment of little children on the stage are many who dearly love the play To see good acting, either tragic or comic, is to them one of the most delightful of all recreations But the greatness of the drama does not depend on the services of baby children who are trained to dance and perform their little parts almost like improved troupes of performing dogs It will be remembered that in the inimitable lines on acting and actors in "Hamlet," Shakspeare has something to say on this question of little children filling the stage when it should be occupied by those who can really act Children in that day were a passing fashion upon the stage "An airy of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't These are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages (so they call them), that many, wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither" If the children now on the stage are to become the actresses of the next generation, it is of the utmost importance, from the point of view of the welfare of the drama, not to interfere with their health and their education The want of the day on the stage, with a few well-known exceptions, is the scarcity of cultivated, intelligent women Who has not groaned over a Jessica with a finely developed cockney accent, or deplored the vulgar assumption of arrogant pomposity that is often made to pass muster for the manners of a *grande dame*? As a matter of fact,

the theatres that have done most to raise the general standard of acting in England do not depend on the services of children for their attractiveness. It would probably make little difference to the Lyceum or St James's if the regulations of the Factory Act were extended to theatre children. The profession of acting, like other professions, may be entered too young, and it certainly is entered too young when premature work interferes with a healthy physical, intellectual, and moral development. Children in whom the dramatic instinct is implanted by nature, will find plenty of means of exercising it, without beginning a professional career as bread-winners at four years old. It is said that Rachel used, as a child, to perform a sham faint so perfectly that people were constantly taken in by it. Her first performance in a theatre did not take place till she was sixteen.

With every wish to do full justice to acting as a profession, and to the high character of many, from Mrs Siddons downwards, who have been the chief ornaments of the stage in England, probably every fair-minded person would admit that there are special dangers and temptations associated with the stage in regard to that important branch of conduct which we refer to when we use the word "morals." It is surely very important not to bring children into the influence of an atmosphere of special danger in this respect while they are too young to know the difference of right and wrong in these matters. There are often, especially in the theatres that employ numbers of children, a large body of men and women of a low class, who are not actors and actresses in any sense worthy of the words. A poor woman, whom I have visited, had actually bargained to let her little girl act at one of these theatres, she went down during rehearsal to see what sort of place it was. She was horrified by the language and manners of the manager and of the low women about the theatre ("shilling-a-night girls" she called them), and she determined at all risks not to let her child fulfil her engagement. Fortunately, in this case, the father had opposed the child being bound to the apprenticeship. He had said to his wife, "I won't have anything to do with it. If you choose to do it you can. But if the child comes to any harm, it will be your fault, not mine." The mother, therefore, not the father, had signed the indentures. This fact gave her courage to set at naught the threats of the dancing-mistress to institute legal proceedings against her. She consulted the School Board officer upon the matter, who advised her that however "Madame" might threaten she could do nothing. If the father had signed the indentures the parents would probably have been terrified into submission, although indentures binding little children to a trade are probably in themselves illegal. The mother, in the case I have given, was not aware of this, and entirely attributed her success

in withdrawing the child to the fact that her husband had not signed the paper

An actor has written very fully on the subject of the evil effects on children of the people with whom they are brought in contact in some of the theatres. His letter in the first instance speaks of the physical exhaustion and bad coughs of the children, and then proceeds —

“I must keep my feelings under control until I have given you all the information that lies in my power, so I will proceed to describe the class of people that these poor children are brought into contact with by these performances. Firstly, I will take the ballet that we had at the — Theatre at W—— (a large provincial town) last year, and describe those with whom the children dressed. All efforts to make these girls behave with any manners approaching decency were futile, and it was also as impossible to stop their using the most horrible and filthy language. I may say that, as a body, a lower and more disreputable class of girls than we had at W—— it would be impossible to find.”

One, who till lately was an actress in a London theatre, speaks in the same sense. She says there are in most theatres rules to prevent any but the staff being admitted at the stage door, “but a coin will pass any one through,” and “swells” who “can influence business can do as they like.”

A London manager also writes on the peculiar moral risks attending children who are employed in theatres, he attributes a good deal of it to evil-minded loungers about the stage-door, who bribe the lower officials of the theatre. He writes —

“The children when off the stage are poorly clad, and, from playing about, dirty in appearance, they are therefore unattractive. In particular scenes, clad in pretty costumes, and drilled to portray the characters they are intended to represent, it is then that particular children may attract the attention of the evil minded loungeur, and on being recognized when leaving the stage door may be decoyed away. A gratuity to the stage-door keeper will often obtain information as to the name of the child, and his or her place of abode, it is the corruption of the officials of a theatre that is in my opinion the greatest curse in these matters, as the rules are framed by the manager to prevent the annoyance of the people engaged in the theatre, they are rendered inoperative by the wealthy hanger on at the stage door.”

It may be here observed, by the way, that the children nearly always leave the theatre with the paint on their faces which they have worn for the performance, this in itself marks them out and makes them conspicuous in the street.

With regard to the opinions just quoted, it is only fair to say that they represent the opinion of the minority of those members of the theatrical profession whom we have been able to consult. Nearly all the actors, actresses and managers whom we have interviewed or written to, think there is no harm in the employment of children, however young, on the stage. One lady in the profession, to whom

we humbly suggested that the language of the children was often terribly bad, replied that she did not deny they used bad language, they learnt that at the Board school! In fact, the general view of the profession is that children are greatly benefited by being engaged to act and dance in theatres at a very early age "They come to us," they say in effect, "dirty, hungry and ignorant, and we wash them, and drill them, and give them the means of putting bread into their mouths" "Putting gin into their parents' mouths" would probably be a more accurate phrase in a good many cases But the view I have referred to is a very natural one for those to take who employ the children The mill-owners took very much the same line in 1844, and for many years after, about the employment of young children in factories They not only defended it, but said the industrial existence of England would be destroyed if the power to use the labour of children was taken away It was not through the exertions of the master sweeps that the Act was passed prohibiting the practice of sending little children up chimneys This Act was opposed, not only by "the profession," but by the "Sun," the "Phoenix," and other fire insurance companies, on the ground that it would add to the risk of the destruction of the metropolis by fire (see "Lord Shaftesbury's Life," vol 1 p 297) In a like manner the Agricultural Children's Act was not passed by farmers, but in the teeth of their sturdy opposition

This is a question which ought to be decided on the broad grounds of the general welfare of the children as human beings and future citizens, and those who are pecuniarily interested in the continuance of their employment are, in the nature of things, unfitted to serve on the jury with whom the ultimate decision will rest A theatre manager is obviously tempted to think any arrangement charming which enables him to pay children ten to twelve shillings a week instead of twice or three times those sums to grown-up people In 1878 a summons was brought by the London School Board against a manager who had engaged a number of children, many of whom were under ten, to act at the Aquarium Theatre The manager attempted the usual defence by saying, through counsel, that the employment was for the benefit of the children and their parents "Allow me to tell you," said Mr D'Eyncourt, the magistrate who heard the case, "that it is for the benefit of your pockets" All the children under ten were ordered to be withdrawn Notwithstanding the success of the Board in this case, the policy thus initiated has been abandoned, and if the law is against the employment of the children, it has been allowed to become a dead letter The Act as it at present stands allows no one but the School Board to prosecute the employer, consequently the efficient protection of the children against the cupidity of parents and managers is left to a body

whose policy and *personnel* are liable to be completely changed every three years. Those who train the children in the dancing academies feel a proprietary interest in them, and really regard them as a farmer does land in which he has a claim for unexhausted improvements. With very little encouragement they would set up a claim for the three F's, and demand as their property in these children "free sale," "fixity of tenure," and "fair rents." A mother said to me of two of these worthies, "Madame A—— lent my little girl to Signor B——," speaking just as she might of a performing dog. Neither should the parents, who are not ashamed to live on the wages earned by their little children of five or six years old, be held as impartial judges on this question. A great many of the parents who put their children to this work are heartily ashamed of themselves for it. Very often endless excuses are invented to explain the absence of a child from school, because the parent is ashamed to say, "Lottie is going to the theatre, and I am living on her wages." A favourite invention in these cases is to say that the child is suffering from scarlet fever or some other infectious disease; this has the double advantage of frightening away the teacher and School Board officer from visiting the missing child.

Neither, in a matter like this, is a final judgment to be arrived at by asking the children if they like their theatre work better than they like school. Of course they like it better. Ask any child whether it would rather do a rule-of-three sum or act the part of the Dormouse in "Alice in Wonderland," and it needs no very stupendous powers of prophecy to predict the answer. The children like acting, nearly all children like it, no amusement is more popular even with children whose homes are provided with every means of childish happiness. Parents like the money it brings in, managers like the money it saves them, and the public like it because it amuses them to see little tottie children performing regular evolutions and dances upon the stage. They sometimes say they like it because they are "so fond of children." Their love of children is shown in a way rather similar to the love of an epicure for skylarks—in a picnic. The children are sacrificed physically, mentally and morally, in order that these lovers of children may have their artistic sense of admiration of childish forms gratified. Such double-distilled selfishness cannot last for ever. It must arise from pure ignorance or thoughtlessness as to what constant work on the stage from an early age involves for children.

The economic difficulty arising from the poverty of parents must be faced. It has been faced with regard to the majority of the employments in which hosts of children used to be engaged. One source of compensation always arises in these cases, making the actual much easier than the anticipated difficulty. If the labour of children

is withdrawn from any employment, an additional demand is created for the labour of adults. Moreover, as previously suggested, if the children are worn out in health, uneducated, and liable to be corrupted in other ways, the economic difficulty in the long run is not in sending them to school, but in allowing them to spoil their capacity as the bread-winners and capable citizens of the future.

What is wanted is an extension to children engaged in theatres of the protection of the Factory Acts. If this were done the burden would fall on the shoulders best fitted to bear it. Now, if a child does not attend regularly, the School Board summon the parent, a poor ill-clad woman appears, perhaps crying, before the magistrate, and he out of sheer pity dismisses the case or adjourns it. The person who ought to be summoned is the burly theatrical manager in his fur-lined coat and "regardless-of-expense" appearance, and this desirable alteration in the administration of the law would be effected if it were plainly enacted by Parliament that it is as illegal to work a child in a theatre as it is in the fields or in a factory.

If this simplification in the law with regard to the employment of children were adopted another beneficial change would necessarily follow. Prosecutions for infringement of the provisions of the law would then rest with permanent officials, either identical with, or corresponding to, the inspectors of factories and workshops. The disadvantage of leaving the duty of prosecution to a body dependent upon a frequently recurring popular election is obvious. The Factory Acts would probably have been a dead letter if prosecutions under them could only have been undertaken, say, by the Members of Parliament for the district in which the alleged offence had taken place. The dread of incurring unpopularity with a certain class of their constituents would in this case have operated fatally against the efficiency of the Acts. In the same way, the London School Board, excellent as they may be in much of the work which they have undertaken, are not likely to be thoroughly fearless and independent in instituting legal proceedings against some of those from whose hands every three years they have to seek re-election. It is a fundamental principle of our constitution that Judges should not be subjected to election, for the same reasons the power of prosecuting should not rest solely with elected bodies, but should either be extended to the public or be entrusted to officials who will hold their posts as long as they do their duty with energy and discretion.

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT



## OUR SELF-CONSCIOUS SELVES

OF the many epithets, each supposed to be descriptive of its dominant characteristic, which have been bestowed on the Nineteenth Century, none perhaps would better serve the purposes of a true differentiation than the title of "The Self-Conscious Age." That it should be so is, perhaps, a little paradoxical. Self-consciousness, which is simply the outward expression of a hitherto indecisive struggle between vanity and diffidence, is usually regarded as a failing confined to the young, and could hardly have been expected therefore to appear so conspicuously in an era so well stricken in years as our own. The struggle in question is only in very exceptional cases one of long continuance. For the most part it comes to a pretty early end in one way or other, and there are several ways of ending it. Sometimes it is our diffidence which capitulates, and, after a graceful apology for the unduly low estimate which it had formed of our merits, retires definitively from the contest, leaving vanity in unmolested possession of the field. Sometimes, but much more rarely, the fortune of the battle is reversed, vanity retreats and diffidence triumphs. Most often of all—indeed, perhaps, in every example of thoroughly healthy development—a wise indifference intervenes, and convinces the perplexed Ego, who stands watching the two combatants, now leaning to one side now to the other, that the matter in dispute between them is not worth fighting about, that almost certainly both of their estimates are wrong, and that, after the aforesaid perplexed Ego has struck, as he easily can, that rough balance between them which is necessary (and sufficient) for self-guidance in practical life, it is not in the least degree essential to him to carry his critical operations any further. His rule-of-thumb subjective estimate of himself will answer all his own purposes, and the attempt

to determine accurately what is the right objective estimate to be formed of him by other people is quite unworthy to engage much of the time or attention of any rational being

Such, it may be safely said, is the experience which the majority of persons of riper years—not being poets, actors, “professional beauties,” or, above all, “amateurs” in the arts—have undergone. They do not boast, if they are wise, of the maturer wisdom which casteth out self-consciousness. It is one of the few but most precious gifts of the years, and it was like Raleigh’s ingratitude not to have credited Time with it in his famous apostrophe to that much abused Personification. Time, “who takes on trust our youth, our strength, our all we have,” does pay us with something more than “age and dust,” if only that he brings to us, or will, if we will let him bring to us, judgment and insight, a due sense of the proportions of human things, self-knowledge and the faculty of self-criticism, a sound practice-tested estimate of our own powers and a healthy indifference to the estimates of other people.

Still there are undoubtedly instances of persons here and there, even outside those classes whom it has been my painful duty to except above, who do not succeed in ridding themselves of self-consciousness as they grow older, but the rather become more and more the slaves of this foible, and among these persons one must, if I may be allowed to personify it, include the Nineteenth Century. The failing of self-consciousness has grown most painfully upon this century with the growth of years. She (*æra* is feminine if  *sæculum* is neuter) can no longer be described even by flattery as in her teens. It is eighty seven years since she “came out,” and it is really time that she left off wondering what other people are thinking of her. Yet she has not. On the contrary, no *debutante* at her first ball could exhibit, now so complacent an appreciation of her own attractions, now so uneasy a sense of her defective points. Long as she has been parading the corridors of Time, she has never yet ceased to compare herself with her nearest two or three predecessors, and to soliloquize on the results of the comparison in amusingly alternating strains of reflection. The struggle between Vanity and Diffidence seems to have been going on of late with even more remarkable energy than usual in the elderly lady’s mind, and assuredly never was either of them so continuously vocal as they are at present. She gives expression in almost every second utterance of hers to one or other of the anxious interrogatories which are agitating her bosom. “Am I great? Am I good? Am I beautiful? And, if so, that is if I have some greatness, goodness, and beauty, am I as great, good and beautiful as, or more or less great, good, and beautiful than, Centuries Sixteen, Seventeen, and Eighteen? If so, then, as, or than, which of them, and in respect of what? And, if not, how do I make out the

contrary?" It is difficult to take up a newspaper, a review, or even a novel, without finding one or other of these questions put and discussed by the writer with answers favourable and unfavourable as the case may be. On the whole, I think, that the "Noes" have been "having it" for the most part of late. Our uneasy Century has, during the last few years, been attacked for the first time in what was hitherto regarded as an unassailable stronghold of complacency. Diffidence has always stoutly maintained against her that she is not as great and beautiful as Century Sixteen, with her stir of Elizabethan adventure and her burst of Elizabethan song, or as good and great as Century Seventeen, with her quickenings of religious life, her high moral ideals, her grand political conceptions and achievements, and to this contention Nineteen has never made more than a feeble resistance. But Diffidence itself never ventured to allege, till almost yesterday, that there was anything to be feared from a comparison with Eighteen. *There*, at any rate, Vanity had it all its own way. Ten or twenty years ago no one had a good word to say for this very inferior predecessor of Nineteen. It was admitted on all hands that *she* was out of the running. It was agreed that she was not great, except, perhaps, for seven years, that she was distinctly not good, in spite of John Wesley's having terrified her into a sort of death-bed repentance, and as to beautiful, she did not get even her first glimmering of what beauty meant until, with her dim old eyes, she began to descry the dawn-streaks of a new era on the horizon. So much was supposed to have been settled to the satisfaction of every body until a few years ago, but now this, too, is disputed, and, indeed, it has been disputed with so much vivacity, that our uneasy Century is shaken even in this last fortress of her self-esteem. The first emotion on seeing the despised Eighteen bidden to step forward from the back row, and hear herself favourably compared with her sister, was, of course, one of blank amazement on the part of Nineteen. "What! *That* stiff artificial thing? All buckram and brocade without, and levity and heartlessness within! Have you not read Macaulay's essay on Horace Walpole? Are you not aware that Addison thought the Alps 'horrid'? Is Mr Hume your ideal of a philosopher? Or Mr Hayley your notion of a great poet?" These loud protestations, however, grew gradually weaker. Diffidence, of the two perhaps more ingenious than Vanity in the self-conscious mind, avoided coming to a direct issue on these points of comparison, and was content to insist that what Eighteen lacked in "earnestness," she made up for in "philosophical temperament," that if her poetry was not inspired it was eminently "sane," and that, even so far as artistic beauty was concerned, she had really done much better than her successor in the matter of domestic architecture. This last argument has proved a clincher. As soon as its force

began to be appreciated, Nineteen gave herself up to great despondency. It was bad enough to have been left so far behind by "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," but to be beaten by the—what should they be called?—the commodious times of good Queen Anne was humiliation indeed. So Nineteen built herself a house in the Queen Anne taste, and entered into it, and sat her down before a spindle-shanked table, and asked herself bitterly whether "sanity" in the poet may not after all be preferable to inspiration, and whether in matters of faith it is not better to believe nothing, and be tolerant to those who believe much, than to believe next to nothing, and to wrangle impartially, but furiously, with those who believe more—or less.

There was a time when we were able to administer a solace which was never without its effect on the discontented Era. We could remind her of her triumphs over matter, of her scientific achievements, of her progress in the "arts of life." Drake and Frobisher, we used to venture to hint, were, though adventurous seamen, placed at a great disadvantage in living before the age of steam navigation. Shakespeare, though a writer of considerable imaginative power, had never imagined that it would be really possible to "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes." Bacon thought himself a fine fellow, but after all he had a sneaking belief in witches, and he was very much out in his chemistry. Everybody bowed down to Johnson, who laughed at Monboddo's theory of the Descent of Man, and nowadays there is not a Scotch laird who could not put the dogmatic doctor to confusion by telling him that the genealogy traced out for us in that uncomfortable Herald's Office presided over by the late Mr Darwin is almost universally accepted by the scientific world.

Latterly, however, these topics have ceased to console. Whether this be due to the urbane mockeries of Mr Matthew Arnold at a material progress which outstrips spiritual development, or whether it be due to a spontaneous perception of the fact that such progress is after all only a means to an end, I undertake not to determine; but so stands the case. Steam and electricity, the penny newspaper and the penny post, are almost at a discount nowadays in these controversies. We no longer twit our forefathers with their stage-coaches and tinder-boxes, their highwaymen and wreckers, and very few of us have heart enough left to remind them, in Macaulay's lightly rallying manner, that the mail-bags were in the seventeenth century "carried on horseback, day and night, at the rate of about five miles an hour," or that "the carriages of travellers bound for Beaumaris had in general to be taken to pieces at Conway and borne on the shoulders of stout Welsh peasants to the Menai Straits." Is it a sign of our higher intelligence or merely of our lower spirits,

that we no longer insist much, if at all, on our superiority over former ages in what we used complacently to call "the arts of life?" We have at least taken firm hold of the idea, that the great thing is not the arts of life but the art of living, and that, this being at bottom, not a physical and material, but an intellectual and spiritual affair, it is at any rate not a self-evident proposition that we should be justified in comparing ourselves with our ancestors in terms of that Homeric formula which has lately received the honour of quotation, not only at a Lord Mayor's banquet, but from the Lord Mayor himself

But it is one thing to disclaim the boast of being *πατέρων μεγ' ἀμείνονες*, and another to cry out upon our inferiority "all round" to our ancestors, and to cast the dust of an excessive self-depreciation on our heads in consequence. Such cold fits of morbid diffidence are only possible, as has been said, to elderly and inveterate self-consciousness, and the iguë of humility, so to speak, is sure to beget in due time a reaction to the fever of swagger. There has of late been more than one sign of this reaction having set in, and some little while ago it culminated in a paroxysm of a very acute and startling kind. A writer of great literary skill and wide acquaintance with contemporary letters was moved to declare in the *Fortnightly Review* that what distinguishes the present from all past periods is that we are suffering from a positive plethora of intellectual ability in all forms

"We live," he writes, and gravely, with no suspicion of irony, "in an age when high genius is a drug in the market, the supply of originality, of brilliancy, of first rate workmanship, far exceeds the effective demand. Writers and thinkers of prime magnitude positively swarm upon the pavements of London. If you want a poet, an essayist, a philosopher, a romancer, you can find him anywhere in the Temple or the clubs for the modest remuneration of a guinea a page."

And again

"The fact is in London to-day genius swarms in every department. Parnassus teems from Piccadilly to Highgate. Young Chattertons print their genuine poetry in the weekly papers, no man hindering but no man regarding them. Young Heines show their snarling teeth, or pierce Pantigrucism in the Saturday journals. Young Murgers tread the Bohemia of Hampstead, and dream impossible Arabian Nights of extraordinary imaginative force and brilliancy. Young Poes invent new murders in the Rue Morgue, and fill the magazines with fresh adventures of the immortal Prince Florestan. You cannot walk down Fleet Street without encountering wits and poets such as Johnson and Burke never chanced to meet in their afternoon rambles. Jonathan Swift, unknown and unnoticed, pours forth volume after volume of delicate irony and scathing sarcasm with sardonic laughter, unheard of gods or men, from some commodious villa in Peckham or Canonbury. Isaac Newton, with big calm brows and measured speech, corresponds no longer with Leibnitz or Huygens, but sinks his mighty European fame in a dissertation on the causes of the Polar ice-cap. Our little world is far too full

No man can emerge from the ruck—the common ruck of divine genius—until he has completed at least his entire half-century "

The "common ruck of divine genius!" Not, it will be observed, as a grudging and censorious writer of the last century preferred to put it, 'the mob of gentlemen who write with ease,' but the mob of gentlemen who write with inspiration—who write, not for an age, but for all time, the crush of demigods, the jostling throng of Immortals. Surely, the "common ruck of divine genius" turns all past performances in the way of hyperbole into commonplace, it "beats the record" for rhetorical extravagance. We have to think of another almost forgotten example of divine genius, of another Immortal—the immortal auctioneer, George Robins, and of that deafening "noise of nightingales" and that embarrassing "litter of rose-leaves" which formed the only drawbacks to one of the estates which passed under his puissant hammer, in order to find any phrase worthy to follow this "common ruck of divine genius" even at a respectful distance.

It is seriously set down, however, and forms part, as I have said, of a perfectly serious contention. It really is genius, as the word is commonly understood, and not merely "talent" highly sublimated, of which this writer is speaking, and which he thus boldly compares with the blackberry on the hedge-row. So much is proved, if not by all the great names of the past which he selects for the illustration of his point, at any rate by the most conspicuous of them. Some people might venture to hint a doubt whether a glut of young Murgers, or even a plethora of young Poes, would mean any more than that a large number of clever young men had attained perfect mastery of a clever trick, but the examples of Heine, Swift, and Newton leave room for no such criticism. These are, or are commonly regarded as, cases of undisputed and indisputable genius. No one, we suppose, contends that a Heine *fit non nascitur*, that any very clever young man could knock you off a "Gulliver," or a 'Tale of a Tub,' by merely giving his mind to it, or that the famous line beginning, "God said, 'Let Newton be,'" should really have run, if the metre would have permitted, "The Author of the Universe said, 'Let some exceptionally intelligent youth be educated with special care for the work of astronomical inquiry,' and all was light." Names like these have been manifestly introduced with the express purpose of preventing any misconstruction, and of thoroughly impressing the reader's mind with the fact that it is genius, really genius in the full meaning of that hitherto grudgingly bestowed honorific title, of which the writer is speaking.

Now, to those who have been getting somewhat tired of the "cold fit" of self-consciousness, which has certainly lasted quite long enough, the reaction which this singular utterance proclaims and stimulates is

pleasurable enough. The rebound from diffidence to complacency is always delightful, and that it should occasionally carry the latter mood to a higher point than it has ever touched before is not surprising. But in the instance just noticed it has transcended, not only the probabilities of fact, but even the congruities of thought and language. For, let us see what the contention amounts to, and, before considering what its author's position is, let us clear the first ground by pointing out what it is not.

It is not then merely this that the general standard of literary workmanship is now immeasurably higher, the number of skilled literary workmen now incalculably greater, than at any former period of our history. That is a proposition which probably would not be much contested even by the uncritical public, and it is certainly one which no competent judge of literature would dispute. Once descend below the level of the dozen or half-dozen men of genius who have adorned any bygone era of English letters, and you feel like one who has been kicked down a lofty flight of steps. You are on the ground at once. There seems to be no halting-place between the top of Parnassus and the flattest flats of commonplace. From a few writers who are above praise you pass at a single bound to a multitude who are beneath contempt. It is in poetry, of course, that this descent is the most marked and painful. Our minor verse, I will not say of the last century or of its predecessor alone, but of any time down to within the last twenty years or so, is, so far as the bulk of it is concerned, of the poorest possible quality. The number of good verse-writers not attaining to the rank of poet might a generation ago have been counted on the fingers of one hand. Now their name is legion. Hardly a year passes but some half-dozen volumes containing, if not poetry, an imitation of it good enough to deceive all but the very elect, are sent forth into the world, to be more or less coldly welcomed by the critical journals and more or less completely neglected by the public. And the advance extends all along the line. The "poet's corner" of the obscure country newspaper is nowadays graced with far better verse than was thought good enough for the Keepsakes and Albums of our fathers. Much of it, of course, is imitative, but so was the verse of the Keepsakes and Albums, and our imitators of Tennyson and Swinburne turn out infinitely better copies of their models than the parodists of Byron, Scott, and Moore succeeded in producing. It would be doing grave injustice, however, to our minor poets, to represent them indiscriminately as mere echoes of the greater bards. One can without much trouble recall the names of a round dozen of them, and no doubt a little effort of memory might swell the list to a score, who have more or less a manner of their own, and show distinct signs of that "call" to poetize, which, if it does not suffice alone to mark the presence

of poetic genius, is at any rate never dissociated from it. The number of singers who "do but sing because they must," or, in other words, the number of singers who, if not all true poets, are all possible claimants to that title, has immensely increased. Instead, that is to say, of there being, as was the case, say fifty years ago, some three or four men whose right to the laurel was universally admitted, but no other competitor who was so much as "in the running," we have now perhaps not only something like twice the number of recognized poets of the first rank, but from a dozen to a score of verse-makers whom friendly critics may without positive absurdity affirm to be poets likewise.

But *are* they so? Is the affirmation of admiring friendship true for cold impartial criticism also? Let it be granted that our twenty candidates for the diploma of Apollo have all of them "the root of the matter." Let it be granted that they are genuine song-birds, and not, as were their predecessors of the Albums and Keepsakes, mere analogues of the ingenious gentleman from Whitechapel, who performs such whistling wonders at the street corners with a slip of notched reed and a mug of water. Let us take it as agreed that they do not sing in the sense familiar to this gentleman, "because they must," but only under the same compulsion as the linnet—that they own another than the frankly avowed inspiration of Persius, and an impulse superior to that of the *magister artis ingenique largitor venter*, by which the parrot-poetasters of former periods were too often exclusively moved. In a word, let it be conceded that our increased and increasing number of brevet poets, so to speak, have thus much of the veritable poet in them, that on the musical side of their art they possess a characteristic and distinguishable note of their own, and that on the spiritual and intellectual side of it they are charged with and render a song—a message which other birds or bards convey either not at all or in a less delightful and impressive way. This, it will be seen, is allowing a good deal in the way of rare gifts to a goodly number of contemporary songsters, but, allowing it, is it sufficient to establish the case of the author of "Our Noble Selves?" Are quality and compass of voice, are volume and brilliancy, and, above all, sustainment of song, to count for nothing? Does a singer who has sung one or two little ditties inimitably, who is unapproachable in his own line of vocalization—does he necessarily add one more to the "common ruck of divine genius?" If so, we need not wonder if, when we come to add the prose writers to the poets, the divine crowd in Fleet Street is found seriously to impede locomotion.

But it is of course the prose writers who will be most in the way, who will ofttest have their elbows in our sides and their boot-soles on our toes. For, even in this age of Immortals, there are more writers of prose than of verse, and of course their contribution to



the "common ruck," &c, will be proportionately the greater. Here, again if we leave the contentious term "genius" out of the discussion for a moment, and compare the present with past eras, there is no disputing the progress which has been made. History, science, and politics alone account for the great bulk of all modern prose literatures, and if to these we add biography and criticism we shall find no doubt that an immense advance has taken place across the whole field. Of the second of the subjects in the foregoing list, there is, of course, no need to speak. The Nineteenth Century is pre-eminently the age not only of science but of scientific genius, and in this department of human activity, the "common ruck" metaphor is unquestionably least hyperbolic. And if historical genius, in the old sense of the word, be no very common phenomenon in these times, it is because the peculiar bent of the historian is in a direction unfavourable to the display of that brilliant, but often very misleading, gift. In the literature of politics, of criticism, of biography, the past does not bear a moment's comparison with the present. The Fonblanques, the Lambs, the Harlitts, the De Quinceys, the Wilsons, the Southey's of the first quarter of the present century stood well-nigh alone. Outside the charmed circle to which they belonged one looks in vain for a prose writer of powers above mediocrity—for any man who, without being a prodigy of brilliance and learning, possesses that competent equipment of good sense, critical capacity, culture, information, and command of style, which nowadays are literally almost drugs in the market. Criticism, it is true, leaves something to be desired in many departments, notably in that of the drama, but many of its shortcomings are due rather to the vices of the system than to the incompetence of the critic. As to fiction, it has become a handicraft in which a body of highly skilled artificers contrive year by year to turn out a vast mass of work, generally of a delightful, often of a striking, sometimes of a masterly kind. Here, of course, the immense increase of the reading public and development of the modern novel (which, broadly speaking, is the only thing it reads) have enabled the present age to leave the foremost of its predecessors at an even ludicrous distance in the rear. The age of Fielding and Richardson, the age of Fanny Burney and Ann Radcliffe—nay, even the age of Walter Scott and Jane Austen—was an age in which the demand of the educated novel-reading public received its entire supply from a very few "eminent hands," and it is difficult to doubt that in this case the former was in excess of the latter. From about the year 1830 onwards the supply of competent and popular novel writers (not being recognized Immortals) seems slowly to have increased, but it is only within the last quarter of a century, and chiefly during the latter half of that period, that so wonderful a start has been made. Again, excluding

that troublesomely disputatious word genius from the discussion, it would probably be no extravagance to say that if a capable critic were to begin to compute the number of English novelists, male and female, whose work reaches a distinctly high standard of literary merit, he would have to tell off some thirty or forty names before he would be justified in closing the list

It is manifestly improbable that in all this galaxy of novelistic talent there should be no genius. And genius of course there is. So, equally of course, is there, here and there, in the other fields of literature which we have brought under review. No doubt there are so-called "minor" poets who are really entitled to sit at the high table, and whose ghosts—if that is any satisfaction to them—will in fact be bidden to it by posterity. Unquestionably it is a foolish and vulgar error to suppose, as a dull and unimaginative contemporary public is apt to suppose that "genius" is confined to the departed, and to those, one or two at most, of their living successors, whose merits time, and honorific titles, and the patient importunity of the critical, assisted perhaps by some of those arts which have convinced the world of the genius of Messrs Pears, have slowly and painfully drummed into the aforesaid public's head. And this foolish and vulgar error the author of "Our Noble Selves" is to be heartily commended for combating.

But the "common ruck of divine genius!" The jostling of wits and poets in Fleet Street! The Swifts and Newtons, who are energizing, unknown and unsuspected, in our midst! Surely, to write like this is, as has been said already, to transcend not only the probabilities of fact, but the congruities of thought and language. It is gravely to maintain that the exceptions outnumber the rule, and in the same breath to insist, by implication of nomenclature, that they *are* exceptions and that they deserve the distinction which belongs only to the exceptional. It is solemnly to affirm that the officers of literature—as used humorously to be said of those of the United States Army—are more numerous than the privates, and yet still to give them those titles of rank which imply that they have all of them troops under their command. There is no escape, in short, from the dilemma that a mistake must have been made either in counting "geniuses" or in appraising "genius," and that, if the former are as large a company as we are asked to believe, then the latter cannot be as precious a thing as we are expected to consider it. Few of us, I expect, will have much difficulty in making choice between the two alternatives here presented. Most of us will be disposed rather to question the abundance of the gift of genius than to admit a doubt as to its value. Pleasant as it seems to be to some minds to imagine that we live in an age when everybody (and therefore nobody) is a prodigy of intellectual power, it will be

sufficiently gratifying, I should suppose, to men of less ambitious conceptions, to be able to assure themselves, as they certainly can with safety, that while our era is to the full as well supplied with genius and geniuses as its predecessors, it has witnessed an advance of the general average of intellectual culture and intellectual capacity to a point far beyond any yet attained in the history of the world

It is the predominance of the element of self-consciousness in the popular sense of the word which mainly distinguishes these comparisons of the present with the past from those in which former ages have indulged. For "self-consciousness" means, in its popular usage, something much more specific than mere "introverted consciousness"—the philosophic import of the word. It means attention, not to one's sensations, as stimulated by the external animate or inanimate world, but to one's whole personality as a human being mixing with one's fellows and measuring oneself against them. We do not call a man "self-conscious" when he becomes sensible of the fact that he is hungry or thirsty, too cold or too hot, or when he notes that his mind is less easy, or his body less comfortable to-day than it was yesterday. And that is the simple form which the comparison of present with past used formerly in most instances to take. Lamentations over the "good old times," a form of complaint which probably became common in or shortly after the days of Noah, mean usually little more than that our fathers were luckier—not that they were worthier—than ourselves. Even such phrases as the "wisdom of our ancestors," as used in defence of ancient institutions, hardly imply much more than that our ancestors were not fools—that they knew what they were about, and that we—"the latest seed of time, New men that, in the flying of a wheel, Cry down the past"—should think maturely before condemning their work as wrongly conceived or ill-executed, and proceeding to demolish it accordingly. The intention of the phrase is not so much to suggest the absolute inferiority of the "new men" in point of wisdom, as to caution them against presuming too much on their superiority. Systematic comparison between one age and its predecessors in respect of wisdom, learning, virtue, piety, valour, or what not, are of course to be met with in the pages of curious literary inquirers at all periods, but never before have they become the popular fashion—never certainly have they been indulged in with such restless incessancy as is the case at the present day. Suppose the Age is better than its predecessors, what then? And suppose it isn't, what then?

This, fidgety self-consciousness, however, on the part of our unhappy Age itself, need surprise no one who has taken due note of what I do not hesitate to call the prevailing passion—so far as matters intellectual are concerned—of that society which answers, in the concrete order, to the above abstraction. The Nineteenth Century

is not more uneasy as to its relations with its company in the "foremost files of Time," than are the individual men and women of the century as to their relations with their neighbours. Never was there a period when so vast a multitude of human beings were so ridiculously eager to create and sustain for themselves the reputation of intellectually superior persons. The word "reputation" is, here, I wish it to be observed, emphatic, and, being emphatic, it divests the eagerness in question of all pretence to dignity and all title to respect. No doubt the honest appetite for knowledge, the unostentatious and disinterested desire for self-improvement, the laudable ambition to develop whatever of talent may have been bestowed upon a man by nature—no doubt these worthy impulses and instincts have gained large accession of strength among the educated community of the present day. Having regard to the immense enlargement of the material and means of knowledge, of the facilities for self-improvement and for the development of individual faculty, it could hardly have been otherwise. But the growth thus admitted has been much more than outstripped, one fears, by that of a lower and far less respectable passion. *Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* is a maxim which wins new votaries every day. To know for knowing's sake is doubtless a stronger motive than ever it was before, we may hope and believe that it is, but to know in order that you may be known to know—nay, even only to seem, in order that you may be thought, to know—these, it is beyond all question, have nowadays become objects of a hitherto unprecedented pursuit. A widespread and devouring ambition—not for the pleasure, or the power, or even for the profit, which knowledge and culture and ability confer or may confer upon their possessors—but simply for the repute which they bring, the admiration which they attract, has reached its height at a period when the facilities of self-advertisement have been brought to the last degree of perfection. And the consequences of the coincidence are to be found in almost every column of the so-called "literary gossip" in which the host of light periodicals so largely deal. To print and publish was always—at least at the expense of him who printed and published—an easy matter, but a more excellent way has now been discovered, and the aspirant to literary honours finds it easier and cheaper to procure print and publication for the fact that he is—some day—about to print and publish. The devices for the capture of this species of notoriety are endless, and when one sees them often repeated by or on behalf of the same person one feels inclined to wonder how long it will be before the labour-saving instinct of humanity induces resort to a still shorter process, and adorns the "Art and Literature" column with some such notifications as "Mr A wishes to inform the public that he is a person of considerable mental power and literary attainments,

and is expected some day or other to furnish the world with conclusive proof on both points," or (with even closer adaptation of means to ends), "Mrs B desires it to be generally known that she is as clever as her neighbours, and indeed that she considers herself to be in reality better off for brains than Mrs C, whose much over-rated novel, *Where are you Going to, my pretty Maid?* (in which she is more than suspected of having been largely assisted by her distinguished husband) obtained an ephemeral success last season"

The tendency which the weaker and vainer members of society thus caricature is not, however, confined to them alone. It fully deserves, I think, to be described by the phrase already applied to it, as a "prevailing tendency," a tendency characteristic and distinctive of the age. Of this we could scarcely desire better proof than the fact that even a *littérateur* of such mark and ability as the writer from whose article I have quoted should have, no doubt unconsciously, dropped into a line of criticism and recommendation which strikingly illustrates it. For the gist and kernel of "Our Noble Selves" appears to be, not merely that it is a deplorable thing to find so much contemporary genius so widely unrecognized, nor even that the friends of contemporary genius should labour to educate the popular taste into intelligent recognition of it—but that recognition, whether intelligent or not, is, on the *quocunque modo rem* principle, indispensable, and indeed that endeavours should be made to secure it for contemporary genius by means whose very success presupposes the utter absence of the element of intelligence from it when secured.

"We have heard," he says "a great deal of late about some mysterious operation known as log-rolling, as a matter of fact there is not half log-rolling enough in the ranks of contemporary English literature. What we need is more strenuous and more open log rolling. At this moment the enormous mass of young English intellect is for the most part mutually known to itself and its final success mutually predicted. But in order to insure that happy consummation, in order to push the good new literature and thought and humour and science down the recalcitrant throats of a careless and uncritical public, what we want is a long pull and a strong pull and a pull all together. Shoulder to shoulder set the log rolling. It is only by the consistent and persistent hammering of those who know that anything ever gets hammered at all into the thick heads of the British people."

How singular that so accomplished a writer should not have asked himself what value there would attach—except, of course, in money—to the "happy consummation" he speaks of, if it were thus "insured." Of course its money value would be considerable, but I do not understand this to be in question. True, we are told in one place that the neglected genius of to-day not only "wants recognition," but "not unfrequently wants bread," but, though many of the writers for whom the log is rolled in "Our Noble Selves" are undoubtedly rated by the public (and therefore pre-

sumably assessed by the Income Tax Commissioners) at much below their real merits, there is certainly no Otway of the "famished form" to be found among them. We shall, therefore, be justified, I think, in regarding the latter half of the sentence above quoted as practically surplusage, and confine ourselves to the statement that what the neglected genius wants is "recognition" pure and simple, or, in other words, the praise of his contemporaries. And no doubt he does want it, it is human to want it, but surely the natural desire for sympathy and approbation, which is implanted in the breasts of all men, should, in the bosom of "genius," if anywhere in the world, be something better than a gross and indiscriminate appetite for ignorant and insincere applause. "The more applause the better," one can fancy genius exclaiming, "so long as it be the applause of appreciative intelligence, but the fewer the better of those cheers which are merely the hollow echo of empty heads 'consistently and persistently hammered upon by those who know.' Let those who know stop hammering, and endeavour to increase then numbers by diffusing their tastes, if they wish to give me real pleasure. Probably their success will be scanty enough, but has it ever been otherwise at any time? Was there ever a period in which the capacity to comprehend and appreciate genius was shared by more than an infinitesimal minority, and why cannot living genius accept the lot which departed genius has so often accepted with such magnanimous composure? At any rate, if the real article of recognition is not forthcoming, I will give no encouragement to the manufacture of a counterfeit. I can make my great work in the world suffice for me as others have done before me, and shall not need the 'most sweet voices' of an ignorantly adoring multitude to impel me to do my best. Even if I hankered after them more than my predecessors, I am under a stronger obligation to deny myself. For as one who aspires to be a leader of the age, it is at the very least my duty to endeavour to read it a lesson in that self-sufficing dignity which it so much lacks, and to rebuke by my example that restless vanity which is its besetting weakness."

H D TRAILL

## SOME NOTES ON COLONIAL ZOOLOGY

**W**IDE as is our Colonial Empire, the scientific interest which attaches to some of its biological features is greater than even its vast extent might lead us to anticipate. The Russian dominion is of prodigious size, yet even if we were to add to it the great Empire of China, the two combined would be but zoologically uninteresting and monotonous compared with even half of those portions of the earth's surface which own our sway. In our great Colonial Exhibition care was taken to exhibit specimens of the animal population of our colonies, but, of course, it has been impossible to thereby make known to its visitors their scientific interest. In the following pages we shall endeavour, not to describe the biology of the different regions we own, that has been done antecedently\* by us in this Review, but to select and notice a few Colonial animal forms of special significance.

Ranging over the barren plains which extend north of the Canadian forests, is to be found that singular ruminant the musk-sheep (*Ovibos*), more commonly, but incorrectly named, the musk-ox. Nowhere else does it now exist but in Greenland, yet it is the last survivor of various kinds of warmly clad beasts which once had a very wide distribution. Ages ago it wandered in Asia and Central Europe, even down to the South of France, side by side with the large-tusked mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, but whilst the mammoth thence receded to Siberia, to be entombed in ice and die out, and whilst the woolly rhinoceros also became extinct, the musk-sheep, after vanishing from both Europe and Siberia, still survives in the northern regions of the New World. This instance of an ancient

\* See the article entitled "The Geography of Living Creatures," in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, February, 1880

closer connection between the Old World and the new, has much significance. For at a very late geological period horses, camels, elephants, and rhinoceroses, all of which now inhabit (the action of man apart) the Old World exclusively, were then inhabitants of North America. Elephants and rhinoceroses appear to have first arisen east of the Atlantic, but camels seem to have had an American origin and once abounded in the United States, although they are now only represented in the southern portion of the American Continent by their relatively small cousins the Llamas. Horses have twice entered upon American soil. From the northern region of the Old World they appear, in the latter tertiary times, to have extended to the northern region of the new, and thence spread themselves onwards to and over South America. Yet they had become entirely extinct long before the time of Columbus, and the vast herds which now inhabit its southern plains are all the descendants of horses introduced—for the second time—by the agency of man.

The racoon, found in Canada, is another animal of much interest. It is so exclusively an American animal that, had the turkey been adopted as a crest over the arms of America, two racoons might well have stood as supporters of her shield. Not only is it American, but it belongs to a small family of beasts of prey—made up of five genera and at least seven species—all of which are without a single representative in the Old World. The forms which compose this small group, closely bound together as they are by the possession of certain common anatomical characters, differ widely from one another in general appearance, structure of the teeth, and other obvious characters related to their respective habits of life, one species inhabiting the forests of tropical America, and called the Kinkajou (*Cercoleptes*), being specially fitted for its strictly arboreal life by having a prehensile tail the end of its tail can be very firmly coiled round the twigs and branches to which it is applied, the part towards the extremity being devoid of hair to enable it to grasp more firmly, and so act as a fifth foot. The species which compose that extensive family of beasts of prey of which the civet cat is the type, are all inhabitants of the Old World only, but the great family of weasels has representatives in both hemispheres, and one representative, of much interest to science, the sea-otter (*Enhydra*) is found in British Columbia. There are three groups of beasts which now swim freely in the ocean, and are either unable to progress on land, or do so with difficulty, and for short distances only. These are, (1) the great group of whales and porpoises, (2), the very small group comprising the dugong, manatee, and recently extinct rhytina and (3) the group of seals and sea-bears. The first two groups are so entirely aquatic in organization and habit, that it is at first difficult to believe they can be the descendants of some



now extinct four footed animals The seals and sea bears have each four feet, but the hind-limbs of the seals can only be employed as fins for swimming, and not at all for walking, as those of the sea-bear can be So, at first sight it would seem that we have here a clue to the gradual formation of completely aquatic and marine life, by a gradual descent from animals like sea-bears, to whales and porpoises A careful study of the anatomy of these animals, however, shows that these three aquatic groups must have descended from three different four-footed stocks, and must have acquired their aquatic habits and organization in entire independence of each other There are also reasons for suspecting that whales and porpoises descended from beasts more or less allied to swine, and that the dugong and manatee descended from beasts more or less allied to some ancestral elephant-form What, then, was the probable origin of seals and sea-bears, and had they both one common origin?

The family of weasels (which includes the martens, badgers, glutton, skunks, and others) is so closely allied with the family of bears that they are united together into a larger group of "bear-like animals" Amongst bears, the white bear is very aquatic, as also are all the otters The conjecture has been more than once expressed that the seals and sea-bears have descended from land animals more or less closely resembling existing bears This conjecture has been lately confirmed by a careful examination of the brain, which has shown that a special fold of brain substance, the form of which has been compared with an heraldic "escutcheon of pretence,"\* is characteristic of the entire group But have the seals and sea-bears had one common origin from a single terrestrial form, or have they respectively arisen from two forms, as the whales and porpoises on the one hand, and the dugong and manatee on the other, have undoubtedly arisen from two different terrestrial kinds of animals? The question has been asked whether the sea-bears may not have arisen from a sort of bear, and the seals from a sort of otter, and some points have been noted which go to prove this view Now the sea-otter of British Columbia is a form of special interest, because it diverges so much from the common otter in its organization, which is still more perfectly fitted for aquatic life than is theirs Should it be deemed that it thereby favours the hypothesis of the origin of seals from otters, this alone would give it a special interest, but should it be proved that seals had no such origin, the interest for us of the sea-otter would not thereby be lessened, for in that case it would be an illustration of yet another route by which a terrestrial quadrupedal form might descend into the ocean, and form yet another group of completely

\* See the Journal of the Linnæan Society (Zoology), vol. xix pp. 1-25

marine beasts, but one different from and independently of any of those which have in fact been developed

We have already mentioned the name of the turkey (*Meleagris*), and our colony of Honduras gives its name to a species which is one of the most gorgeous of all birds, outshining the pheasants, which are as exclusively Asiatic as all the species of guinea-fowl are exclusively African. The turkey is not like the musk-sheep, a creature which has survived in America after having enjoyed a more cosmopolitan existence but, so far as we know, has ever been American and American only, for there is evidence that it was so even in the Miocene period. Our more southerly American Colonies, such as British Guiana and Trinidad, make us acquainted with certain other kinds of animals which deserve to be noted.

Wandering far south and north of our Central American Colonies—namely, from Paraguay to Texas—are the species of pig-like animals, called peccaries (*Dicotyles*). They are very distinct from all other existing swine in that certain bones of their feet are more consolidated, so that, in this respect, they resemble the group of Ruminating Beasts. No other animals of the hog family now exist—save where introduced by man—throughout the whole American continent, though forms now extinct once flourished in North America, whence the peccaries descended southwards, so that at the first advent of Europeans in North America its whole extent north of Texas and Arkansas was a completely swineless territory. Another exceptionally interesting animal, the tapir, is found, if not actually in our colonies of Guiana and Honduras, yet in the country intervening between them. In the present day, this strange form of life, which is the survivor of many other kinds now extinct, has a most singular geographical distribution. Two or three species inhabit the warmer parts of America, while the only other known species is confined to the Malay Archipelago. The study of fossil animals, however, explains this singular circumstance, since we now know that tapirs existed in Europe in Miocene times, while no such remains of the group have yet, we believe, been discovered in America. It is to be presumed then, that tapirs originated in the north-western part of the older continent, and thence diverged to their present abodes. The warmer parts of America, including British Guiana, also afford examples of sloths, ant-eaters, and armadillos, animals which are not only very strictly American, but, as far as we have any evidence, have ever been so. They once co-existed with gigantic allied forms (*Megatherium*, *Megalonyx*, *Mylodon*), which seem to have taken origin in the southern portion of the American continent, whence they advanced northwards to Pennsylvania, and even further, before their apparently rapid extinction—an extinction which at about the same geological epoch seems to have overtaken so many gigantic forms of animal

life Our West Indian Colonies are perhaps as remarkable for the absence, as for the presence, of certain animal forms It is difficult to imagine regions more suited for monkey life than some of those which are to be found amongst the Antilles Indeed, that they are so suited is demonstrated by the fact that here and there monkeys which have been imported and have escaped and bred, easily maintain themselves No kind of ape, however, exists naturally in the Antillean region It is, of course, quite otherwise in Trinidad, which is not truly, what it is often reckoned to be, a West Indian island, but is a detached fragment of the great South American continent The monkeys of the Old World are entirely distinct from those of the new, and those of the forest regions of America are the only monkeys which develop that special help for arboreal life before spoken of as a "prehensile tail"

Most perfectly prehensile are the tails of those gentle animals called "spider monkeys" (*Ateles*), as also of those creatures which seem to represent the baboons of Africa, and which are known as howling monkeys (*Myctes*) In the Old World our possessions bring us in relation with all those apes which most nearly resemble man in structure, and have, therefore, the highest interest for us In the swampy forests of Borneo we have the sedate and melancholy-looking orang—most man-like as to brain Inland, from our West African Colonies, we find the petulant and playful chimpanzee—most man-like as to skeleton, and in our Indian possessions we have the gibbons, or long-armed apes—most man-like as to voice They are also especially man-like in length of leg compared with length of body, while one of them is the only ape which can boast the possession of a chin The corporeal ancestor of man must have more or less resembled in body all these apes, while diverging in structure from each one of them So, also, it may well have occupied an intermediate geographical position, and had its home in Central or Western Asia, if not in Southern Europe

The special interest which attaches to the question of man's bodily ancestry stands alone, but apart from that question, no one of our colonies in America, Africa, or Asia has so exceptional and geological interest as have our possessions in New Guinea, New Zealand and Australia These three divisions represent, at it were, three diverse sections of the most exceptional zoological region New Guinea, with Celebes, the Moluccas, and the islands up to and including the small island of Lombok, constitute the section that comes nearest to the Indian region, which region extends from Hindostan and China, down through the Malay Archipelago, to (and including) the little island of Bali Shallow seas connect the great Indian Islands with the mainland on the one hand, and New Guinea, with its adjacent islands, on the other, and shallow seas

indicate a comparatively recent land connection. Deep water, however, separates the islands thus submerinely connected with the Indian continent, from those so connected with Australia. The two small islands just named are thus respectively the outposts of two very different zoological regions, and the limit so marked between them has been named after its discoverer—the distinguished naturalist, Alfred R. Wallace—"Wallace's Line." He has\* told us how, in passing from one to the other of these two islands which are but fifteen miles apart, we pass from one set of animal forms to another—that in Bali we have barbets, fruit-thrushes and woodpeckers, which are altogether absent in Lombok, which, on the other hand, abounds with birds characteristic of Australian zoology, such as cockatoos, honey-suckers, and brush-turkeys. New Guinea, and the islands immediately adjacent (within the hundred-fathom line), are the special home of those creatures which are amongst the most beautiful and most varied of the feathered class—the birds of paradise. From New Guinea we may here pass, in imagination, to that land which has been called the Paradise of Birds—New Zealand. There, previously to the advent of the Maoris, the huge dinornis and its congeners reigned in security over an animal population from which the class of beasts was all but excluded. Yet crawling in comparative inconspicuousness amongst those lordly feathered bipeds was a certain lizard which, unlike its great Avian fellow-islanders, has survived for the wonder and instruction of our own day, and is now, in the eyes of scientific biologists, the most noted zoological peculiarity of the country. It is a survivor indeed, and represents an unimaginable antiquity, for this lizard, known as *Hatteria* (or *Sphenodon*), is the last living representative of a group of reptiles which have left their remains in the Tertiary strata, at the very bottom of the secondary system of rocks.

This remarkable animal thus surviving amidst the wreck of worlds so long anterior to that which witnessed its origin, was first noticed in connection with Captain Cook's third voyage, but became known to us through a specimen presented to the British Museum by a Dr. Dieffenbach†. Other specimens soon followed, and some bones which found their way to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, enabled that venerable and sagacious palæontologist, Sir Richard Owen, to point out its affinity to the extinct reptiles above referred to‡. A full description of the anatomy of the animal was, however, first given by Dr. Gunther, § F.R.S., now head of the Zoological Department of our British Museum of Natural History at South Kensington.

\* See "The Malay Archipelago," vol. 1, p. 21.

† The animal is referred to by him in his "Travels in New Zealand," vol. II (1845), p. 505.

‡ "Trans. Geol. Soc.," vol. VII (1845), p. 64, pl. 6.

§ See the "Phil. Transactions for 1869."

Having thus made acquaintance with this ancient lizard, *Hatteria*, a few words may now follow about a point in human anatomy on which the anatomy of *Hatteria* throws an interesting and very instructive light

The human brain is a voluminous, globular mass, the larger and upper part of which consists of two much furrowed lateral masses, separated by a conspicuous median fissure. These masses are known as the "cerebral hemispheres," and deeply imbedded beneath them (a little behind and below what is practically the middle of the adult brain) is a small rounded body, about the size of a pea, which is called the "pineal gland." This structure is known, at least by name, to many persons who are not anatomists, because Descartes strangely conjectured it to be the "seat of the soul" \*

In most animals, however, and in ourselves in the earliest days of our existence, the cerebral hemispheres do not extend backwards over the rest of the brain, but are confined to its anterior portion, and thus the pineal gland, instead of seeming to be imbedded in the midst of the brain, lies upon its upper surface. Another small, rounded prominence, called the "pituitary body," projects downwards from the midst of the under surface of the brain, and is received into a hollow on the upper surface of a small prominence of our skull floor, known by the singular name of "the Turkish saddle." A function much less poetical than that attributed by Descartes to the pineal gland, but equally baseless, was assigned to this body by earlier physiologists. But no rational conjecture of any kind has been put forward as to the function of either of these two curious little bodies which we all of us thus carry about inside our skulls.

Since, however, the theory of evolution has gained the acceptance of all the most competent naturalists, a flood of light has been thrown on many parts of different animals, which parts are, to all appearance, quite useless to them. This light reveals not their present function, but their essential nature and past history. It reveals not what they are, but how they came to be. Such structures are now deemed to be the rudimentary representatives of parts which were of functional importance to their more or less remote ancestors—they are relics which point to antecedent conditions which now exist no longer.

An example of such rudimentary representative structures may be found in foetal whales, which have a set of teeth that never cut the gum, and represent teeth which once effectually aided the ancestors of existing whales to bite their food. Adult whales have

\* By such a conjecture Descartes departed altogether from the older view of the soul (which well harmonised with the most advanced modern phrenology), and burthened philosophy with a baseless figment (the conception of a soul co existing with, but distinct from, the living body), which it has cost many an effort and much distress of mind to get rid of.

also functionless rudiments of hind limbs imbedded in their flesh, which show, no doubt, that their ancestors were quadrupeds.

Again, the minute and useless wing of the Apteryx, like the functionless "splint-bones" of the horse, represent, in a rudimentary way, parts which were of more or less utility to the remote ancestors of those creatures. It would be easy to bring forward a great number of similar illustrations, and to show how, by the study of comparative anatomy and of the development of the embryos of certain animals, light has been thrown on the origin and true nature of enigmatical parts known to exist in other animals. Is it then possible that these studies may reveal to us anything about those curious brain-structures of ours—the pineal gland and the pituitary body?

The study of development has indeed made many a strange revelation to us in the course of the past quarter of a century, and amongst its more recent disclosures are some new lights with respect to the pituitary body. We now know that our mouth is not what was the primitive mouth of the more remote animal progenitors of the human frame, but is an improvement and addition, and the pituitary body turns out to be, not a true brain-structure, but an adjunct of some kind to the mouth in its anterior condition. Its exact nature, however, is still a matter for investigation. Till quite the other day no conjecture worth anything could be made with respect to the true nature of the pineal gland, but now a quite new and a wonderful revelation has occurred respecting it, and one much more satisfactory than that we as yet have respecting the pituitary body. Before, however, considering this revelation, it will be well first to glance briefly at certain very inferior animals.

Ascidians, or Tunicaries, are (as most readers now probably know) a lowly organized group of marine animals, many of which are called "sea-squirts," because, when left high and dry by the receding tide, the only obvious sign of vitality they exhibit when touched, is the ejection of a small jet of water. Without any distinguishable head, with a heart in the form of a simple tube, these creatures may cohere in complex aggregations (fixed or actively locomotive), or may exist separately with a dense coat produced into a pair of orifice-bearing processes—like a leather bottle with two necks. Some young ascidians present a form strangely different from that they exhibit when mature. Thus the young of the genus *Phallusia* has very much the appearance of a tadpole, and, like the latter, moves by lateral undulations of a long tail, which is attached to its short globular body. With this exception, however, nothing could well seem generally less like one of the higher animals than an inert, lowly organized sea-squirt. And yet we well recollect, when first attending Professor Huxley's lectures at the School of Mines, Jermyn Street, how our attention was directed to one or two.

obscure and recondite resemblances between ascidians and backboneed animals or vertebrates. The significance of these resemblances was made startlingly clear when the Russian naturalist, Kowalevsky, discovered the representative of the backbone of vertebrates, in the tail of embryo tadpole-like ascidians.

The belief that these lowly creatures throw at least a side light on the ancestors of the highest animals is now generally admitted—that they are collateral, probably degenerate, members of the great group of fishes, reptiles, birds, beasts, and man. But the tadpole-like larval ascidian has another noteworthy structure. It has a single eye, which is in contact with and imbedded in the creature's brain, a position not inconvenient because of the transparency of the animal itself. All the higher animals, however, have not a single eye, but a pair of eyes. Even those curious fishes with one-sided heads (*Pleuronectidæ*—soles, turbot, flounders, &c. &c.), and which have no eye at all on one side of their head, have nevertheless a pair of eyes on the other side. If these ascidians really show us in some respects what were the more ancient conditions of vertebrate life, it would seem to be at least a possibility that not a pair of eyes, but one single median organ of vision, may have been the more ancient condition.

These matters concerning the human brain and the group of ascidians being together borne in mind, we may venture to speak again of the New Zealand lizard, *Hatteria*.

A specimen of this animal came a short time ago into the hands of Mr W Baldwin Spencer, assistant to Professor Moseley, of Oxford. In carefully dissecting this specimen he noticed a small globular structure buried beneath the skin on the top of the head, just where there is a small aperture between the roof-bones of the skull, called the parietal foramen.

On careful examination this small globular structure turned out to be an eye! It was a complete eye, with retina, pigment, vitreous humour and lens, while yet it could, from its position and surroundings, be of hardly any functional utility. Professor Moseley referred Mr Spencer to certain observations previously made by Henri W de Graaf and Leydig, and it now turns out that some other lizards present conditions more or less similar amongst them our own slow-worm, *anguis fragilis*. There is, however, one fact of remarkable significance. Mr Baldwin Spencer tells us that he has distinctly traced out a continuous nervous connection between this median, single, parietal eye, and the hitherto profoundly mysterious pineal gland! Here, then, at last we have a clue to the nature and meaning of that puzzling structure. According to it, this body so deeply buried within the human brain, is a surviving relic of an ancestral organ of sight. But of what organ of sight? Is it a special modification which was superadded on other more

ordinary conditions by reptilian ancestors, or is it of yet greater antiquity? Was it (that is to say) added to creatures already possessing the pairs of eyes we are familiar with, or was it the sole, original organ of sight in vertebrates, and are the pair of eyes we know a long subsequent addition and improvement?

If we are to trust to what ascidians seem to teach us, then it would appear to be the more probable that in the parietal eye of *Hatteria* we have a survival of the original, single eye of ancestors both of the tadpole-like ascidians and of vertebrates, and we must then regard our own eyes as relatively modern improvements and subsequent additions. The "pincal gland," according to this view, though, as need hardly be said, no "seat of the soul," would nevertheless be the original single organ for conveying to the brute soul of our remote ancestors those luminous impressions which are the most potent agents in educating animal consensience.

The views here put forward are, of course, but speculative and conjectural, to be confirmed or refuted by future careful research. When we consider, however, how strange and startling have been other speculations which have been similarly suggested and subsequently confirmed, we cannot but deem the one now suggested as worthy the careful consideration of the biologist as well as deserving the attention of all those persons who take a general interest in natural science or in the structure and activities of their own bodies.

Before concluding this brief paper a few words must be said about the centre of the great Australian region, that is Australia itself. The science of biology has doubtless in store for its faithful votaries many surprises and startling discoveries, such as that just narrated about our more ancient eye. Nevertheless the world may seem in some respects getting zoologically used up. We cannot hope to see new species develop to replace the interest of those which have lately left us, such as the dodo, dinornis, and great auk amongst birds, and the rhytina amongst beasts, but this is by no means the most distressing fact for the zoologist. Very many species are rapidly tending to become extinct, such as the great Tasmanian opossum, mis-called wolf (*Thylacinus*), and it is doubtful whether that beautiful animal, the so-called "common" zebra, now exists save in a few European gardens. Countries like South Africa, which so lately, as in the days of that unscrupulous destroyer, Gordon Cumming, swarmed with herds of wild animals, are but now thinly peopled by them, while the misplaced efforts of acclimatization societies are ruining the most interesting faunas, not without sometimes causing distress and loss to the very colonists they wish to benefit, as has been the case with respect to the rabbits introduced into Australia. But the name of that great country reminds us that, if the world is getting at all zoologically used up, it is because it is getting somewhat



used up geographically. No biologist now can hope to experience the delightful excitement which must have been felt by Banks and Solander when they first landed on the shores of Australia, a country almost every tree, shrub and weed of which was of a new kind. It must have made them feel as if they had been transported to a new planet, and this feeling would have been greatly intensified could they have been at once aware how different were the beasts—kangaroos, opossums, &c.—which met their eyes from anything they had before known. Then, however, comparative anatomy was in its earlier days, and even the great Cuvier altogether failed to appreciate the true nature of the quadrupeds from Australia when they were submitted to his careful examination. The fact is that there were found in Australia and Tasmania, beasts of prey analogous to wolves, civet cats and weasels, arboreal, more or less vegetable-feeding beasts, analogous to squirrels, and some capable of fitting by the aid of folds of skins, as do the flying squirrels, creatures widely ranging over the plains on which they grazed, analogous to deer and antelopes, creatures like marmots, creatures like ant-eaters, and so on. It was not at first suspected that all these creatures, so different from each other in those points of their structure which are related to their habits of life, were nevertheless so united together by more hidden and essential characters as to constitute one great polymorphic natural group of animals, now called “marsupials,” parallel to the whole series of beasts which are found in other parts of the world. Yet such we know to be the case, and with hardly an exception, every terrestrial Australian beast differs far more from any non-Australian animal—save the opossum of America—than a bat differs from the whale, or an elephant from a mouse. There is one animal, however, which almost as soon as discovered forced men to remark its peculiarity and to speculate as to its life-history on account of the striking eccentricity of its form. We refer to that aquatic, close-furred, web-footed, spur-heeled creature, with horny teeth inside its singularly formed horny jaws, which received the name of the “duck-billed platypus” or *ornithorhynchus*. Nearly related to it is another animal of widely different aspect and habits. With the long snout and tongue and the toothless jaws of an ant-eater, it is clothed with spines like a hedgehog, and is known as the *echidna*. These two extraordinary animals differ so widely from all others, that the difference before spoken of as so great between the marsupials and other beasts, is as nothing to it. It would require a long article to point out to the reader wherein the strangeness of these two animals, now known as “monotremes,” consists. Suffice it to say that by their brain-structure,\* their

\* The great majority of beasts agree with man in having the two lateral halves of the brain medianly united by a large transverse band of brain substance, called

skeleton, their urinary organs, and, above all, by their reproductive system, they form a group so aberrant as hardly to deserve retention within the class of beasts, seeing by how many points they show affinity to that great group which comprises both Birds and Reptiles \* Though these animals have been known for half a century, and though there was an early report that the bird-billed beast laid eggs, yet the facts as to its reproduction were only quite latterly ascertained, and one of the most startling events of the meeting of the British Association in Canada was the telegraphic communication of the fact that the monotremes do lay eggs, and that the structure of these eggs harmonizes with that of the bones which support these animals' shoulders. This last is a very important fact. On the theory of Evolution, the class which includes man and beasts must have descended from some other and lower class, but its line of descent was a very disputable matter. On the whole, scientific opinion inclined to the view that this line of descent passed direct from animals allied to frogs and toads (*i e*, amphibians) without passing through the group of Birds and Reptiles, which was deemed to be rather a great lateral branch, than a part of the stem of the genealogical tree of animal life. Prominent amongst the facts which opposed this view was the shoulder structure of monotremes, which loudly claimed for them affinity with lizards. The condition of the monotreme egg, if not absolutely decisive, goes far to upset the notion that beasts came directly from ancestors allied to amphibians, and shows cause for lengthening out our animal pedigree by giving us claims to corporeal affinity with the beautiful order of Lizards, which have just acquired, by the discovery of their single eye, so great an interest for us.

Lastly we must call attention to one other point of Colonial zoology, namely, to a fish found in our most recent Australian colony—Queensland—the eastern seaboard of which was discovered by Captain Cook one hundred and sixteen years ago. We have just spoken of amphibians. Their affinity with fishes is great, and a creature known as the lepidosiren has been assigned first to one and then to the other of these classes. In Queensland there has been discovered another animal of this transitional kind—the mud-fish of the colonists. The interest of this animal is, however, much greater than yet indicated. Far down in the Triassic strata, before referred to in speaking of *Hatteria*, had been long ago found the teeth of a certain fish, known to us by no other remains, and which was distinguished by the name *Ceratodus*. No sooner did the Queensland mud-fish come under the eyes of naturalists, than it was at

"corpus callosum," and they may therefore be called tied brained. The marsupials have this band so much smaller that they are relatively "loose brained." In the monotremes this band is so minute as to be with difficulty discernible, and they have been playfully designated "scatter brained."

\* Called *Sauropoda*.

once recognized as being a still living representative of that form which had been supposed extinct for so many ages—*Ceratodus*. By its aid we are now able to obtain a complete knowledge of the anatomy of an animal of such extreme activity, and to obtain a quite unexpected acquaintance with bygone Triassic life.

The few facts which have been selected for notice with reference to colonial zoology are valuable as affording a great encouragement to those who are inclined to devote themselves to scientific study, and especially to biological science. When we see the light thrown upon former geographical conditions by such facts as those concerning the animals of the Indian Archipelago and the Moluccas, on existing phenomena of distribution by the study of palæontology—as instanced by the musk-sheep, the peccary and the tapir, when we consider how discoveries like that of the mud-fish reveal to us structural secrets of most remote animal life, how an ancient lizard, like *Hatteria*, may bring to our knowledge the most unexpected truths about our own anatomy, and how the study of the structure and life-history of such a creature as the duck billed platypus, may reveal the probably wide-spread existence\* of groups of animals which have left no tangible proof of their existence, then we can hardly but be impressed with the prodigious wealth of natural sciences and at the wonderful vistas which open themselves to the instructed gaze of the persevering explorer. As then the industrial treasures of our colonies may fitly stimulate our desire to add to the world's wealth and to the greater comfort and convenience of our fellow-men, so a study of the natural productions of those varied regions may reasonably augment the zeal of the scientific inquirer and even direct some men, who but for such study might be content with more ordinary labour, towards the peaceful and ever fertile field of natural science.

ST GEORGE MIVART

\* It is impossible to suppose that such animals as the monotremes could now exist, unless a considerable, perhaps a vast number of creatures allied to them had formerly existed, yet, of their past existence we have hardly a trace.

## CONFESSIONS OF A METROPOLITAN MEMBER

I SERVED in Parliament as a metropolitan member in the Liberal interest for seven sessions, and as nothing would induce me to sit for a metropolitan district again, it may be interesting to point out what are the labours which a regular and conscientious member has to undergo, in order to serve his constituents, and what are his risks. I am not complaining of the caprices and indifference of metropolitan electors, though these are in strange contrast with the fidelity with which the party in old times used to stand by those whom they had chosen, a fidelity almost as conspicuous as that of Scottish Liberals, nor of the incessant appeals made for subscriptions by London electors and non-electors, nor of the nightly lobbying of which one has experience, for these inconveniences you may discover or anticipate, but of the enormous amount of work which, under our present system, is required from every metropolitan member who has the interests of his constituents before him. The ordinary London ratepayer is more neglected and therefore more fleeced and plundered than any other person is in the rest of the United Kingdom, and it is very hard work indeed to help him in Parliament. The London public knows nothing of work upstairs, and what its significance is—nay, it is generally believed, so ignorant are metropolitan electors of what goes on in their midst, that a member serving on a committee gets ten guineas a day for his services. The newspapers tell them nothing of committee business, when what a committee is about is of grave importance to Londoners.

When I first came into Parliament London was not a little stirred by Mr Cross's project with dealing with the Water Companies. A proposal was gravely made that these Companies should be purchased on the basis that they had an incontestable monopoly of supply, and

were exempt from competition, that the private Acts under which they levied their rates were private property, that their plant and pipes were indestructible, and that Parliament, in allowing them to reach a maximum dividend of ten per cent had guaranteed this to them, if they could get it, from the day they began their business. This was the view taken by Mr Edwin Smith, the gentleman who was empowered to negotiate with the Companies. Fortunately a strong committee was appointed, which reported adversely to the scheme. Just such a preposterous arrangement had been made with the Telegraph Companies, and by the Conservative party. Mr Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke) told me that he was most reluctant to carry it out. But there is a most unhappy doctrine prevalent on the two front benches called "the continuity of policy," a doctrine which is constantly inflicting loss, and not infrequently discredit on the British taxpayer.

Now the real reason why Londoners are so indifferent in the aggregate to extortion and loss is, in the first place, the fact that the House of Commons is really the municipality for the whole metropolis. It undertakes all the business of the country, and especially that of the four and a half or five millions now known as London. It means to do justly, but is ill-informed and cannot take counsel. Unless some metropolitan member detects a risk, the most important interests may be compromised unawares. I remember, about three years ago, that an omnibus Bill was brought in at the end of the session, which would, I believe, had it been suffered to pass, have ruined the owners of bonded warehouses in London. As there were many of them in my constituency, not generally political allies of mine, I warned them in time, and we succeeded in erasing these obnoxious provisions. There is of course no representation of the metropolis for local purposes, none I mean which, like the corporations of our great towns, looks after the higher interests of the local community. The Metropolitan Board of Works is wisely restrained from going much beyond the very limited sphere of action which it possesses, and, as experience has proved, it has not the capacity necessary for going beyond what it does, nor does it enjoy much confidence or respect for what it tries to do or has done. I well remember the lively alarm and indignation with which the theatrical managers met an attempt of the Board of Works to extend their control over the London theatres. Not a few of them told me, when I introduced a deputation of them to the Home Office, that if the Board got the powers they asked for, the managers would be unable to carry on their business.

Now there certainly have been occasions on which the City of London has done some good public work, as the Chamberlain reminded Lord Hartington's Committee. Mr. Scott informed this Committee that they sheltered the five members. But he did not tell how they were found out, a generation or more later, in bribing

Speaker Trevor with a thousand guineas for his services in promoting a Bill which was intended to hide certain breaches of trust of which they had been guilty, and were suspected of even bribing more considerable persons. The fact is, the late history of the City of London is one in which exceedingly bad acts have been occasionally modified by exceedingly good ones. Most of the latter have arisen from their standing quarrel with the Water Companies and the Board of Works. Owing to a curious bit of ownership of theirs in Epping Forest, they were able to rescue that space from inclosure. But they had hardly done this when they promoted or aided a Bill for slicing off some 300 acres of the forest in order to secure railway communication with a public-house at High Beach. I had the satisfaction of assisting the defeat of that project.

The fact is the Corporation does not even represent the City. The great bankers and merchants of the square mile stand completely aloof from the Court of Aldermen and Common Council. The great commercial interests of the City are neither understood nor represented nor appreciated at the Guildhall. It is no doubt unfortunate, for there are many Acts on the Statute-book which would never have been there, had the London municipality represented the genuine interests of commerce. And when the City does interfere it does its work clumsily and expensively. When the Commission, of which Lord Bramwell was the chairman, took evidence and reported on the pollution of the Thames, the City spent over £20,000, and got no valuable evidence, the most conclusive facts having been collected by a small body of volunteers, with whom I was from time to time in consultation. Since the report of that Commission, no steps have been taken to abate the nuisance complained of.

Now, when the Parliament which was elected in 1885 met, the Metropolitan members on the Liberal side of the House held a conference, at which they determined to make a careful examination of all Bills, public and private, which affected the whole Metropolis (there were some thirty of the latter kind), and distributed the parliamentary handling of them among the London members. We determined to watch with peculiar interest all legislation promoted by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and all railway Bills which affected London and its suburbs. We had a discussion as to whether the Conservative members should be invited to take a share in our action, but we ultimately concluded to act by ourselves only, and we concluded, I think, wisely, for Metropolitan Toryism is closely allied with vested and vestry interests, of which the former is rarely respectable, the latter, never. There was a serious risk that if we undertook to consult nothing but the public good, and manifest equity, we should come into collision with some of our political opponents, who would be sure to defend what was indefensible. So

we let them alone, and wisely In connection with this association of London Liberals I moved my motion on March 28, when the House affirmed, by a majority of forty, that it was expedient and just to divide local taxation between owner and occupier, and that the scandalous underrating of country mansions should be amended by an alteration in the present laws of rating, when every Metropolitan Tory voted against me

As I alone of the Metropolitan Liberal members had sat on the Water Bill Committee of 1880, I undertook to deal with three of the Water Companies, which fortunately came before Parliament in order to increase their capital and modify their powers These were the Southwark and Vauxhall, the Lambeth, and the East London Companies Now, it will be obvious to every one, that the time to examine the pretensions of a Water Company is not when Parliament is seeking to buy them, but when they seek Parliament under the exigencies of their business Again, it was clear that an ordinary committee would be pretty certain to be guided by past precedents, but that a Select Committee would examine principles So I moved for and got a Select Committee, the representatives of the Water Companies in the House reluctantly yielding to what was the manifestly prevalent feeling I got an excellent committee, of which Lord Claude Hamilton was chairman, and we speedily agreed on the principles which should be attained in permitting the creation of fresh debenture capital by the three companies Two of these principles were that the new stock should be raised in the open market and by competition, the difference between the market price and the par value being carried to the credit of a trustee or trustees on behalf of the district supplied by the company in question Thus, for instance, if a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent stock was issued and was allotted at 112, the twelve pounds should go to the trust The other principle was that the new stock should not avail for the general dividend, but should only earn interest, with 1 per cent for management, the further profit derived from this stock being paid to the trust fund Thus, if the stock were 1,000,000, and the new debenture stock at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  was 200,000, and the 1,200,000 together earned 8 per cent, the additional  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the 200,000—viz, 5,000, should go to the trust The trustee was to be the Chamberlain of the City of London, who has to make an annual return of trusts to Parliament, and the ultimate distribution or employment of the funds was left to the discretion of Parliament—it being understood of course that they were to be used for the benefit of the locality supplied by the three companies.

Now it was not to be expected that changes so capital as these were to be obtained without a struggle The Committee had made up its mind undoubtedly from the commencement But the able

and combative gentlemen of the Parliamentary Bar are always determined, no doubt with the best possible intentions, to thresh out to the very uttermost everything which they defend or impugn. Nor does the Committee ever exercise any control over their loquacity. Often when in my inexperience I have suggested to a chairman that irrelevant topics were introduced by counsel, or that a line of argument was tediously reiterated, I was told that no such check would avail, and that the ingenuity of the lawyer would be too much for the just impatience of the Committee. We sat, I believe, a dozen or fourteen days.

The City of London indeed claimed its privilege of appearing by counsel, and I had several interviews with the City Remembrancer before the Select Committee was nominated. But the idea of overhauling the principle on which water companies' debenture stock should be issued, whatever was its worth, was matured by the London members themselves. The City was represented, as the Water Companies were, by very able counsel, but the chief value he was to us was in putting our amendments into proper legal language. We intended to do what we did and we did it, to the dismay I am told of all the companies, who are well aware that when they come to Parliament the precedent of 1886 will be a rule for the future.

It was reckoned at the time that the trust which we had created would in twenty years' time amount to a million sterling—no unimportant matter to the East London, Southwark, and Lambeth districts. But the counsel representing the Companies recognised that the decision of the Committee effectually extinguished the expectation of back dividends. That anybody should have imagined that the legislature had given or intended to give a permanent ten per cent backwards and forwards, on an undertaking the profits of which were as amply secured as Consols and Metropolitan Stock are, is an illustration of the manner in which the owners of "vested interests" interpret their rights. And we did no wrong to the owners of the stock. They still had a right to earn what the law had given them in time past. What we prevented was that they should get an additional profit out of the new debenture stock.

I have narrated this story of a private Bill because it may give your readers some idea of the special labours of a Metropolitan member. Had such a Bill been proposed by a water company in a town possessing municipal institutions the Corporation itself would have instructed its members and would have appeared by counsel, but except through the accidental and perhaps superfluous intervention of the City, London has no *locus standi* in Bills seriously affecting its local interests. Parliament will not, and I think



wisely, give *carte blanche* to the Metropolitan Board in the instruction of counsel. But it is rather hard work, work I will not face again, to go upstairs all the morning attending to private business, and downstairs till the small hours attending to public business, besides taking the initiative.

And now let us turn to another matter. Sir John Lubbock, with the best intentions, brought in a Bill limiting the hours in which persons could be employed in shops. Now, with the principle of that measure I agreed, though I was astonished at discovering where the worst cases of over-hours were. But, representing as I did a large number of poor shopkeepers, I felt convinced that the Bill, unless adequate inquiry was made, might be ruinous to struggling traders, so I got this Bill referred to a Select Committee, and was on one which sat as long as the Committee on Water Bills did. The Bill was rendered innocuous, perhaps useful, by an amendment of my own, by which the maximum amount of hours by the week was substituted for the maximum by the day. Labours like these may seem to be undertaken for small or insufficient ends, but they are exceedingly wearisome. And here, again, the principal locality to which the regulative character of Sir J. Lubbock's Act applies is London. In country towns, even in large ones, late shop hours are the exception. In London, at the east and south, the hours of retail business are invariably, perhaps inevitably, late. I have no doubt that human energy has been aided by cheap artificial light, but it may be doubted whether human health has been bettered. In the days of tallow candles, not so very long ago, people went to bed early, in the days of gas, some people seem hardly to go to bed at all.

One of the worries of a London member is the incessant deputations he has to receive, and the number of local grievances which he is requested to redress. I remember nothing which gave me more trouble than the case of the matmakers, none which enlisted my sympathy more justly, and none in which remonstrance was more unavailing. The matmakers are a very poorly paid class of mechanics at best. They mostly live in South London. Now their grievance was, not that prisoners were employed in competing against them for a living, but that the managers or governors of these prisons, with the connivance of the Home Office, sell the produce of the prison labour to dealers at prices less than those at which the honest man can work and live. But I could never get a Home Secretary to see the facts in the light in which the matmakers saw it, and I had to do what I could in consoling those sad, weary, famished-looking men who were striving to live by their poor and, as they thought, unduly weighted trade.

There are two particulars in which the London differs from the

county elector He does not care much to go into the strangers' gallery, and he is not much given to petitioning He thinks, I conclude, that he could go to the gallery if he liked, and just as those who live in the vicinity of curiosities do not go to see them, when others travel long distances to do so, so Londoners are indifferent to Parliamentary eloquence But they like to see their member in the Lobby, and they are generally there, at any rate if he belongs to my party There must be some compensation if he is much absent And it is probable that they do not think that much good comes from petitioning Perhaps the fact that many London people are entirely indifferent to petitioning explains why they are indifferent to politics In north-country elections, where politics are matters of public and private interest, 90 or even 95 per cent of the electors will poll In London, it is constantly the case that the maximum is 75 per cent Hence enormous efforts are made to get at indifferent or reluctant people It is, I believe, too, the fact that many of the London electors have but a slender hold on their residence It is likely that the London artisan is more migratory than any other human being and the more enterprising and intelligent he is, the more migratory is he A large building contract may take away hundreds of hands at a time from a constituency But the permanent Tory elector of the poorer classes is generally on the spot His services, to the regret of his neighbours, are rarely required at a distance

Of course, in the entire absence of local representative institutions in London, reformers are a mob, vested interests an organization It is with a rational instinct that the Tory party dislikes municipal reform in London Boards of Guardians, who are not too sensitively alive to spending the ratepayers' money for the relief of destitution only, and vestries, who can do a stroke of business while they manage parish matters, are the natural allies of the Tory party *Hic currus, hic arma fuere*, as Sir Robert Fowler might say And yet one might think that Londoners would be glad to be free from the crushing weight of local taxation which is put on them, and discuss the amazing unfairness of its imposition But here again they are capricious They changed the School Board in the interests of a penny or two, more or less, in the Board rate, but they are indifferent to the leakage and waste induced by their existing institutions, or, if not indifferent, unable to organize a reform of them

The Londoner, again, is greatly distracted by the present situation of the Liberal party Without pretending that the so-called dissentient Liberals are in the least degree unconscientious in the line which they have taken, it was pretty certain that, sooner or later, the less advanced would separate from the more advanced Liberals Any one who sat in the short Parliament of 1886 could see that it was

distrusted by the Whigs, and that this instinct of self-preservation could induce them to wreck it. The marvel is that certain persons took part in this action. It seems to me that the extreme bitterness with which they nickname their late associates is a proof that they are uneasy.

Their attitude has told a great deal on the Londoner. With comparatively few exceptions politics have a loose hold on him. He has no alacrity in voting, a great alacrity in abstaining. A Londoner does not know who his neighbour is, and as a rule he is commendably indifferent to his neighbour's private affairs. He boycotts nobody, or, if you will, he boycotts everybody. Hence a schism in the party to which he has hitherto given his support languidly renders him entirely neutral. It has been frequently and, I believe truly, said that the losses of the Liberals in London have not been due to conversions from old to new convictions, but to a general suspense of the judgment of the situation. In old times, when the London constituencies were massive, the electors were gregarious. Now that they are measurable quantities the electors are distracted.

In the summer of 1885, when the great measures of enfranchisement and redistribution became law, a distinguished statesman of my intimate acquaintance told me that as he came up from Brighton in the company of a well-known Conservative, the latter said that he had conversed with one of the principal agents of his party, who alleged that, in his belief, the Tories would have not more than 120 members in the new Parliament. "But I," he added, "give them 150 as their limit." There was some reason in the anticipation. The Tory party had fought vigorously against the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer, angrily against extending it to the Irish peasant. They had mutilated, with the connivance of the Whigs, the Corrupt Practices Bill, the first indication to me of the coming secession. Even, however, in the form which the Act finally took it gave widespread offence. To cut down the election expenses from £5,000 to £500 is to destroy the occasional harvest of those who had made their relations to party politics their business. In a midland city which I am well acquainted with, and in which bribery had become a fine art, the practice was to make all the attorneys agents. They got pounds and the voters got shillings. I believe that all the attorneys are now Tories, or are passing through the Unionist stage to Toryism. Still, except where constituencies were exceedingly corrupt, the recipients of these occasional benefits would have been only a small fraction of the voters. Now, though mendicancy is a common vice in London constituencies, with rare exceptions bribery has never been

Two or three months before the general election of 1885, a book was published under the somewhat ambitious title of the Radical Programme. It was anonymous, but Mr. Joseph Chamberlain

supplied it with a preface in which he gave a guarded approval, commending it "to the careful and impartial judgment of his fellow Radicals." The book was instantly assumed to be the platform of the advanced Liberal party, of which Mr Chamberlain was at that time reputed to be the special representative in the Cabinet, and the most outspoken and uncompromising advocate. Now I am far from wishing to import into political controversy what theologians have named accommodation—i.e., a defence of what people are likely to acquiesce in, rather than an advocacy of what they ought to accept as just and right—but I am sure that it is dangerous for a leading public man to give in a general way his approval of the principles laid down in an anonymous work. However much he may disclaim his entire sympathy with the particulars of such a production, he is sure to be credited with not opposing them, and very likely to be charged with being their author.

But however guarded Mr Chamberlain may have been, and however reasonable may have been the arguments put forward by the authors of the Radical Programme, no one who had any experience of the elections of 1885 would doubt that the book and Mr Chamberlain's preface were very inopportune. The clergy went frantic over the book, preached against it, and identified the whole party, whose name it took, and whose intentions it purported to discuss, with the most sinister ends. Now there is a section of the London working classes which is secularist or agnostic. But I am persuaded that by far the largest part of the working classes, though not particularly sectarian, is religious. The Tory party is perfectly aware of how useful a canvasser is who can boldly assert that the Radical candidate is an atheist or a freethinker, and they act accordingly, sometimes rather dangerously. My friends found that charges of this kind were made against me, not indeed by responsible persons, but by people in temporary relations with responsible persons. Now it does not follow that electors to whom these statements are made and reiterated are made hostile to a candidate, but they are rendered indifferent, and think that, after all, they had better abstain from voting. For, as is often observed in English politics, the decision of great public questions is generally effected by those who in ordinary times remain neutral, and there is no part of the United Kingdom where so many persons gravitate towards neutrality as they do in London. I have no doubt that in 1885 the publication of the Radical Programme cost the Liberal, and especially the advanced section of the Liberal, party from fifty to seventy-five seats. People were told everywhere that it was the intention of the Radicals, according to this book, to turn churches into dancing halls and drinking saloons. I was told so by a dozen clergymen. It is true that, beyond the general position, affirmed, I believe, by all lawyers, that nearly all corporate property

is within the discretion of the State, to alter its purposes or to appropriate it, the text of the book contains nothing to justify the gloss. But the clergy lashed themselves and those they could influence into fury. Had, I repeat, the preface been as anonymous as the book, the utterance could have excited but little attention. It was Mr Chamberlain, then supposed to be entirely in the councils and confidence of the Government, who induced people to believe, or at any rate gave a colour for believing, that a proposition was a plan.

Then in the summer of 1886 came the great Irish debate. Entirely wise and entirely necessary as I think it is to give Ireland a single statutory Parliament, with the power and the duty of managing its internal affairs, but subordinated to the English Parliament, Mr Gladstone's proposals were not only terribly sudden, but in some particulars very shocking. In the first place it was an entire change of policy. In the summer of 1885 the Government was meditating a partial re-enactment of the Crimes Act, and they were told by many of their followers, by no one more plainly than by myself, that under no circumstances whatever would we vote for any criminal legislation of an exceptional kind for Ireland. But the mischief was done, and the Irish members in a body, Irish voters being rarely neutral, defeated the Budget of 1886, and voted vigorously against the Liberals at the election. Their tactics in 1885 had a good deal to do with the attitude of many Liberals in 1886, and with the subsequent elections in London. The change in front made by Mr Gladstone after the election of 1885 is the most considerable in the political history of England since the change of Sir Robert Peel's views in 1816, and every one knows that Sir Robert Peel, as before in 1829, changed when he saw that the English people were with him. But for the Irish Bills there was no preparation whatever of English opinion, not even in the House of Commons, not even in the Liberal party in the House. I cannot but think, entirely as I agreed with the principles of Mr Gladstone's Irish legislation, that the defeat of the Government, the disruption of the party, the prostration of it in the constituencies, and the re-adoption of a stringent coercion policy, however much the Tories may have disclaimed such a policy at the hustings, were the inevitable results of the proposals of 1886. Mr Parnell was a true prophet when he predicted that the accession of the Tories to power would be followed by the very worst Coercion Act ever proposed. It is to be regretted that he could not have advised caution in the progress of the just and wise measure which Mr Gladstone meditated. It is a commonplace to say that there is wisdom in the manner in which reforms are effected, as well as in the reforms themselves.

There were two effective attacks made against Mr Gladstone's proposals. One was the exclusion of the Irish members from the

House of Commons, a part of the Bill which I consider a capital error, the other was the seeming guarantee given to the Irish landlord by the English taxpayer. I say seeming, for I have rarely read a more complete refutation of error than the excellent analysis of the Gladstone Land Act of 1886 by Lord Thring. But these two objections were most effectually urged. It was alleged, and with reason, that if the Irish were excluded from the English Parliament, one of two results would ensue: either the Irish Parliament would rapidly demand higher powers, as for example those of Canada or Australia, or that a part of the United Kingdom, being permanently excluded from the higher politics of the Empire, would be permanently degraded. The least satisfactory part of Mr Gladstone's speech in introducing his Bill was his defence of this part of the measure, and I trust that we have heard the last of it.

But unprepared, perhaps dissatisfied, as the London electors were when those projects were launched, they did not generally change their politics, they only abstained from voting. I will take my illustration from Southwark. In 1886 my opponent polled thirty votes less than he did in 1885. I polled 471 votes less than on the previous occasion. Colonel Hamilton in 1886 polled less than he did in 1885, and so did Mr. Beddall in West Southwark. The Irish no doubt voted against the Liberals in 1885, and for them in the following year, but in South London the Irish vote is always migratory, and is invariably exaggerated in calculations. The cause why I lost my seat for Bermondsey was the sudden accession of neutrality. This accession of neutrality was mainly due to the attitude taken by Mr. Bright, the only one of the dissentient Liberals, as I believe, who has any following. In London, I believe that the form which his following takes is a suspense of judgment. I know no higher tribute to the great services which my friend has done to the English people than the fact that they refer to his example when, as I think, he has formed wrong conclusions on a great political situation.

It is believed, but I think in error, that Londoners do not know or recognise public men in whose integrity they believe, and whose career they respect. I once had a curious and instructive experience of the contrary, and of their knowledge of men. I was walking down the lower part of Regent Street when a funeral procession passed, and a working man, a carpenter as his tools indicated, said to me, "Perhaps you may not know that this is the funeral of the late Mr. Grote." When I thanked him, I told him that he could not respect and honour Mr. Grote's memory more than I did. But it does not follow that because a working-man respects a politician he will go out of his way to vote for that politician in consideration of the party or section of the party to which the politician belongs.

There is no man who judges of his voting or not voting more than a Londoner does by the errors or maladroitness of Governments. I speak, of course, mainly of the Liberal electors.

I do not think that Londoners are "hostile to the Church, or for the matter of that to the Establishment." In London, with the exception of some parts, the voluntary system is as complete as it is in Nonconformist chapels. As a rule the London clergyman does not assume those provoking airs of superiority or that passion for petty vexatiousness which seems to be the stock-in-trade of the country divine. Dr. Jessopp, a most acute and amusing writer, bears testimony to the settled hatred with which the East country peasant looked on the East country parson. The feeling is well-nigh universal in the country. But it is not so in London or in the great towns. I do not believe that the active and judicious kindness of the London clergy, especially in the East, is unappreciated. When he is given to Ritualism they laugh at his whims, but they recognise the good sense of his motives, and the disinterestedness of his kindness.

Again, I believe that the London elector is entirely indifferent to the leading articles of newspapers. He lives too near the workshop of what is called public opinion. He is under the impression, no doubt a most erroneous and mortifying one, that the editors of London papers know no more about politics than he does, and if I can rely on what working-men have told me hundreds of times, he does not care for the leaders, but for the news. London Radicals have told me, over and over again, that they habitually read the *Standard*. They sneer at the articles, and would not, they say, take man or measure which Mr. Mudford commends—for they know the names of editors—but admit that his news is full and honest. But I have no desire to comment on the London papers, I only assert that from my experience their influence will neither convert neutrality to their views, nor obviate activity against their views. The London daily press counts for next to nothing in the development of public opinion. We all of us, I fear, are apt to confound the value of what we know and tell with the value of our interpretation of what we know and tell.

When I had to work Bermondsey—a manageable constituency, though still one of the largest in the United Kingdom—I began a practice which, I think, was useful, of calling such of my constituents as cared to come, to a weekly exposition of what was done in Parliament. I always went on Friday evening, because more nonsense is talked in the House on this than on any other night, and will be till Parliament adopts what I ventured on suggesting, that on Fridays the Speaker should leave the chair, and Supply be taken, unless the House votes urgency, which a bare majority should determine. I

believe that this, coupled with the rule that the Government should a week previously state what estimates will be brought forward, would help to restore the control of the House over expenditure. The Londoner likes to be informed of what is going on in Parliament—at least those do who are at all interested in politics. I always had the room in which we met crowded. But many electors, who sympathized with my views, never came. It is exceedingly difficult to get space for public meetings in London, and more difficult to stir many up to attend meetings. Political action is too remote from them, and they have not been trained by municipal elections to act in concert.

The Londoner has a natural feeling of dissatisfaction at the fact that Liberal administrations have done nothing for the Metropolis. Sir W. Huxcourt brought in a Bill for the better government of London, but it was brought in to be dropped. The well-meant efforts of Sir Charles Dilke to restrain the City companies were abortive. How seriously the City was alarmed at the prospect is proved by the lavish use which they made of the City cash for the purpose of manufacturing an apparent defence of the existing system. High legal authorities alleged that the existing members of the City companies could divide amongst themselves the property which the public spirit of past ages bestowed on corporations of artisans and shopkeepers, in interests which the successors of these persons do not represent—a wealth which has been enhanced by the enterprise and industry of those who have reaped no benefit from the growth. I am persuaded that if the Liberal party made the reform of London Government a Cabinet principle, they would enlist hearty co-operation from the rank and file of those Londoners who do not now exhibit enough interest in public questions to induce them to walk into a polling booth. The Conservative representatives and the Conservative electors of London want no reforms, and for the very sufficient reason that the existing system is much more to their advantage than any change for the better could be.

Again, London Liberals complain that they are rarely addressed by the heads of the party. The less the cohesion is among Londoners, owing to the fluctuating character of the population and the absence of all the training in public business which corporate elections induce, the more necessary is it, they argue, that they should be brought in contact from time to time with the acknowledged leaders of political opinion and party politics. It is no doubt a great tax on Ministers that they should be called on, in addition to their official and parliamentary work, to address political gatherings. But if one can trust the complaints one hears, much of the supineness and indifference of London politicians of a Liberal bias is due to the negligence with which, as they conceive, they are treated. But they



who are to lead a party must do some work for their party, if they wish to strengthen their following I have been told that with the exception of Mr Gladstone, who some eight or nine years ago addressed the Southwark electors, hardly one leading politician of the Liberal party has appeared for a generation before a South London audience And so the electors argue, if such men do not think it worth while to address us, it is not worth our while to vote for their supporters

The neglect, both in and out of Parliament, with which London has been treated, weakens the influence of the Liberal party in the metropolis, increases the risks of a Liberal representative, and greatly adds to the weight of the business which, if he studies the interests of his constituents, he has to undertake But the watchfulness of an individual member will stand him in no stead, if the party to which he belongs is not active I entirely agree with that section of the Liberal party to which I belong, that no progress in useful legislation is possible till the Irish question is settled, and I do most entirely believe that this can be only by entrusting Irish affairs and the Irish administration to a statutory Parliament, Irishmen retaining their seats at Westminster But while this is asserted and is true, I can see no reason why the leaders of the Liberal party should not proclaim what they intend to do as soon as ever the Irish block is removed, and in particular what they are going to do for London Everybody agrees that there must be in the immediate future a representative system of local government in the English counties Why is the largest city in the world to be left in a condition of ruinous chaos? Sure I am that if a great and wide municipality were created for London it would be an ambition with leading public spirited and disinterested men to take their part in the administration of its affairs, as they did when the City was really London Then, too, the London electors would take an interest in public affairs, and the London representative would find his yoke a great deal lighter

J E THOROLD ROGERS

## THE AMERICAN STATE AND THE AMERICAN MAN.

IN a noteworthy address on "*Laissez-faire* and Government Interference," given by Mr Goschen a year or two ago at Edinburgh, occurs the following passage —

"How is it, I have often asked myself, that while the increasing democracy at home is insisting with such growing eagerness on more control by the State, we see so small a corresponding development of the same principle in the United States, or in Anglo-Saxon colonies? It is clearly not simply the democratic spirit, which demands so much central regulation. Otherwise we should find the same conditions in the Anglo-Saxon democracies across the seas. Other causes must be at work in the United Kingdom. On the one hand, the philanthropic and sensitive element is always infinitely stronger in the old country, and, on the other hand, its civilization is more complex, more crowded, more honeycombed with anomalies, more running into extremes. The colonies have more breathing space. There, individual energy can expand with less encroachments on neighbours' interests. There, movement is fiercer, and the first instinct of man for untrammelled liberty, confidence in himself, and in his power to shift for himself, and hold his own, have not yet yielded to the acquired taste for that regulation, control, interference, and inspection with which the most independent minded nation in the world is rapidly being inoculated as an outcome of the latest form of its civilization."

Mr Goschen's view of the comparative prevalence of *laissez-faire* as a practical rule in the United States, is not only very generally entertained in England, but would also be allowed to pass unchallenged by the great majority of intelligent Americans. How it happens that this opinion—which I do not regard as at all in keeping with plain facts and marked tendencies—is so commonly received, may be worth a little incidental discussion. Doubtless there are several reasons why it should be supposed that a non-interference régime is jealously maintained in the United States, and especially in the Western States. It would seem to harmonize with

the self-relying, independent character of the American citizen-sovereign, whose personal freedom and self-directed activities are his dearest boast. It would seem the only logical *régime* for a country which has always cherished and reiterated the "self-evident truths" of the old Declaration of Independence, and whose Fourth of July orators have always taught that government is "a necessary evil." The bulk of American economic literature, and the prevailing tone of the press, would sanction the opinion that the *laissez-faire* policy is pretty consistently practised in the United States. The textbooks used in high schools and colleges almost without exception propagate the doctrines of the Manchester school in their baldest form, and teach that the proper functions of government are extremely few and simple. The so called English political economy has no such doctrine devotees in the mother country as in America, and no such literature. Professor Perry, Professor Sumner, Mr Charles Nordhoff, Mr David A. Wells, and various other writers of the same school, equally well known in the United States, have had almost the exclusive *charge* of American schools, and they are held infallible among the schoolmasters and undergraduates. They teach an easy, axiomatic, *a priori* sort of economic doctrine that captivates the young student of the Tariff Question and enchants the country schoolmaster by its lucidity and completeness. What these books contain is the "orthodox" *laissez-faire* political economy, simplified and idealized. And, strange to say, the Protectionists in large part, as well as the Free-traders, abjectly subscribe to this orthodox creed. They are fain to apologize for their protective policy on the ground that there are important *practical* reasons for this one exceptional departure from the true *scientific* theory! The bold protection doctrines of Alexander Hamilton and Frederick List, as expounded by Henry C. Carey, Horace Greeley, Peshine Smith, and others, have not held their own against the neat, clean syllogisms of the *laissez-faire* economists.

The average American has an unequalled capacity for the entertainment of legal fictions and kindred delusions. He lives in one world of theory and in another world of practice, and he deludes himself into supposing that they correspond with one another in the main, whereas it is generally true that they do not. To this curious fact is largely due his singular inaptitude for studying his own institutions in the concrete. He never can divest himself of his preconceived theory. Professor von Holst was much struck with this in observing the attitude of the American mind towards the Federal Constitution. Mr Woodrow Wilson, also, in his recent book, "Congressional Government," points out most interestingly the popular blindness as to the wide drift of Federal practice away from the exquisite system of cunningly devised checks

and balances contained in the theory of the written Constitution. Never for a moment relinquishing their theory, the people of the United States have assiduously pursued and cherished a practical policy utterly inconsistent with that theory, and have not perceived the discrepancy. I speak of this merely by way of illustration. My proposition is that the average American is just as blind with respect to the general economic bearings of his legislative practice as he is to the drift of his constitutional machinery. He humbugs himself by trying to adhere both to the schoolmasters and to the practical politicians. He studies his political economy in a textbook of abstractions, and not in the history of nations or the concrete conditions about him. Consequently he manages to keep his economics and his practical politics as separate as some men do their religion and their business, and he is just as naively unconscious of it. Excepting only his protective tariff, for which he learns to make an ingenious apology—although with perplexed mind and troubled conscience—he really believes himself to be a fairly consistent practitioner of the *laissez faire* creed that he professes. If I have expressed my idea clearly, and if my observations are well-founded, the current opinion pronounced by Mr. Goschen in the passage quoted above, is, to some extent at least, accounted for.

Two other observations it occurs to me to make as preliminary to some detailed statements about Government interference in the United States. In the first place, the precise modes of action which a much-governing State will assume are determined by the social conditions of the people. In the United States, and especially in the newer commonwealths of the West, Government interference will naturally have to do with some matters quite distinct from those which it touches in England or on the European Continent, and it would obviously be impossible to judge of the real measure and spirit of State interference in Nebraska, for instance, by checking off correspondences on a catalogue of the various functions that have been assumed by the British Government. In judging of the extent to which the State invades the domain of the individual, circumstances must be fully considered. In the second place, due attention must be given to the fact that the distribution of functions through a sort of hierarchy of governments conceals somewhat the full extent of public interference with private affairs in the United States. Foreigners have their attention arrested by the Federal Government at Washington, and often imperfectly understand the wide ranges of domestic authority exercised by the State Governments, and delegated by them in large part to the Governments of counties, cities, villages, townships, and school districts. The State Government and its subordinate local Governments touch the citizen at a hundred points where that of the Union comes once

into direct contact with him To be sure, the Federal Government maintains the Post Office, it practises a "paternal" public land policy on a vast scale, it has made large grants of land for educational purposes, it has subsidized the great railroads of the West, it expends vast revenues for river and harbour improvements, its Excise laws invade every community, it allows its judiciary to settle controversies between citizens of different States, it controls currency and banking, and it affects the duty of developing manufacturing industry and keeping up high wages by its protective tariffs Certainly these practices depart considerably from strictly *laissez-faire* notions But it is in the individual States and in the very home of the citizen that the subject of Government interference must be examined

In most of the States biennial legislative sessions are held, and these are generally very short, being limited in many cases by constitutional provision Nevertheless, an astounding quantity of legislation is achieved, and the mass affords rare opportunities for comparative study Even a cursory examination reveals a strongly assimilative tendency Laws find their way verbatim from the statute-books of one State to those of another The spirit, aims and methods of legislation are the same throughout a large group of neighbouring States The more than thirty Legislatures of 1885, in sessions averaging not longer than ten or twelve weeks, must have enacted five thousand general laws, or material amendments to general laws, at a low estimate To these must be added several thousand acts of local and special legislation The one common and striking characteristic of this huge collection of new statutes is its utter disregard of the *laissez-faire* principle A hasty turning of pages and reference to the titles of Bills give the impression that nearly all the more important of these enactments flagrantly violate the non-interference theory They deal with the citizen in every conceivable relation They seem to have left nothing for future Legislatures to regulate And yet, if we refer back to the legislative "out-put" of 1883, we find the same striking characteristics, while that of 1887 promises to be even more varied and pronounced in its departures from orthodoxy

Clearly it would not be feasible in a single article to discuss recent regulative legislation in all the States It will be more convenient to make the examination from the standpoint of a single State, with incidental reference to others It is of the newer Western States that I desire to treat more particularly, and I shall select Minnesota as a representative The Legislature of Minnesota holds sessions of sixty days, beginning with the first Monday in January, and the laws which it enacted in the session of 1885 I shall discuss as the basis of this article. Minnesota is principally an agricultural State,

its leading crop being wheat Northern Minnesota and Northern Dakota form a part of the same great wheat field The wilderness has been brought under cultivation with astonishing rapidity since 1880 Railroads penetrating this new grain region have come into magical being In a region so newly developed, with no accumulated capital, with only a single staple crop, and with mortgages covering the land to secure loans made for buildings, farm machinery, &c, the marketing and transportation of the grain become matters of prime importance This of course is especially true in seasons like that of 1884, with the world price of wheat so closely approximating to the cost of production Minnesota and Dakota grain has been handled by extensive elevator companies having head-quarters at Minneapolis, Duluth, and other points, and maintaining a series of warehouses at frequent intervals along the railroads By special contracts and private understandings with the railroad companies, these elevator lines have been able to maintain, in effect, a monopoly in the storage and purchase of grain The farmers have thus been practically shut off from the advantages of an open market There was no feasible alternative for them but to ship their grain through the odious elevator, against which they preferred the charges of false grading, false weights and measures, excessive tolls, and dishonest dockages for dirt and chaff Then feeling was intensified by the fact that the average price of wheat rendered the difference between a first and second grade at the elevator or between a high and low freight rate on the railroad, sufficient to change a slight profit into sheer loss on the crop Although their statement of it was exaggerated, the farmers doubtless had a real grievance In this mood they elected their legislative representatives The body was largely composed of farmers, and its avowed object was the strict regulation by law of railroads and of the handling of grain Almost the entire session was devoted to these subjects Scores of Bills were introduced, many of them full of the most arbitrary and "iron-clad" provisions There was no lack of disposition to carry State regulation to the extreme lengths Hesitancy arose only from the fear lest the farmers might injure themselves, if they crippled the railroads and elevators with over-severe restrictions Great debates were held outside as well as inside the legislative chambers Railroad and elevator managers appeared before legislative committees Testimony was procured as to the working of railroad and grain inspection laws in other States Conferences were held with committees from the Dakota Legislature, which was also in session and tugging at the same problems Everybody was agreed in advocating regulative laws, but there were vast differences of opinion as to the extent to which the laws should go At length two very detailed statutes were agreed upon, one regulating railroad companies, and the other regulating

warehouses and the handling, weighing, and inspection of grain. The enforcement of both laws was placed in the hands of a board of three railroad and warehouse commissioners. The railroad law provides vigorous penalties to punish discrimination between shippers. It requires that cars shall be supplied to any applicant, that the right to build warehouses on railroad land adjoining the tracks shall be freely accorded, and that side-tracts shall be provided. It is designed to break up the monopoly of the elevator companies by compelling the railroads to give equal privileges to all shippers. The commissioners are required to take up the cause of any aggrieved individual and prosecute the railroads at the public cost and with the aid of the public prosecuting attorneys. In various minor respects this law subjects the railroad companies to strict regulation. It was with difficulty that the majority in the lower house of the Legislature were induced to accept the law without rigid prescriptions as to rates for freight and passenger charges. Experience in several Western States has, however, shown that such prescriptions, especially of freight rates, are of doubtful advantage to the public. A large measure of discretionary authority as to rates was conferred upon the commissioners, and they have not hesitated to exercise it vigorously. Minnesota and Dakota, it should be observed, have not been alone in agitating stricter railroad regulation. The subject was prominently before at least a dozen of the Legislatures of 1885, and the famous Reagan Bill for the regulation of inter-State railroad traffic engrossed Congress during the best weeks of the winter session. The disposition everywhere is to go just as far in restricting the transportation companies as can be gone without serious injury to everybody concerned. Railroad law is becoming very bulky and complicated throughout the United States. The rash "granger" laws of more than a decade ago firmly established the principle and the right of extreme State supervision, and the different commonwealths have ever since been amending and altering, but constantly enlarging, their railroad codes.

Many other Western laws reveal the agricultural character of society. In 1876 and 1877 the grasshoppers ruined the wheat crops of Minnesota, and reduced many farmers to a condition of distress. The Legislature accordingly made profuse "seed grain loans" to individuals, to be refunded gradually in the form of special taxes. Those loans have been a subject of legislation ever since. Bureaus of crop and weather reports, of agriculture, and of agricultural statistics, for the benefit of the farmers, are quite generally maintained. Agricultural fairs, central and local, are subsidized from the State Treasury, and the last Minnesota Legislature appropriated a hundred thousand dollars for the equipments of a State fair-ground. The exemption laws of Western States and Territories are so framed

as to favour the farmers. In Minnesota the farm buildings and eighty acres of land constitute a homestead exemption, which is safe from all attachment and execution processes. In addition, the exemption laws reserve an amount of household belongings, farm utensils, live stock, and the like, which is worth from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars. In Dakota these exemption laws are much more "liberal." They except from legal process a still larger area of land, and an amount of live stock and farm belongings greatly in excess of what the average farmer owns. In all the western agricultural States and Territories such dishonorable exemption laws exist, enabling the farmer to evade the payment of debts. The provisions made for persons engaged in other pursuits are not nearly so "liberal." These laws interfering to prevent the ordinary collection of debts are to be condemned, both for their moral and economic effects. They injure Western credit, and affect unfavourably the rate of interest. Whereupon the farmers again interpose, fix a lawful interest rate, and punish usury with forfeiture. Such exemption and usury laws prevailing everywhere throughout the West, and enacted solely for the benefit of the farming class, are an instance of selfish interference which overreaches itself, for their operation is directly detrimental to the farmers.

Southern Minnesota has outlived the wheat-growing and crop-farming period, and is engaging in the more profitable pursuit of dairy farming. The region is peculiarly adapted to butter and cheese-making, and the industry has developed marvellously within a few years, with large expectations for the future. The dairy farmers have now sought and secured the protection and patronage of the State. A new bureau is created, manned by a State Dairy Commissioner and his subordinate officers. The dairy laws take the guise of regulations for the protection of the public health against impure and adulterated milk and butter, but their real object is to protect the butter-makers and great "creamery" establishments from the competition of the artificial product known as butterine. This article is manufactured on a vast scale in Chicago, its principal ingredients being hog's lard, cotton-seed oil, and genuine butter. Experts have pronounced it perfectly healthful, and desirable as a cheap substitute for butter. But its sale greatly affects the price of "honest" butter. A single Chicago firm manufactures a larger quantity of it than the total butter product of the great dairy State of Iowa, and it undersells real butter even throughout the dairy region. It is estimated that four or five million pounds of it were sold as butter in Minnesota in 1884. The new law of 1885 banishes this artificial product from the State. It also provides a series of minute regulations governing butter-making and the management of "creameries" (butter factories).



The extensive cattle business of the West is another department of rural industry which has grown into such prominence as to have claimed and received the patronage and regulation of the State. In all the States and Territories of the grazing belt, which stretches from Manitoba to the Rio Grande, the codes of cattle laws are growing in bulk and in variety of detail. The cattle men were predominant in the last Territorial Legislature of Montana, and the result is a formidable array of new laws touching every feature of the cattle industry. These laws depart as widely from *laissez-faire* ideas as can well be imagined. Nor is cattle legislation confined to States in the distinctive grazing belt. Stock-raising has assumed large importance in the agricultural States of the Mississippi valley, and "Bureaus of Animal Industry," manned by "State veterinarians" and their subordinate officers are coming into vogue. Cattle quarantine laws, and enactments which provide for the stamping out of contagious diseases, pay small courtesy to the rights and wishes of individual owners, but employ heroic remedies with a minimum of ceremony. It might easily be supposed that the nomadic cattle-herds of the Western plains, whose personal independence in some directions seems to be carried beyond the limits of the crudest forms of political society, would resent State interference in their business, but, on the contrary, they invoke it. They are not satisfied until they have secured statutory confirmation of all their customs and usages. Their brands and modes of identification are registered and protected by the State. The statute-books of Montana or Texas reveal the importance of cattle-raising, just as the laws of California bear the impress of a mining community, and those of Iowa betray the handiwork of farmers legislating for farmers.

The vast pine forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota for years have constituted the largest source of the lumber supply of the United States. Perhaps few persons besides those immediately interested are aware to what extent the laws of these three States have encompassed the logging and lumbering business. The States are divided into lumbering districts, and each district is supplied with its corps of State inspectors, "scalers," &c. Not a log is floated down stream from the woods to the saw-mill for which it is destined without official cognizance. The technical details of these logging codes it is not necessary to recite, the mere fact that such laws and such supervision exists is all that is required for our present purpose.

The insurance business is conducted under strict regulations in most of the Western States. The State Insurance Commissioner is an important officer in Minnesota. New laws extend his supervision beyond the regular insurance companies to all the numerous societies and local organizations which practise co-operative insurance. A special tax on insurance companies yields a considerable revenue.

In general there is discoverable a tinge of hostility in insurance legislation as in railroad legislation. In Wisconsin the fire insurance companies are compelled to pay the full amount of a policy in case of a total loss, irrespective of the actual extent of the damage. Such a law was crowded through the last Minnesota Legislature, but vetoed by the Governor. A South-western State and a New England State have greatly embarrassed themselves by similar enactments. Savings banks in Minnesota are organized under a peculiarly rigid system of laws, and are subject to the inspection of a useful State officer known as the Public Examiner, who also supervises the bookkeeping of State and county officers, and scrutinizes the accounts of public institutions. A State Oil Inspector derives a handsome salary from inspection of the illuminating oils sold in the State. A State Board of Medical Examiners regulates the practice of medicine, examining and admitting all new practitioners. A new law creates a State Board of Pharmacy for the examination of druggists and compounding clerks. The law prescribes wholesomely severe requirements. Another new law regulates the practice of dentistry, and creates an additional State Board. These laws were enacted at the instance of the physicians, druggists, and dentists respectively, who doubtless had their own interest no less than the general welfare in view. Unfortunately for the public, the laws do not apply retroactively.

Among the miscellaneous instances of regulation should be included the fish and game laws, which are minute and exhaustive. A State Board of Inspectors for Steam Boilers in Minnesota licenses stationary engineers and carries out an elaborate statute which regulates the testing and operating of steam engines and boilers. Among the enactments of the last Minnesota Legislature is one which fixes the maximum proportion of toll to be exacted by a custom mill for grinding wheat or other grain, one which declares dogs to be personal property, and another which sets forth the aggravating circumstances under which a farmer may slay his neighbour's dog with impunity, another regulating the business of operating telegraph lines, one which provides for the collection of criminal statistics, one prescribing in detail the character of the passenger waiting-rooms which all railway companies must maintain at their stopping places in villages, towns, and cities, and another providing for the storage and disposal of unclaimed baggage and freight, another to prevent fraud in the use of false brands, stamps, labels, or trade-marks, one to "protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights" and prescribing penalties for discrimination against individuals in inns, public conveyances, barber shops, and the like, and another to regulate "offensive trades and employments." And still the enumeration is not complete, for my object is only to indicate the drift of legislation with respect to the

restricting and supervising of various business pursuits, and not to supply a catalogue of regulative laws. And such regulation in Minnesota may be deemed fairly representative of that in other Western States.

In no part of the world, perhaps, is State interference in behalf of the public health less required by circumstances than in the North-western portion of the United States. And yet such interference is quite as searching as in more populous regions and less salubrious climates. New laws have given Minnesota a more stringent system of health regulations than exists in any other of the United States. Besides the State Board of Health, which has extensive functions, every township, borough, village and city is required to have its local Board of Health, organized in a manner prescribed by statute. Thorough sanitary inspections are made obligatory, as are also periodical written reports from every Local Board to the State Board. The Local Board is empowered to issue any by law or order which it deems proper, and these mandates are as binding upon the community or the individual to whom they are addressed as the ordinance of a City Council. Violation or neglect of such rules is made a misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment. This arbitrary power to invade private premises and issue peremptory orders in the interest of the public health, is not hedged about or limited in any way, and it presents a striking example of the growth of State interference. In Minnesota, the State Board of Health is charged with the execution of stringent measures to prevent the spread of diseases among cattle, horses and other domestic animals, and also has new duties under a statute enacted to prevent the pollution of rivers and sources of water supply.

For obvious reasons, legislation dealing with the employment of labour and protecting the interests of wage workers is not yet very extensive in the Western States. The accessibility of cheap and excellent lands furnishes the best possible protection for labour. As the towns grow in size, however, and as manufacturing industries develop, there is observable a new demand for labour laws. Public Bureaus of Labour Statistics are becoming common in the Western States, and their utility is deemed great by intelligent working men. Lien laws protecting wages are on the statute books of all the States. The employment of women and children is regulated. Ten hours is made a legal day's work in the absence of contract stipulations. A new Minnesota law brings employment bureaus under surveillance, much to the satisfaction of working men. Another fixes a maximum time for which locomotive engineers and firemen may be kept continually at their posts. An attempt was made in the recent Legislature to abolish the contract labour system now employed in the State prison, which is obnoxious to working men as subjecting them to a

degrading competition with the labour of convicts This reform will undoubtedly be accomplished at a future session, the great State of New York having led the way Minnesota laws contain excellent provisions for the organization of Co-operative Establishments, Building Associations, and the like The simple truth is that there is no legislation which working men in the United States may not secure, if they really unite in desiring it In Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Montana and Wyoming, also in the two southern States of Georgia and Mississippi, statutes render railway companies liable for injuries received by employees, and no contract restricting such liability is binding In Rhode Island such a law is made applicable to steamboats as well as to railroads It cannot be many years before there will prevail throughout the United States a system of Employers' Liability Laws much more strict than the English Act of 1880 The force of the English law is practically nullified by the permission which is given of setting aside the liability by specific contract It is worthy of note, certainly, that these American laws which restrict the freedom of contract in order the better to protect labour against capital, have their origin in those very western commonwealths which have been thought so jealous of State interference and so firmly wedded to the doctrine of free contract

The peculiar pride of every Western State is its public school system The high taxes which poor and sparsely settled frontier communities cheerfully pay for the maintenance of free public schools are simply astonishing when all circumstances are considered For it is a mistake to suppose that the school lands set aside by Congress in each township for a permanent school-fund yield a large proportion of the total school expenditures Probably nowhere else in the world does the State so completely, and with so unanimous consent, assume the work of education as in the States and Territories west of the Mississippi river The magnificent young Territory of Dakota, practically an unbroken wilderness in 1870, and reasonably expecting to have a population of nearly one million by the census of 1890, has not only provided itself with first-class elementary schools for all its children, but has established several ambitious normal schools, and has founded two or three collegiate establishments known in western parlance as "universities" It is to maintain in the Black Hills mining region a school of metallurgy and mining engineering It will of course have its agricultural college, with experimental farms adjoining All the Western States emphatically repudiate *laissez-faire* doctrines in matters of education Arguments are occasionally made against the free high-schools, maintained by taxation in every village, town, and city But the high-school is strongly sustained by public opinion

The impropriety of a State University is also sometimes urged, but without avail Connected with these State Universities are generally

free professional schools of law and medicine All the States maintain free normal schools for the education and training of teachers, and each has an agricultural college with a several years' literary and scientific course Not content with providing the elementary schools, Minnesota has promulgated a new law making attendance compulsory It is entitled "An Act requiring the Education of all Healthy Children," and making it obligatory upon parents to send children between the ages of nine and sixteen to some public or private school for at least twelve weeks in every year, or to provide equivalent instruction Since the proportion of illiteracy is extremely small, and the schools are popular and always well attended, the necessity for this compulsory law is not apparent In Minnesota the common school text-books are prescribed and furnished by the central authorities Teachers' institutes, generally lasting several weeks, are annually held in each county at public expense in all the Western States State historical societies exist under public auspices, and are maintained by appropriations In Minnesota and in various other States, the educational code includes a law authorizing free public libraries, maintained by local taxation Expensive natural history and geological surveys may also properly be grouped with the educational undertakings of the Western States

Those writers who see in the maintenance of public eleemosynary institutions such thwarting of Nature's beneficent law of the survival of the fittest as menaces the physical and moral virility of the race, have reason to feel much solicitude for the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths of the Far West Nowhere in the world are State charities conducted more elaborately Minnesota, in her two very large hospitals for the insane, provides comfortable accommodation and skilled medical and sanitary treatment for a larger proportion of the mentally disordered persons within her boundaries than are similarly cared for under any other government And the recent Legislature has provided for a third large asylum Iowa and other Western States are scarcely inferior to Minnesota in their provisions for the insane A large and most admirably conducted State institution for the blind, and another for deaf mutes, are occasion of some pardonable pride to the people of Minnesota The educational and industrial features of these two establishments are noteworthy And the other States generally have like institutions Still another singularly successful Minnesota establishment is a large home and school for the care and instruction of feeble minded children There are State reform schools for boys and girls, to which juvenile offenders and miscreants are committed, and which are a combination of the home, the school, the workshop, and the prison The recent Minnesota Legislature has established a new charitable institution under the somewhat misleading name of the "State Public School" It is to

be a home on a large scale for dependent and neglected children, its inmates to be received between the ages of three and ten. Its avowed object is to prevent the making of criminal and vicious characters. It will collect children from every part of the State, and so far as its capacity will permit, it will gather all the orphans and waifs from the county alms-houses. As opportunities are found, it will place the children in good families. While they remain in the school, they will have model care and instruction. The reform schools are for an older class who have become incorrigible, or have actually committed crime. Such a school for neglected children already exists in two Western States, and there is reason to believe that the plan will find still other imitators. Besides the officers and board of management belonging to each of these public institutions, and rendering detailed annual reports to the Governor of the State, there is a general supervisory body, entitled the "State Board of Corrections and Charities," whose duty it is to inspect the asylums and penal establishments of the State. Its supervision extends also to county jails and alms-houses, city and village lock-ups, and all local institutions of a caritative, reformatory, or penal sort. The board is composed of intelligent and philanthropic gentlemen, who serve without pay, excepting that their secretary, who is on constant duty and is an expert, is a salaried officer. They aid county officers by giving advice as to approved and recent plans for building jails and poor-houses, and in a variety of ways they promote efficiency and economy in the dealing of the State with its delinquent and dependent classes.

Legislation intended to enforce certain standards of morality is perhaps more prolific and vigorous in the United States, and particularly in the Western States, than anywhere else in the world. Society is comparatively homogeneous, and moral and religious sentiments have great influence. The disposition to force the moral ideas of the majority upon the whole society is well-nigh irresistible. The Western treatment of the Liquor Question promptly suggests itself by way of illustration. The States of Iowa and Kansas are engaged in a difficult attempt to enforce laws absolutely forbidding the manufacture, sale, and transportation (and virtually, therefore, forbidding the use) of every kind of alcoholic beverage.

The Prohibition movement has not been successful in any other Western States. Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska have "compromised with evil" by enacting high license laws. The effect is certainly good. The annual license fee of 500 dollars in Chicago (in Omaha the fee is 1,000 dollars), has reduced the number of drinking places, and the incidental features of the license legislation have brought the traffic under better control, practically stopped the sale to children and persons under legal age, and mitigated in many ways the vitiating effects of the sale and use of alcoholic stimulants. Moreover the

license fees furnish an important source of revenue. With all their economic benefits, however, it is manifest that these license laws exist in obedience to a moral sentiment. The best people regard the liquor traffic as depraving, and they enact the license laws and other regulations because these are the most stringent laws they are able to secure. No *laissez-faire* doctrine, or jealousy for the freedom of the individual, checks them in the least. They would wipe the obnoxious traffic out of existence in an instant if they had the power. Not being able to abolish it, they fine it as heavily as possible under the guise of licensing it.

Laws against Sabbath-breaking, though not rigorously enforced, are found on the statute books of all the States, and are almost Puritanic in their restrictions. So far as local public sentiment is in accord, the laws are obeyed, and beyond that point they are a dead letter. Nobody attempts to force his neighbour to keep the Sabbath under penalty of law, but in deference to Christian ideas, which in America are scrupulous on this point of Sabbath-keeping, the rigorous laws are maintained. The penal codes fairly bristle with laws defining offences against decency and chastity, and providing heavy penalties for their violation. Lotteries of every description, including "raffles" at church fairs and the like, are prohibited under frightful penalties. In Minnesota it is made a misdemeanour under the penal code lately adopted even to publish an account of a lottery, no matter when or where it has been conducted. It is a crime to give away a lottery ticket, or to give information as to where a ticket may be obtained. All forms of gambling are also prohibited. Prize-fighting is a crime, and any person who in any way abets or encourages such a fight or gives countenance to it, is an offender against the law. Persons going outside of the State with the intention of engaging in a pugilistic contest or in any wise encouraging or abetting it, are subject to the penalties of the law whenever they return within the State's jurisdiction. A series of regulations, under the general title of "cruelty to animals," in the new Minnesota penal code, contains a number of extreme provisions.

Perhaps none of these enactments, however, so well illustrates the disposition of the American people to make the law the handmaid of private morality as one which has now been framed in Minnesota prohibiting the sale of obscene, immoral and indecent publications and pictures. Not only does it proscribe the palpably vicious and obscene, but it is designed also to drive from the news stands and book-stores all that is grossly vulgar and offensive to good taste. Any person commits a crime who, in the words of this statute, "sells, lends, gives away, or shows, or has in his possession with intent to sell or give away or show, or advertises or otherwise offers for loan, gift or distribution any book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper or other printed

paper devoted to the publication, or principally made up of criminal news, police reports, or accounts of criminal deeds, or pictures and stories of deeds of bloodshed, lust or crime " The law was enacted at the instance of gentlemen who have organized themselves into a "Society for the Prevention of Vice," and their agents prosecute under it In the hands of indiscreet and fanatical persons such a law might become the instrument of a censorship which would offend our Anglo-American traditions touching the rights and liberties of the press The statute is voluminous and exhaustive, and the clauses quoted above merely indicate its tenor Its standard of morals and literature is beyond the average sense of the community, and its enforcement is proving difficult It is an almost verbatim copy of the much-discussed Comstock legislation of New York Its educational effects are salutary, but the average jury will not convict its violators

Montana has just furnished an instructive illustration of the American disposition to rectify and improve public morals by statute Its rough frontier society, made up of miners and herdsmen, is much addicted to gambling, nothing has been more open and undisguised The last legislature enacted severe laws prohibiting all forms of gaming Such legislation, of course, indicates an improving condition of society and an awakening of moral consciousness, but it may well be doubted whether laws so far in advance of the general practice of the people have any utility Bills which fail of passage are sometimes as indicative of tendencies as are those which become laws Skating-rinks for a year or two attained a wonderful popularity throughout the United States, and many good people regarded their moral effects as pernicious A Bill was introduced in the Minnesota Legislature of 1885 forbidding persons of opposite sex to skate together, or even to be present at the same hour on the rink floor, and it actually found considerable support Another Bill proposed to license drinkers, and provided that no person should be permitted to use intoxicants or to purchase liquors of any kind without having first obtained a public license And this novel scheme was not without its group of advocates

The State laws confer a wide range of powers upon local Governments, and no better evidence of the tendency to extend municipal functions could be adduced than the rapid and enormous growth of local public debts, and the constant upward tendency of municipal tax-rates The length of this article will not permit a statement in detail of the various activities which Western local and city Governments have assumed, but certainly such a summary would open the eyes of those who have supposed that in the vigorous and somewhat crude new commonwealths of America the *laissez-faire* doctrine finds practical exemplification Nowhere is the disposition



stronger to accomplish desired results through the agency of boards, bureaus, and departments of the municipal Government than in these young Western cities. Paved streets, stone sidewalks, costly sewers, great bridges, systems of public waterworks, elaborate fire departments, street illumination, the police system, public parks and boulevards, free public libraries and reading-rooms, magnificent common school buildings and conspicuous public buildings of all kinds, market-places, hospitals, workhouses, almshouses, reformatories, orphanages, cemeteries—all these and sundry other things require large forces of officials, and call for princely revenues. Buildings are erected by official permit, and under official supervision, subject to minute directions contained in city building ordinances. Restraints and regulations affect almost everything imaginable. Public morals and public health come under close official scrutiny. Boards and inspectorships are legion. Licenses are required for the pursuit of various avocations. The spirit of regulation and interference manifests itself at every point.

This statement of facts has not been made in a spirit of hostility to Government regulation. I have endeavoured to describe impartially the legislation of the North-west. While it must be conceded that very many of these undertakings, restrictions, and interferences on the part of the Government are advantageous and commendable, no one who accepts the statement of facts will deny the deplorable tendency to reckless, selfish, and strained employments of the State prerogative. Shall the *laissez-faire* theory of government, therefore, be yet more vigorously expounded as an antidote? I can only reply that the theory is already accepted by these legislators. Mr Herbert Spencer would be surprised if he knew how many were his disciples and admirers among the lawyers and law-makers of the Western States. But they find the *a priori* doctrines they have imbibed so grotesquely foreign to the facts and conditions about them, that they are unable to establish any connection between their political philosophy and their practical work in building States and shaping legislation. The effect of the *laissez-faire* dogma is so altogether demoralizing that it must be held to a considerable degree responsible for the reckless and ill-considered applications of the State power. Failing as a guide to its adherents in matters of practical legislation, it leaves them without rudder or compass. But the conclusion does not follow that there are no general views of the State and its functions which would have a tendency to make the Government less reckless in its assumptions and interferences. I am of opinion that nothing else could have so wholesome and so restraining an effect upon these Western legislators as a thorough going conversion to the doctrines which radically oppose the *laissez-faire* school. What I suggest is

a new application of the homœopathic theory of curing like with like. The American Economic Association—a new body including as members a majority of the best political and economic students of the country—frankly repudiates *laissez-faire*, and publishes as the first in its “Statement of Principles” —“We regard the State as an agency whose positive assistance is one of the indispensable conditions of human progress.” Let this doctrine be accepted without qualification. Let it be understood that it is within the legitimate province of the State to do anything and everything. I am convinced that the result of an emancipation from the *laissez-faire* bugbear, which now exerts so unfortunate an influence, would be a more careful and scientific law-making. Each new proposition would have to stand or fall on its sheer merits. Statistical and comparative study would be accorded a higher value. The delusion that Government is a “necessary evil,” the fallacy that social co-operation in the form of State activity is an emasculating “paternalism,” and the doctrinaire assumption that the State should be restricted to a very few negative functions—these all having been swept away, there would appear at once the most intelligible and practical reasons why good judgment and caution should be exercised in adding to the undertakings of the State. The possibilities of novel legislation having been apparently increased, responsibility would be increased in more than like measure. Legislation would be subjected to keener scrutiny, business conservatism would have freer and more potent operation as a check, and there would be a disposition to elect abler and safer law-makers. Hobby-riders, fanatics, and self-seeking special interests would have greater difficulty in getting their foolish or objectionable measures into the statute-books. It would be recognized as the business of Government to do those things which, under the circumstances existing for any given period, it could do wisely and well, and it would be held the business of legislators to decide, in the light of all the facts, what those things were. The theories of a Herbert Spencer could afford little practical aid, and neither could the theories of a Henry George, for the *laissez-faire* doctrine of government is as foreign to the true genius of social and political life in the Western States as is the ultra-Socialistic doctrine.

ALBERT SHAW

## THE PLAYWRIGHTS OF PARIS

FROM the point of view of the native English playwright, the actual condition of the French stage should appear to be most satisfactory, for the reason that French plays are becoming less and less suitable for adaptation into English, and consequently that happy day must be approaching when the London managers will be obliged to appeal to the dramatic talent of their countrymen, instead of wasting money on buying the refusal of Parisian novelties. It is true that, before taking this grave determination, the London managers will exhaust the resources of revivals, yet those resources are limited, and sooner or later the playwrights must have the joy of seeing Mr Irving risk a failure, and of applauding Mrs Kendal in a genuinely English character. But if the days of adaptations from the French are numbered, why should we concern ourselves with the contemporary French stage? Why speak with praise or blame of authors whose works can be of no practical use to our enlightened managers, and of but little interest to our English public? I hope to answer these questions in the following pages, in which I shall endeavour, not so much to pass judgment on particular pieces, actors, or authors, as to set forth methods and tendencies, to explain facts and not to propound theories. My conviction is that if dramatic art is to be resuscitated in England, the effort of our playwrights must be directed by a spirit similar in tendency to that which guides the militant playwrights of contemporary France. Let us attempt to discover what is the spirit and aim of these militant French writers.

Take the playbills of the theatres of Paris during the past ten years. Who are the prominent authors? Who are the veterans and who are the young campaigners? The founders of the modern

French stage (Scribe, Hugo, and the elder Dumas) have not yet been entirely relegated to the museum of literary antiquities. Augier and Labiche have retired from active service, but still win applause with their acquired laurels. Meilhac and Halévy have dissolved partnership, and Meilhac alone has failed to keep up the reputation of the old firm. Then we have the younger Dumas, Sardou, Dennery, Gondinet, Pailleron, Ohnet, and Becque. And finally the novelists Goncourt, Daudet, and Zola. I select only typical names, and omit intentionally many young authors whose talent has been manifested only within the limits of well-known formulæ, which are all more or less modifications of the formula of Scribe.

Now, of the above-mentioned celebrated authors, the best known have already ceased to exercise literary influence. No French playwright would think of taking Hugo, for instance, as his model, and the more recent revivals of Hugo's pieces have been found intolerable even when interpreted in the most excellent manner. Why? Because the conventionality of the characters is flagrant, and because the Parisians of the present day demand at least a semblance of reality and a minimum of humanity in stage plays. Hugo's pieces could be adequately represented by means of marionettes, the verse being declaimed behind the scenes, for, after all, Hugo the playwright was a brilliant rhetorician, who propounded lyrically a certain number of ideas, of antitheses, and of moral generalities by means of conventional characters cast in moulds, that vary but very slightly in the different plays. Saint-Vallier, Nangis, and Ruy Gomez, Blanche, Marion, and Doña Sol, are identical masks, although they bear different names in the three pieces of "*Le Roi s'amuse*," "*Marion Delorme*," and "*Hernani*." Nowadays, the French still applaud the poet, but no longer the dramatist. Half a century ago, when Hugo's pieces were played by actors full of romantic fire, and penetrated with the electricity of the grandiose language, the ringing rhymes, and the prestigious metaphors, they must have produced a far different effect from that which they now yield when played by contemporary actors, who, in order to satisfy both themselves and the public, seek natural effects and the illusion of real life. Hugo's plays do not appeal to the sensations, but to the soul, they are as abstract as the classical tragedies of Corneille and Racine, and withal less human, because they are less observed and less analytic. The *milieu* of the pieces is as conventional as the characters, and this is why realism of scenery and of costumes does not augment their effect, or throw the action into stronger relief. The modern literary audience of the *Comédie Française* is keenly alive to the psychological nullity of Hugo's plays, with their parade of masks labelled "pride," "satanic malice," "Castilian

honour," "blind love," "pure soul in a vile body," and so forth. As far as matter is concerned, the dramatic works of Victor Hugo are simply the rhetoric\* of 1830, darkened by Wertherism and Byronism—an antiquated rhetoric apparelled in verse of magnificent beauty.

And yet the plays and prefaces of Hugo sounded in the old days like the clarions of war and of victory. Yes, but the great object of the romantic movement in France was to overthrow the formula of classical tragedy, there was no question of substituting realism in the place of conventionalism. The Romanticists opposed passion and sublimity against cold correctness. The Romantic movement was simply a question of costume and of rhetoric.

The historical drama of the elder Dumas seems to be as thoroughly worn out as the romantic drama of Hugo. The modern drama and the melodrama remain, but the old formula of Dennery no longer suffices infallibly, as was proved by the scoffing of "the gods" at a recent revival of "*La Grâce de Dieu*." In the ordinary drama you know in advance what will be the *dénouement*, but you do not know how the author will reach his goal, indeed his skill consists precisely in complicating incidents, and thereby increasing the pleasure of the public as he leads them towards the solution of the riddle. The pleasure derived from this kind of dramatic art is purely physical, the effect is sure and violent, and literature and taste have nothing to do with it. The processes of the old fairy piece, and of the spectacular scientific piece, are similar to those of the melodrama. In the one you have half a dozen persons acting under the influence of a good and of a bad genius, and the skill of the author lies in inventing catastrophes, obstacles, and hair-breadth escapes, and in finally rewarding virtue and punishing wickedness. In the scientific fairy piece you have a traitor and a saviour who fulfil the offices of the good and of the bad genius, and the catastrophes and obstacles, instead of being miraculous, are possible, such as the elements, wild beasts, the explosion of a steam-boat boiler, the wreck of a railway train. Such is the mechanism employed in Jules Verne's pieces, which are not presentations of real life in real surroundings, for the characters are absolutely conventional, and the discoveries of science intervene at will precisely as talismans and gnomes in the old spectacular fairy piece.

Sardou, I need hardly say, does not enjoy the literary esteem of his French contemporaries. No one would be foolish enough to deny his prodigious skill, his comprehension of gross scenic effect, his qualities of amusing movement. Sardou has written one historical drama, "*Patrie*,"\* which holds the stage, he aimed at literary success and failed in "*La Haine*," and since then he has deliberately sought vulgar applause and the money it produces with a cynical singleness of purpose which at least fortifies him against criticism.

His process of puzzle constructing is to choose an *actualité*, that is to say, some fact of momentary public interest, to present that fact by means of the requisite number of characters who will enact a drama in a *milieu* which will lend itself to the painting of manners. Such pieces are "Rabagas," "La Famille Benoiton," "Dora," and "Eldora." Sardou made a successful incursion into the domain of spectacular drama with "Théodora." In "Georgette" he trespassed on Dumas' territory and was punished by failure. In "Le Crocodile" he attempted to dethrone Jules Verne in the realm of the scientific-geographical spectacular piece, and was routed so miserably that he has almost ruined the theatrical manager who seconded his venture. All we need say to characterize Sardou's work is that it is essentially anecdotic and amusing, the author's chiefest concern is to hide the strings by which he pulls his marionettes and makes them manœuvre entertainingly.

Labiche for more than thirty years has personified laughter in France. He has achieved the ideal of the vaudeville, into which he has put a wonderful amount of observation, and yet he is neither a moralist nor a philosopher, but simply a laugh, who even in vice sees only comic incidents. The expression of his broad, human, racy and abundant *rire* is laughter, and laughter alone. But is not laughter the essence of the vaudeville, where even the most abominable and the most tragic situations neither revolt nor terrify us, since we know that it is all make-believe, *puisque c'est pour rire*?

Now, let us compare Labiche's "Chapeau de paille d'Italie" with a comedy-vaudeville by Meilhac and Halévy, "La Boule," for instance, or, better still, "La Cigale." We are here in presence of the expression of two epochs, of two different societies. Meilhac and Halévy are laughers too, but their laugh is not like the broad, jolly and sometimes Rabelaisian laugh of Labiche, it is rather a nervous laugh, less human, less spontaneous. The invention of the piece too is narrower, the manners depicted are not common to French humanity, on the contrary, they are almost exclusively Parisian, and the wit and dialogue are perhaps not thoroughly intelligible outside the fortifications of Paris. And the formula, the framework of the piece, the *ficelles* so necessary, according to the doctrines of Scribe and Sardou, and of Sarcy, the great critic? Yes, let us look for the formula. After all, perhaps Meilhac and Halévy have abandoned the methods of Scribe and Sardou. Evidently, the interest of their comedies does not lie in plot and intrigue, it lies simply in the painting of isolated tableaux. The first act of all their comedies is invariably excellent, because in it they present their characters by analyzing them in an exact manner, basing their analysis on observation. In the succeeding acts this exact portraiture of some original phase of contemporary life is developed slightly in the direction of

caricature, and at the same time an element of fantastic and nervous gaiety is introduced, often in order to show to advantage the special and eccentric gifts of certain actors. But in all the comedies of Meilhac and Halévy, there will be found an admirable endeavour to put on the stage, in scrupulously exact material surroundings, some original detail revealed by clever analysis of modern French life.

The humanity of Meilhac and Halévy is limited and essentially Parisian, but their dramatic formula is liberal and broad. The humanity depicted by Alexander Dumas the younger, is even more exceptional than that of Meilhac and Halévy, for one cannot always describe it as Parisian, it is a humanity created specially by Dumas for the requirements of his argument. Not that one can accuse Dumas of lack of observation, for no man is more keenly alive to all that is going on in modern Paris than the author of "Francillon." And it is, thanks to his alert curiosity, that Dumas, with his very marked personality, remains "in the movement," as the Parisians say, whereas his great rival Augier has become fossilised in his retreat at Croissy, where he lives shut out from the world, and refusing to go down to the port and see what the ships bring in. Dumas, on the contrary, is constantly sauntering along the jetty, questioning the bronzed captains and the young midshipmen, gossiping with the travellers, and examining the cargoes that the stevedores of literature are unloading. Doubtless, many of the novelties brought ashore irritate him, but at any rate he knows that they exist, he is not protected from their influence by a cuirass of deliberate indifference. In his last piece, "Francillon," for instance, the minute exactitude of certain details of *mise en scène* and of pantomime show that Dumas is fully aware of the efforts which are being made to transport on to the stage the realism of the modern novel. Indeed, whatever may be said about "Francillon"—and certainly no one who knows modern Paris will deny that this pernicious picture of insinuating corruption rests on a basis of observation—it must be admitted that it is the production of a fine and distinguished intellect, but of an intellect whose ideal is practical before it is artistic. I do not mean to say that Dumas is a practical dramatist in the sense that, like Sardou, he aims only at pecuniary success, but simply that he regards the theatre as a sort of lay pulpit from which to proclaim social, moral, and philosophical truths. Dumas is a preacher and a moralist, he wishes to be in his way a legislator and to transform the world. But, whether he poses as preacher or legislator, he must have an audience, for the mouth that speaks labours in vain if there be no ear to receive the good word. Now, the only way to attract an audience is to interest, to move, to amuse, and therefore Dumas employs all the means which his *milieu*, the stage,

places at his disposal for this purpose. Having an idea, a paradox, or a truth to expound, he chooses some fact, some series of facts, or, in other words, a dramatic action, which renders that idea or truth living, logical, and conclusive to the spectator's mind. This method is directly contrary to the theory of art for art's sake—a theory by the way which was not that of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, nor yet of Corneille or of Molière, who never neglects to set forth the moral of his comedies by the mouth of some Thouvenin or some Olivier de Jalin. There are minds of exquisite fibre which are satisfied with the purely plastic attitude of things, there are minds of singular subtlety which delight in the analysis of sentiments and ideas, there are, again, minds which are disposed to ponder over the notions of good and evil, to discuss and judge conduct, to seek the solution of moral and religious problems. The spectacle of life is immense and varied enough to justify all these points of view, whether of sensation, or of psychology, or of conscience. The essential thing is, that in the reproduction of the spectacle of reality which art gives, the impression of beauty, the delicacy of the mechanism of the soul, or the workings of conscience or of moral motives, should be presented by means of possible, logical, and real beings. This is not often the case in the plays of Alexander Dumas, who does not always distinguish between the logic that is based upon truth and the logic that rests upon paradox. It has been well said that Dumas starts indeed from truth and reality, but he uses truth simply as a springboard whence to jump into a region created by his own fancy. The criticism is just, and the whole theatrical skill of Dumas consists in so dazzling you with the apparent and swift logic of his true or false reasoning, so bewildering you with the unceasing fireworks of his wit, so fascinating you with the rapid and amusing enunciation of his specious arguments, that it is only when you are putting on your overcoat in the vestibule of the theatre, that you begin to perceive that, in spite of an air of profundity, Dumas' reasoning is superficial, paradoxical, and full of pitfalls. And, the more you think over the piece, the more you admire the cleverness of the conjuring, which is indeed so dexterous that the author himself is dupe of the prodigious skill of his dialogued argumentation, and believes sincerely that his reasoning puppets are facsimiles of real living men, although they all talk like Dumas, and although they all scintillate with witticisms and epigrams bearing the trade-mark of the author. Nay, more, not only does Dumas create types to personify ideas of his own, but, so excellently is the type constructed, that from the stage it has a reflex action on Parisian humanity. Thus have we seen in Paris women who have moulded themselves on the model of the improbable type of Mrs. Clarkson in "*L'Etrangère*," which, though pro-



nounced unanimously, at the time when the play was produced, to be impossible and unreal, has since become, by this curious reflex action of the dramatist, both possible and real. In brief, we may conclude that in his plays Dumas does not paint human nature at large, absorbed by his moral themes of the social relations of men and women of the upper classes, he confines himself to the study of particular cases, and as a rule his characters represent ideas, and not essentially and primarily men and women. Even admitting the relative humanity of some of his characters, notably of his women, one is tempted to condemn Dumas as a corrupter, rather than to laud him as a moralist. The atmosphere of nearly all his pieces is laden with the equivocal odours that rise from certain physiological phenomena when observed too closely—it smells of opoponax and heliotrope, and of the voluptuous perfumes of unedifying boudoirs. After all what does one care whether Francillon be a wronged wife, a patient for Charcot, or a future Baronne d'Ange? As a woman she is a peculiar product of a very limited and little known social zone, she is a Parisienne, if you will, but a very exceptional Parisienne.

The authors whom I have already noticed have been, or still are, famous for their success, but the most successful man of the day and of the century, both as a dramatist and as a novelist, is M. Georges Ohnet. By the number of his editions and by the long runs of his plays he leaves far behind him all his French contemporaries. Indeed, his success is unparalleled in the annals of French bookselling, and in the annals of the French stage. M. Ohnet is a very ingenious and prudent gentleman—he never risks a new story or a new plot, his subjects are all old staggers which have been tried and approved by the public, his inspiration is twofold, bourgeois on the one hand and romantic on the other—bourgeois, inasmuch as he delights to paint the victory of the plebeian over the noblesse, romantic in that he invariably depicts the triumph of virtue over vice. In some of his novels and plays the glorification of commerce and industry dominates, in others it is the praise of virtue which prevails, in all the author shows his almost equal respect for the *Ecole Polytechnique*, and the *Faubourg St. Germain*. Far be it from me to reproach M. Ohnet with the oldness of his subjects, all subjects are old, but the triumph of the artist is precisely in rejuvenating these old themes by the invention of characters, by the study of manners, by novelty of form, by his personal vision of reality. M. Ohnet has absolutely no artistic quality, his novels and plays have no literary merit, because the characters which he puts on the scene have no personality and no individual existence, and because the situations in which they act have lost all interest, from the fact that they have been worn out by long service. Like the dramatic personæ of Hugo's romantic dramas M. Ohnet's characters are conventional masks of the most exasperat-

ing commonplaceness—marionettes on which are hung labels, "virtue," "kindness," "perjury," "devilish wickedness," "angelic goodness" In one piece the marionette "noble woman" is won by the marionette "plebeian man," in "Lise Fleuron" we have a marionette ticketed "virtuous actress who has only one lover and keeps her old mother," this good marionette is blonde, and is of course persecuted by a wicked brunette, in the "Grande Marnière" we have once more the marionette "handsome plebeian," who loves the marionette "aristocratic lady," and their love is crossed by the hostility of their respective parents But the summum of sickening banality has been reached by M Ohnet in his last piece, "La Comtesse Sarah" \* The marionette labelled "Sarah, eccentric demon" is married in the first act to a marionette labelled "old general" The starting-point is the union of a young wife and an old husband Given that Sarah is a demon and that the old general is still in active service, what will happen? Evidently the old general will fare no better than Sganarelle And who will be the instrument of the disaster? The general's aide-de-camp And who shall represent virtue in the piece? The general's niece, whom we will call Blanche, because she is pure Nay, she is even purer than swan's-down or driven snow, so we will call her Blanche de Cygne Now we will set the marionette's "virtue" and "vice" to fight, the old general shall represent abnegation and sacrifice, the aide-de-camp shall be saved from the clutches of the demon Sarah, and married to the angel Blanche, in the last act the triumph of virtue will be noted, and the demon Sarah will drown herself, thus demonstrating the fact that in this world of M Ohnet vice is always punished and virtue always rewarded

Evidently M Ohnet's novels and plays have no place in literature any more than the feuilletons of the *Petit Journal*, to which they are often inferior M Ohnet is the abomination of literary France And yet it cannot be denied that he is a singularly clever and rarely gifted gentleman, unique in his way, for up till now no rival has appeared who is sufficiently gifted to be able to produce an identical article of commerce—an article which seems like literature, and therefore flatters the bourgeois, and an article which exactly fits the mind of the bourgeois because he can understand all that the writer says, because he can comprehend all his dreams, the writer's ideal being the exact counterpart of his own, and because, in the happy *dénouement* and in the lying embellishment of this disjointed world, the bourgeois finds consolation "M Ohnet," says the bourgeois, not without some truth, "is not like those horrid literary novelists who terrify you by their audacious situations, and disconcert the simple reader by their mysterious refinements and artistic arcana which only the mandarins can appreciate"

Next let us come to the reformers and revolutionaries, to the malcontents whose ideas have been making rapid progress within the past ten years, and whose leaders are Alphonse Daudet, Zola, Edmond de Goncourt—in theory and by his considerable literary influence—and Henri Becque, who battles on his own account, but in the same cause as the novelists just mentioned. Now, it is not my intention to father theories upon any of these eminent writers, or to represent any one of them as the inventor of a new formula. To this delusive honour they do not aspire, being fully convinced that no new technical process or formula has ever produced a new and living art, and that no theory or system can be made ample enough to contain all the manifestations of art. Nowadays one would no more think of writing a *grammar of the dramatic art* than one would think of writing a *grammar of the arts of design*, as the late Charles Blanc did at a not distant epoch, when the antiquated pseudo-science of æsthetics had not yet been disdainfully abandoned to the speculations of collegians fresh from the lecture-room. In all the arts, the only safety is to start from reality, the only fountain of Jouvence for a worn-out or misguided art is the return to reality. Reality must inspire the artist's thought, for healthy and robust novelty comes from new observation, and not from a new formula. This statement sums up in brief the whole artistic movement of contemporary France, both in the plastic, the literary, and even the musical arts. The tendency which even the conservative and less perspicacious critics, like Sarcey, are forced to admit is that the young generations are rebellious to the charms of the old vaudeville, of the conventional tragedy, of the well constructed puzzle-pieces of Scribe and Sardou, and even of the sermon-pieces of Dumas with all their brilliancy and ability. They demand on the stage more direct, more exact and more minute observation of reality. The old-fashioned critics protest in the name of "the laws of theatrical perspective." Daudet's "Sapho" and his new piece "Numa Roumestan," Becque's "Corbeaux" and "La Parisienne," Erckmann-Chatrian's "L'ami Fritz," indeed every play that is not constructed according to the formula of Scribe is condemned by the conservatives in their stock phrase "ce n'est pas du théâtre." What does this mean? It means simply that the formula of Scribe, created yesterday, will exist no longer to-morrow. It means that during the past fifty years plot, intrigue, and framework have taken the lion's share in French dramatic literature. It means that the formula of Scribe has acquired great authority because it has enabled the French to manufacture plays for exportation, plays which can be acted anywhere and everywhere because they have no accent, no vigorous native stamp, no individuality, and because the characters are marionettes without nationality or personality, manœuvring in a set

of worn-out or absurd situations. In England these puppets can be dressed as Englishmen, in Germany as Germans, in Russia as Russians, they are mere details in a neatly constructed mechanism which is easily intelligible to the crowd and holds the attention of the public by purely physical curiosity. "For half a century," it is said with pride by some French critics, "our dramatists have supplied the stages of all the capitals of Europe." This is no proof of the superiority of the French dramatists. On the contrary, it is an indication that their plays have been wanting in racy originality. You can adopt into English "Le Maître de Forges," you can make an Anglo-French marmalade out of "Odette" or "Fedora," you can mutilate a vaudeville and convert it into "Pink Dominos," but you cannot transplant "L'Arlesienne" from her native soil any more than you can render the character of Sir John Falstaff by a French translation of the rôle. And this fact goes to explain my anticipation of a renaissance of English dramatic art owing to the very dearth of adaptable French material. The morality of the French stage and the nature of the subjects of French pieces are here out of the question. The point to be remembered is that the old formulæ are going out of fashion, and that the piece the whole interest of which rests on combinations of situations, on the arrangement of the elements of a rebus, no longer monopolizes the French stage. Furthermore, it is by abandoning the old formulæ and by starting from reality, in the spirit of the modern French artists, that our own playwrights may hope to create personal, original, and native pieces, peopled by English characters acting in a milieu of English life and manners.

As I have already said, the dramatic reform movement in France originates with the novelists. Compared with the magnificent development of the novel and of lyric poetry, as represented by Balzac and Victor Hugo, the dramatic art of modern France seems paltry. Above all, dramatic art has not conquered that complete liberty which is the privilege of the novel and of poetry; it is still paralyzed by conventions of all kinds, which, however, are happily being broken down, and none have contributed more towards this desirable end than Emile Zola by his polemical writings, and Alphonse Daudet by his two last pieces, "Sapho" and "Numa Roumestan." I am sufficiently familiar with the ideas of these two eminent writers to venture to present them in an impartial résumé for the consideration of our English playwrights. As for the novelist, so for the dramatist, Daudet believes that the great and indispensable gift is the gift of observation, the gift of seeing life. Evidently in a play, as in a novel, composition is necessary, that is to say, that, within fixed limits of space or of time, the author must know how to present his characters and to make them act their parts in

the story But how shall they act? Shall their deeds be regulated by a set formula, and shall there be without fail the *scène à faire* which Sarcey is always looking out for? The *scène à faire* belongs to the antiquated conception of the stage-play as a rebus or an arithmetical problem, in which, from certain given elements, you can guess the solution Daudet, on the contrary, pretends not to construct puzzles, but to reproduce on the stage aspects of real life as he has seen and felt them, and, his vision of reality being personal, he proposes to give us something original and unexpected Is there a *scène à faire* in "Macbeth," he would ask? In the matter of *dénouements*, again, Daudet is equally opposed to the system of those authors whose chief aim is to please the public by facile optimism "What! during four acts," he exclaims, "I set forth my characters on the stage with a care for truth, and in the fifth act I must make these characters belie themselves because the public demands a happy conclusion, which will not interfere with the tranquillity of its night's rest?" If the theatre is to attract artists it must be freed from conventional characters and from the tricks of formulæ, and the artist must be allowed, both in his text and by scenery and pantomime, to aim at that illusion of reality, of *milieu*, and of ambient atmosphere, which he obtains in the novel by means of description and observation

Here it may be noticed that Daudet regards dramatic art from a point of view directly opposed to the point of view of Dumas, for instance \* Daudet does not conclude, he does not consider it his business to draw the moral which may be implied by the story he tells, nor does he think it sufficient to study character and to seek the hidden springs of human action, he desires above all things to reproduce with the life of art the real human being with his plastic aspect, his gestures, his attitudes, his manners and customs, his habit of body, of life, and of mind And this individual man or woman that he evokes in his novels, he wishes to transport still more realistically on to the stage This, too, is the ambition of Becque, and of Zola \*

In answer to these pretensions of the novelists, and in answer to the realism of action and dialogue in Becque's "Parisienne," for example, the critics object that the dramatist's art is a synthetic art, and the novelist's art an analytic art, that the dramatic poet creates characters by means of concentration and simplification, and the novelist by means of analysis and the accumulation of contrasting facts and sentiments This objection is a remnant of the eternal mania for making theories and raising obstacles Is there no analysis in "Hamlet?" Is not Corneille an analyst? And Molière's characters, do they not analyse themselves in long speeches, and are they not planted before the public in characteristic attitudes? Are not Molière's personages real types which stand out, like the portraits of Velasquez,

life-size on the grey neutral background of a simple plot, which, with its facts and episodes, is always subordinated to the characters? Does Corneille trouble himself about the *dénouement* of his tragedies, or about these complications dear to Scribe which are destined to make the spectator pant with expectation? After all, what is the burden of Zola's doctrine in his two volumes of dramatic criticism, "*Nos auteurs dramatiques*," and "*Le Naturalisme au Théâtre?*" It is the perpetual contrast of the formula of Scribe and Sardou with the formula of Corneille and Molière, of the complicated mechanism of the former, and the simplicity of the latter, of the profound typical humanity of the one, and the conventionality and wire-pulling of the other. In the dramatic formula of the seventeenth century we find long descriptions, minute narratives, interminable analysis. In the formula of Scribe and Sardou we find no description, no analysis, nothing but action and incident, the desire to amuse continually and rapidly. The spectators of Corneille, Molière, and Regnard, were content to listen, the spectators of to-day demand the action itself and not the description of it, they want to see the characters going and coming and living in their natural *milieu*. In the satisfaction of this demand dramatic art has gained in scenic reality, but it has lost in superior truth, because the facts have been allowed to predominate at the expense of the personages who have become conventional puppets, in other words, in the piece with a plot there remains nothing but action, while the study of character has disappeared. The whole ideal of Zola is to keep and improve the framework of reality, and to restore, in the composition of the piece, the simplicity of the classical writers, their psychological and physiological analysis, and their secret of allowing the idea to develop by itself from the very logic of the sentiments of the characters. In short, Zola regards the stage as a living picture where man is the most important element, where facts are determined only by acts, and where the eternal subject remains the creation of original figures animated by human passions. In his pieces like "*L'Assommoir*" and "*Le Ventre de Paris*," Zola has already shown that the old melodrama can be transformed by exactness in scenery and characters, and by the presentation of a simple and popular story in a framework of reality. As for his sombre and incomplete tragedy of "*Renée*," produced last month at the Vaudeville, no one is more ready to criticize it than the author himself. His fame as a novelist, and his uncompromising audacity as a polemist, have created for Zola an exceptional position in contemporary French literature: the public expects too much from him all at once, Zola the producer is judged by the standards laid down by Zola the critic, and he is naturally found wanting, for it is given to no man to realize his ideal. Happy the man who succeeds

in expressing a fragment of that truth which is in him ! Far from condemning "Renée" without appeal, I should be rather tempted to anticipate a new judgment in ten years' time, when "Renée," with all its defects, will be classed finally as marking a curious and typical stage in the author's dramatic development. Meanwhile let us regard "Renée" as a simple experiment, and, this being the case, the mere fact that the piece held the stage at all, in spite of the hostility and even the absolute mendacity of certain Parisian critics, proves that the public takes an interest in the experiment and recognizes the strength and the concise verity of many scenes in the piece.

The question of the new French dramatic formula is thus very simple, when it is cleared of all the misunderstandings which controversy breeds, it is merely the outcome of a natural tendency to transport to the stage the realism which the modern public demands and appreciates in the novel. Pieces like Pailleron's "Age ingrat," Gondinet's "Club," Erckmann-Chatrian's "L'ami Fritz," and the comedies of Meilhac and Halévy, have militated in favour of the movement just as much as Daudet's "Sapho" or Becque's "Parisienne." The continual progress of the tendency is certain. Now, what will be the consequence from the point of view of the English manager ? French plays, as they become less conventional, will become less adaptable. There is no question here of subjects or of morality, or of delicacy, or indelicacy. The French may be left to look after their own moral welfare, and we have enough to do to look after our own. The fact to be considered is that, as the French play ceases to be a play of plot, where the characters can readily be conventionalized by the adapter if they are not sufficiently conventional in the original, and as the French play becomes more and more a national production, peopled with observed French types, who act as Frenchmen in French surroundings, the French stage will become more and more unintelligible to an English audience, and therefore useless to our English adapters. Hence, unless our English theatres are all converted into music-halls, the managers will be obliged to call upon English playwrights for pieces. Will the playwrights be ready ? At present there seems no reason to despair, we have already native writers who have given more than mere promise. English life, both middle-class and popular, presents a vast field which the observation of the dramatist may utilize, and the moment such observation can find a market we may be sure that its products will be forthcoming. The first step to be taken is to shake off the yoke of adaptation from the French, and, in so doing, we shall simply be working in the spirit of the present reformers of the French stage, whose motto is "observe and create." Surely no English playwright will deny that reality is a more interesting and inspiring starting point than a scenario by Victorien Sardou.

THEODORE CHILD

## CHAUTAUQUA—A POPULAR UNIVERSITY.

“THE Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle” is an educational organization effected in America about ten years ago. Its first decade has been crowned with a success which seems to justify the enthusiasm of its projectors and members, and which certainly commends its unique aims and methods to the critical examination of all who are interested in the cause of popular education. It enrolls a membership of more than one hundred thousand persons, few of whom are under twenty-one years of age. They are to be found, not only in the United States and Canada, but also in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe, in India, China, South Africa, and the Isles of the Sea. There are circles of readers in the Sandwich Islands. More than nineteen hundred native members have been reported from Japan. The “Circle” has received the unqualified approval of eminent educators, of statesmen, and of clergymen, who have taken time to examine its aims, organization, and plans of operation.

It is the distinctive mission of the “Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle” to direct the reading habits of that great majority in every community—the full-grown people who are no longer in the schools. It is an “after school” for those who have received the best that the educational institutions, at their best, can give, and for those also—and I might almost say, especially for those—who, from necessity, or from waywardness, abandoned all educational institutions long before the best influence of these institutions was possible, and who now, awakened to a sense of loss and of imperative need, desire the assistance which once they could not appreciate and therefore deliberately rejected. There are many people of this class in every community. No educational provisions are made for them.



For the infant, the kindergarten and primary school are ready. Graded schools serve him until the college approves and accepts him. Leaving the highest college class, he passes into the hands of special instructors in his chosen profession. From the beginning of his career he is cared for. Rooms, desks, books, tasks, hours are assigned. Teachers stand ready to answer his questions, or, in that wisest way of help, to ask other questions, which lead him to think his own way into knowledge and strength. Everything tends to make him a student—academic halls, scholarly associations, memorials that inspire by worthy examples of honourable success, and living teachers who, by power of personal influence, quicken him to desire and to resolve upon achievement. But these favoured classes, from the humble pupil on the lowest form of the primary school to the winner of prizes in the University, constitute but a small minority of the population. And, notwithstanding the advantages I have described, I am sorry to believe that a majority of this minority is made up of usually reluctant and apathetic students. They go to school because they *must* go. Recess, vacation, and final release from the bondage of lessons and pedagogue are hailed with delight. It is the majority that comes prematurely into this freedom. Then follow a few years of indolence or of mere manual labour, then regrets because of forfeited opportunity, then longings after a culture once possible but now unattainable, then deliberate abandonment to mercenary or other unworthy aims in life, no reading, or worse than none, “no perspective, no ambition,” frivolity, self-gratification, deterioration, stupidity. The “better” society within reach is avoided because of its higher standard. Such souls marry their own kind. Children grow up without desire for education, or they soon find how little father and mother know about the school-world, and how little they care for the things which the best teachers commend and emphasize. All the tendencies of that household are in the wrong direction. Evil influences multiply. Wrong political opinions easily find place, and are strengthened by a sense of separation between themselves and the more self-respecting families of the community. Households that do not struggle upwards are, under any government and under any civilization, centres of corrupting influence, social, political, and religious. The nations need Homes with love and lofty ideals in them, with hope, and courage, and the ardent desire that beget united and continued effort. The political reformers who forget the “domestic power” must fail in their schemes for the “betterment” of the race. We talk much and sagely about “beginning with the children.” Wise social regenerators begin with the parents of the children. They turn their attention to the four walls of “the living room”—to its pictures, its books, its magazines, its decora-

tions, its talk, and its atmosphere. If children are to speak the English language accurately, mother and father must be their teachers. If they are to receive correct ideas of truthfulness, justice, self-denial, sympathy with the needy, fidelity to principle in business, loyalty to the nation, love of learning, and reverence for religion, these ideas are to be given at home, by those who are with them earliest, with them longest, know them best, and wield the largest power over them in the most susceptible years of life. We talk superficially about the power of early impressions, and give doublets of religious teaching in catechumen classes and Sunday schools, forgetting that continuousness of influence is as much a factor in education as specific acts of teaching, that a day of ordinary life may easily neutralize a month of Sunday and Church instruction, and that to produce early impressions that will endure we must control the parents who control the children three hundred and sixty-five days every year.

When these people out of school—these grown-up men and women who are getting old, and who are in danger of losing hope, these parents and directors of home life—when they are once awakened to the possibilities that still await their acceptance in the realm of education, they do not find the assistance which comes so early and so abundantly to the juvenile members of their households. They find no direction, no books prescribed, no tasks, no hours, no helps, no teachers. Are they not too old for these devices? Are they children, that one must lead and feed them? It would be undignified for such as they to accept advice and to come under anything like restraint. They may read, to be sure. But they do not know what to read. The world is full of books, but who can feel sure that what he reads is the best, or that he is not wasting time in the reading? Nor do these people always know what they like, nor with any definiteness or certainty what they ought to like. They may have (everybody does have) some peculiar gift and adaptation, the discovery and development of which might be a remodelling of their whole intellectual life. But how shall this work be begun? Who will make a voyage of discovery and find the San Salvador of their new life? How much more they seem now to need a teacher than when they were children! He was near them once. They did not appreciate him. Now, when they need him, he does not put in an appearance, and they are ashamed to ask for him.

And be it remembered that these adults are, intellectually, at their best. This is not the common idea. Childhood is the time for study, age for service. Seneca says: "It is an absurd and base thing to see an old man at his A B C (*elementarius senex*). We should lay up in our youth what we are to make use of in our old age." Seneca is only in part right. Educational opportunities lost

in youth are not for ever lost Failure up to twenty-one is not necessarily final failure A man of forty-five may be worth more, is probably worth more, for intellectual work, than a boy of fourteen He has a less ready and retentive memory, but more power of application, less desire to win prizes in competitive examinations, more desire to get useful knowledge for its own sake, less mental versatility and vivacity, more practical acquaintance with nature and human nature He can think more steadily without exhaustion Knowledge from books seems more real to him because of the knowledge he has won from life He has more stability than the boy, more strength, more judgment He knows what knowledge is most worth But with the capacity and power which experience in this busy work-a-day world has given him, he lacks direction Oh, if only the scholars and the sages would take his hand and tell him a secret or two—where and how to begin, what path to take, and how to know the true gold when he sees a glitter among the sands and the rocks!

It is to people of this class that the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" opens, with its short and comprehensive courses of reading, its bonds of fraternity, its ideal associations, and its plans for leading those who join it to self-discovery as to their hitherto unrecognized aptitudes and lines of power Nor to these alone, for it touches at the college portal to admit those whose formal education has been "completed" It supplies to non-professional collegians incentives to continued study And this for their own good If mental activity and application be suspended, power gained will soon be lost There is an ecclesiastical doctrine "Once a Bishop always a Bishop" But it is not "Once a scholar always a scholar" Mind that is not developing is deteriorating One may forget what he once knew Intellectual grip may be lost Therefore college graduates who do not enter professional life are as much in need of assistance, incentive, and inspiration, as before they left the schools Even those who enter the so-called learned professions are in danger of such devotion to particular lines of thought as to lose all that was most liberalizing and refining in the culture they have attained They too need something to keep alive their interest in general literature, in the latest results of criticism and research, that, being specialists, they may still be men, and men in lively sympathy with all that is freshest and most important in the progress of humanity

The "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" makes a provision in a two-fold way for all scholars, professional and non-professional It sets them at the review of the subjects embraced in the college curriculum And, still better, it puts them into close and kindly fellowship with adults eager to be educated, and it encourages them to use the knowledge and power already gained for

the helping of others It makes them teachers, so that they may sing, with Robert Browning—

"The office of ourselves has been,  
For the worst of us to say, they so have seen,  
For the better—what it was they saw, the best  
Impart the gift of seeing to the rest

Thus those who have, and those who need, are brought into companionship—adult "scholar" and adult "student"—both out of school They have a community of interest They are equals and fellow students, and the scholar accustomed to the atmosphere and associations of the college hall may receive corroborations, illustrations, new applications of his knowledge, and many useful hints from the every-day out-of-door life and experience of the man, who, knowing less of books, is acquainted with men, and who, although he has never studied geological or biological specimens—mounted, shelved, and classified—has kept open eyes, all his life long, among birds and flowers, rocks and reptiles This, at least, I know, that in the early stages of this new association each will find in his own soul a larger respect for the other, and for the class he represents, and in this blessed brotherhood of Science, Literature, and Art they will mutually agree that man's real worth lies, not so much in antecedents, titles, or estates, as in dominant tastes, purposes, and other qualities of personal character

The first or general course of reading of the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" is limited by a single thought, which adapts the scheme to all classes of people There are forty or more special or additional courses, to be pursued at the option of the reader He may take two or more of these simultaneously with the first or general course Or he may pursue them after its completion His work in the "Circle" may thus be superficial or thorough, an avocation or a vocation, employing forty minutes or four hours a day The first course, already referred to as limited by a single thought, covers what I have called "the College Outlook" It aims to give a general survey of the world of literature in science, history, art, and belles-lettres, the world which comes within the purview of the student who prepares for and pursues the ordinary college curriculum The member of the "Circle" takes up the outlines of history—ancient, mediæval, and modern, in a general and meagre way he studies the scope and spirit of the ancient and modern literature, and glances at the realms of physical, mental, and moral science As when, visiting London for the first time, he climbs to the dome of St Paul's to get a general view of the city, its various parts, their relation to each other, the principal places of interest—and all this in anticipation of and preparatory to a more detailed and thorough

exploration—so by this outlook on the broad world of knowledge he is prepared for wise selection and careful investigation

The college student who enjoys the same outlook during the years of his undergraduate course receives immeasurably more. He sees broadly, but he studies critically. The wide survey is incidental. He seeks mainly mental discipline and development by linguistic and mathematical drill. He trains himself to habits of attention, concentration, and discrimination. He is not in quest of facts, but of force. In college he works that he may be able to know. Afterwards he works in order to know. And he is glad to review this large world in which he wrought so diligently. It is a pleasure to him to stand on the dome of St. Paul's with the new-comer, and to see again in the general way what he has so long been familiar with in its details. And it is a good thing for the novice that the senior is there.

It is this horizon of facts and principles, as far as they can be made available as subject-matter of knowledge, that the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" transfers to a series of readable books, which it places in the hands of the scholar, that he may review the world through which he has just passed, in the hands of busy, out-of-school, society people, that they may know what the college world is, and in the hands of parents, that they may form a just estimate of the school world, keep their children as long a time as possible in it, be able to keep company with their children after they do enter it, and render them help by all home ministries of persuasion and incentive, by ample provision of periodicals, books, pictures, apparatus, society, conversation, example, and inspiration.

The wide adoption of this scheme among the adult population must yield blessed results. Parents will look upon education and the schoolmaster with greater respect. More students will enter the advanced schools. In its small, voluntary, local meetings, the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" will increase an interest in substantial reading and in rational conversation. It will save busy people from the petrifying influence of mercenary life. It will crowd out weak and dissipating literature. It will relieve the dreary monotony of routine lives, mitigate the sorrows of the smitten and bereaved, give to lowly and narrow homes hope, courage, and perspective, and put weight and worth into the houses of people, rich and poor, who are living in an aimless, self-indulgent, and useless way. It will find in lowly spheres heroes who never entered the army, poets who never framed a couplet, artists who never touched chisel or canvas, and saints who never stood with folded hands before the eyes of men, but who have served their lives long in shops or kitchens. It will find a hard-working mechanic, who is a born reasoner, and encourage him to use his spare minutes, under wise direction, in the study of logic, mathematics, and

philosophy If a working-man has a taste for science, it urges and assists him to observe facts, collect and classify data, and make and test generalizations It will show how much may be made of the spare minutes of a busy life One hour of close and systematic study a day means sixty school days a year And if that be kept up from the time a man is twenty until he is forty, he will have enjoyed four years of the most beneficial education An American, who is now a high authority in Sanscrit and Zend, without early educational advantages, began the study of these languages at a time when he was employed for over seventeen hours a day collecting fares on a tram-car Thus will the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" transfigure and ennoble common life, and illustrate the wise words of Epictetus "You Athenians will confer the greatest benefit on your city, not by raising the roofs of your dwellings, but by exalting the souls of your fellow citizens, for it is better that great souls should live in small habitations than that abject slaves should burrow in great houses"

The first general course of reading of the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" is accompanied by memoranda, which are to be filled out by the student They serve as examination papers for those who wish to test the work they have done They are sheets of record and report for those who simply read Beyond the "Circle" are classes for work by "correspondence," with provision for the most rigid written examinations Into these come readers who wish to be enrolled as students College classes are organized, local studies, lectures, and examinations provided, and all thorough work is rewarded by promotion Under a charter granted by the Legislature of the State of New York, the "Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts" and the "Chautauqua School of Theology" have been organized, to make possible and to encourage the most thorough work by those who have the ambition and the will to "wrest success from adverse circumstance" They provide for the student at home the benefits of professional direction Although the advantage of personal presence is not enjoyed, yet by written questions, answers, outlines, theses, and criticisms, the teacher is, by a mystic law of the soul-life, present with his pupils, following, quickening, and inspiring them Then in every neighbourhood, are college graduates who constitute an unorganized brotherhood glad to give help to those who, having been less favoured, seek counsel in their search for culture By conversations, criticisms, and direct assistance they put into the isolated student's life some of the advantages of the living teacher's voice and magnetic power "University classes" are organized by students residing in the same neighbourhood, and special teachers are employed All members of this widely scat-

tered fraternity may thus have their "college council," and many of them the "college class"\*

Provisions are also made for all classes of out-of-school readers and students who need guidance. There are a "Society of Fine Arts," a "Town and Country Club" (designed to train young people in observing the phenomena of Nature, and in doing something in the line of raising plants and fruits), a "Teachers' Reading Union," for the benefit of teachers in the secular schools, a "Young Folks' Reading Union," for the encouragement of good reading among the young people who are in school, or who have left it. Sunday-school Normal Work is also done through the "Chautauqua Assembly Normal Union," which has been in operation for fourteen years. Here, too, are the "Book-a-Month Reading Circle," the "Society of Christian Ethics," the "Look-up Legion," the "Children's Class," the "Musical Reading Union"—all with the term "Chautauqua" as a common prefix.

The word "Chautauqua," which I have used so frequently, and which is to my readers as meaningless as it is unpronounceable,\* is the Indian name of one of the most lovely of the smaller American lakes in the State of New York, five hundred miles west of New York City, seven miles south of and seven hundred feet above Lake Erie, among the hills which form the watershed of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. It is on the borders of this lake that the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" finds its "local habitation and a name." The lake is about twenty miles long, and from one to three miles in width. It is fourteen hundred feet above the Atlantic. Here, in a great grove of maple, beech, oak, mountain-ash, and other native trees, are five or six hundred cottages, a large summer hotel, and, during the 'season' of from six to eight weeks, about three hundred tents. Here the people gather—probably seventy-five thousand different persons during the summer, some for one day, some for a week, several thousands of them for from four to eight weeks. They come to hear courses of lectures on science, on history, on philosophy, to witness experiments in chemistry, to study the stars through telescopes, to take, if they so desire, courses of lessons for six weeks in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, the modern languages, physical science, chemistry, political economy, and all branches relating to the department of pedagogy. Instrumental and vocal concerts, together with all possible legitimate recreations, are provided to lighten the days of study and make Chautauqua a paradise for children, a place where parents will feel it safe to settle down for the summer without exposure to the dissipation of the usual "resorts." Here are boating, fishing, athletic games, archery, croquet, lawn-

\* The word "Chau tauq ua" is pronounced "Shaw tawk' wah"

tennis, roller-coasting, military cadet drill for boys, classes for children in music, calisthenics, clay-modelling, and Bible study. A museum has been provided, with valuable treasures in casts, photographs, engravings, Oriental costumes, Syrian and Egyptian "finds," and facsimiles of many celebrated manuscripts. There is a beautiful model of the city of Jerusalem (in plaster of Paris), thirty feet in diameter. And by the shore of the lake, which is used to represent the Mediterranean Sea, is a model of Palestine, three hundred feet long, where one may visit the lake of Galilee, the flowing Jordan, and the Dead Sea. Here, on the hills and in the valleys, are the cities of the land, well wrought in plaster or wood, and one may walk from Dan to Beersheba, Bible in hand, and be the better able to interpret that best guide-book of Palestine—the Word of God.

To Chautauqua come the best lecturers and the best teachers—clergymen of renown, statesmen, orators, college presidents and professors. The summer schools are taught by professors from Yale, Harvard, Middletown, Johns Hopkins, and other Universities, who spend six weeks with classes made up of teachers and students from all parts of the United States and Canada. Many a man, reviewing his summer life in the Chautauqua grove, may say, as Horace did of Athens: "Indulgent Athens taught me some of the higher arts, putting me in the way to distinguish a straight line from a curve, and to search after wisdom amidst the groves of Academe."

The Chautauqua meeting began in 1874. It opened as a summer school, devoted especially to the training of Bible teachers, emphasizing the "week-day forces" in religious culture. This movement, known as "The Assembly," was the suggestion and joint product of Mr. Lewis Miller, of Ohio, and the writer of this article. Mr. Miller is a business man of wealth and enterprise, an extensive manufacturer, for many years interested in popular education, the father-in-law of the distinguished electrician Mr. T. A. Edison, and himself an ingenious inventor.

The "Assembly" gave a splendid opportunity for the development of the scheme of popular education already described. It was duly organized in 1878, and made Chautauqua its summer headquarters. The "Circle" has contributed to the permanency and power of the Assembly, in the midst of which it began and with which it soon became organically connected. The Bible is the basis of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," the first motto of which is, "We Study the Word and the Works of God." The leaders of this educational movement are believers in Revelation and lovers of "whatsoever things are true" in art, in literature, and in science. Their faith is so firm that they are confident of perfect harmony



between the "Word" and the "Works" when both are rightly interpreted

Every year a day of "Recognition" is observed, when those who have completed the four years' course of general reading receive certificates testifying that fact. Of all the Chautauqua days this is the brightest and best. In "St Paul's Grove," among the green and ancient trees, stands the white-columned "Hall of Philosophy," an imitation in wood of the Parthenon at Athens. Here the ceremony of "recognition" takes place. A procession of old and young, of people representing all professions and all social classes, moves, with music, banners, and badges, to the great amphitheatre. Here an audience of six thousand people joins in song, led by the great pipe organ and the "chorus," and listens to the "Recognition Address" by some distinguished speaker. Then the diplomas are distributed, some of them containing four or five or more seals, testifying to so much more than the "required" reading, and all of them giving incentive to those who have begun to continue until the diploma shall be filled with seals. There is a touch of pathos in that part of the Chautauqua "Recognition" programme when three score or more little girls in white, standing before the "Hall of Philosophy," fling flowers in the pathway of the thousand or more men and women who have, in middle or later life, attempted and completed a course of reading—a work begun for the sake of their children and for the brightening of their own lives. And one can hear the oldest of them say, with Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes —

"What does Time leave, when life is well nigh spent,  
To lap its evenings in a calm content?  
Art, Letters, Science these at least befriend  
Our day's brief remnant to its peaceful end—  
Peaceful for him who shows the setting sun  
A record worthy of his Lord's 'Well done!'"

Whether or not a similar movement may be begun in England I do not know. All that is best in its educational features is already carried on under the "University Extension Movement" and other noble enterprises of this great English people. The summer gathering like that at Chautauqua may be impracticable in the moist and uncertain climate of the British Isles, but in imagination I have already seen old Haddon Hall aglow with torches and hearth fires, its empty chambers for a time again occupied, its great dining-hall echoing with song and speech and prayer, its green lawns filled with people who have come from the busy scenes to rest and recreate, and the meanwhile to enjoy instruction and to receive inspiration from those who are able to give it, and whom but for some such unique and special occasion they might never have seen. In my dreams I have seen what good work for the homes and the schools and the homeless and the out-of-school multitudes of England might be accomplished

by noble lords and men of princely fortune, whose ample palaces and gardens seem to have been waiting these many years for a use and service which would make them pleasant and goodly places in the eyes of the Lord who loveth the children of men, and who loveth them also and especially who love and help their kind

But then, these are only the dreams of "A Stranger and a Foreigner"

J H VINCENT

## HOW WE BECAME HOME RULERS

**I**N the Home Rule contest of the last fourteen months no argument has been more frequently used against the Liberal party than the charge of sudden, and therefore, it would seem, dishonest change of view "You were opposed to an Irish Parliament at the election of 1880 and for some time afterwards, you are not entitled to advocate it in 1886" "You passed a Coercion Bill in 1881, your Ministry (though against the protests of an active section of its supporters) passed another Coercion Bill in 1882, you have no right to resist a third such Bill in 1887, and, if you do, your conduct can be due to nothing but party spite and revenge at your own exclusion from office" Reproaches of this kind are now the stock-in-trade, not merely of the ordinary politician, who, for want of a case, abuses the plaintiff's attorney, but of leading men, and, still more, of leading newspapers, who might be thought bound to produce from recent events and an examination of the condition of Ireland some better grounds for the passion they display It is noticeable that such reproaches come more often from the so-called Liberal Unionists than from the present Ministry Perhaps, with their belief that all Liberals are reckless revolutionaries, the Tories deem a sin more or less to be of small account Perhaps a recollection of their own remarkable gyrations, before and after the General Election of 1885, may suggest that the less said about the past the better for everybody Be the cause what it may, it is surprising to find that a section commanding so much ability as the "Unionist" group does, should rely rather on the charge of inconsistency than on the advocacy of any counter-policy of their own It is not large and elevated, but petty, minds that rejoice to say to an opponent (and all the more so if he was once a friend), "You must either be wrong now, or have

been wrong then, because you have changed your opinion. I have not changed, I was right then, and I am right now." Such an argument not only dispenses with the necessity of sifting the facts, but it fosters the satisfaction of the person who employs it. Consistency is the pet virtue of the self-righteous, and the man who values himself on his consistency can seldom be induced to see that to shut one's eyes to the facts which time develops, to refuse to reconsider one's position by the light they shed, to cling to an old solution when the problem is substantially new, is a proof, not of fortitude and wisdom, but rather of folly and conceit.

Such persons may be left to the contemplation of their own virtues. But there are many fair-minded men of both political parties, or of neither, who, while acquitting those Liberal members who supported Home Rule in 1886 and oppose Coercion now of the sordid or spiteful motives with which the virulence of journalism credits them, have nevertheless been surprised at the apparent swiftness and completeness of the change in their opinions. It would be idle to deny that, in startling the minds of steady-going people, this change did, for the moment, weaken the influence and weight of those who had changed. This must be so. A man who says now what he denied six years ago cannot expect to be believed on his *ipse dixit*. He must set forth the grounds of his conviction. He must explain how his views altered, and why reasons which formerly satisfied him satisfy him no longer. It may be that the Liberal party have omitted to do this as they ought. Occupied by warm and incessant discussions, and conscious, I venture to believe, of their own honesty, few of its members have been at the trouble of showing what were the causes which modified their views, and what the stages of the process which carried them from the position of 1880 to that of 1886.

Of that process I shall attempt in the following pages to give a sketch. Such a sketch, though mainly retrospective, is pertinent to the issues which now divide the country. It will indicate the origin and the strength of the chief reasons by which Liberals are now governed. And, if executed with proper fairness and truth, it may, as a study in contemporary history, be of some little interest to those who in future will attempt to understand our present conflict. The causes which underlie changes of opinion are among the most obscure phenomena in history, because those who undergo these changes are often only half conscious of them, and do not think of recording that which is imperceptible in its growth, and whose importance is not realized till it already belongs to the past.

The account which follows is based primarily on my own recollection of the phases of opinion and feeling through which I myself, and the friends whom I knew most intimately in the House of

Commons, passed during the Parliament which sat from 1880 till 1885. But I should not think of giving it to the public if I did not believe that what happened to our minds happened to many others also, and that the record of our own slow movement from the position of 1880 to that of 1886 is substantially a record of the movement of the Liberal party at large. We were average members of that party, loyal to our leaders, but placing the principles for which the Liberal party exists above the success of the party itself, with our share of prepossessions and prejudices, yet with reasonably open minds, and (as we believed) inferior to no other section of the House of Commons in patriotism and in attachment to the Constitution. I admit frankly that when we entered Parliament we knew less about the Irish question than we ought to have known, and that even after knowledge had been forced upon us, we were more deferential to our leaders than was good either for us or for them. But these are faults always chargeable on the great majority of members. It is because those of whom I speak were in these respects fairly typical, that it seems worth while to trace the history of their opinions. If any one should accuse me of attributing to an earlier year sentiments which began to appear in a later one, I can only reply that I am aware of this danger, as one which always besets those who recall their past states of mind, and that I have done my best to avoid it.

The change I have to describe was slow and gradual. It was reluctant—that is to say, it seemed rather forced upon us by the teaching of events than the conscious product of our own minds. Each session marked a further stage in it, and I therefore propose to examine its progress session by session.

**SESSION OF 1880**—The General Election of 1880 turned mainly on the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. Few Liberal candidates said much about Ireland. Absorbed in the Eastern and Afghan questions, they had not watched the progress of events in Ireland with the requisite care, nor realized the gravity of the crisis which was approaching. They were anxious to do justice to Ireland, in the way of amending both the land laws and local government, but saw no reason for going further. Nearly all of them refused, even when pressed by Irish electors in their constituencies, to promise to vote for that "parliamentary inquiry into the demand for Home Rule," which was then propounded by those electors as a sort of test question. We (*i.e.*, the Liberal candidates of 1880) then declared that we thought an Irish Parliament would involve serious constitutional difficulties, and that we saw no reason why the Imperial Parliament should not do full justice to Ireland. Little was said about Coercion. Hopes were expressed that it would not be resorted to, but very few (if any) pledged themselves against it.

When Mr Forster was appointed Irish Secretary in Mr Gladstone's Government which the General Election brought into power, we (by which I mean throughout the new Liberal members) were delighted. We knew him to be conscientious, industrious, kind-hearted. We believed him to be penetrating and judicious. We applauded his conduct in not renewing the Coercion Act which Lord Beaconsfield's Government had failed to renew before dissolving Parliament, and which indeed there was scarcely time left after the election to renew, a fact which did not save Mr Forster from severe censure on the part of the Tories.

The chief business of the session was the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which Mr Forster brought in for the sake of saving from immediate eviction tenants whom a succession of bad seasons had rendered utterly unable to pay their rents. This Bill was pressed through the House of Commons with the utmost difficulty, and at an expenditure of time which damaged the other work of the session, though the House continued to sit into September. The Executive Government declared it to be necessary, in order not only to relieve the misery of the people, but to secure the tranquillity of the country. Nevertheless, the whole Tory party, and a considerable section of the Liberal party, opposed it in the interests of the Irish landlords, and of economic principles in general, principles which (as commonly understood in England) it certainly trenched on. When it reached the House of Lords it was contemptuously rejected, and the unhappy Irish Secretary left to face as he best might the cries of a wretched peasantry and the rising tide of outrage. What was even more remarkable, was the coolness with which the Liberal party took the defeat of a Bill their leaders had pronounced absolutely needed. Had it been an English Bill of the same consequence to England as it was to Ireland, the country would have been up in arms against the House of Lords, demanding the reform or the abolition of a Chamber which dared to disregard the will of the people. But nothing of the kind happened. It was only an Irish measure. We relieved ourselves by a few strong words, and the matter dropped.

It was in this session that the Liberal party first learnt what sort of a spirit was burning in the hearts of Irish members. There had been obstruction in the last years of the previous Parliament, but, as the Tories were in power, they had to bear the brunt of it. Now that a Liberal Ministry reigned, it fell on the Liberals. At first it incensed us. Full of our own good intentions towards Ireland, we thought it contrary to nature that Irish members should worry us, their friends, as they had worried Tories, their hereditary enemies. Presently we came to understand how matters stood. The Irish members made little difference between the two great English parties. Both represented to them a hostile domination. Both

were ignorant of the condition of their country Both cared so little about Irish questions that nothing less than deeds of violence out of doors or obstruction within doors could secure their attention Concessions had to be extorted from both by the same devices, Coercion might be feared at the hands of both Hence the Irish party was resolved to treat both parties alike, and play off the one against the other in the interests of Ireland alone, using the questions which divide Englishmen and Scotchmen merely as levers whereby to effect their own purposes, because quite indifferent to the substantial merits of those questions To us new members this was an alarming revelation We found that the House of Commons consisted of two distinct and dissimilar bodies a large British body (including some few Tories and Liberals from Ireland), which, though it was distracted by party quarrels, really cared for the welfare of the country and the dignity of the House, and would set aside its quarrels in the presence of a great emergency, and a small Irish body, which, though it spoke the English language, was practically foreign, felt no interest in, no responsibility for, the business of Britain or the Empire, and valued its place in the House only as a means of making itself so disagreeable as to obtain its release When we had grasped this fact, we began to reflect on its causes and conjecture its effects We had read of the same things in the newspapers, but what a difference there is between reading a drama in your study and seeing it acted on the stage! We realized what Irish feeling was when we heard these angry cries, and noted how appeals that would have affected English partisans fell on deaf ears I remember how one night in the summer of 1880, when the Irish members kept us up very late over some trivial Bill of theirs, refusing to adjourn till they had extorted terms, a friend sitting beside me said "See how things come round They keep us out of bed till five o'clock in the morning because our ancestors bullied theirs for six centuries" And we saw that the natural relations of an Executive, even a Liberal Executive, to the Irish members were those of strife Whose fault it was we were unable to decide Perhaps the Government was too stiff, perhaps the members were vexatious Anyhow, this strife was evidently the normal state of things, wholly unlike that which existed between Scotch members, to whichever party they belonged, and the executive authorities of Scotland

Thus the session of 1880, though it did not bring us consciously nearer to Home Rule, impressed three facts upon us first, that the House of Lords regarded Ireland solely from the point of view of English landlords, secondly, that the House of Commons knew so little or cared so little about Ireland that when the Executive declared a measure essential to the peace of Ireland, it scarcely

resented the rejection of that measure by the House of Lords, thirdly, that the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons were a foreign body, foreign in the sense in which a needle which a man swallows is foreign, not helping the organism to discharge its functions, but impeding them, and setting up irritation. We did not yet draw from these facts all the conclusions we should now draw. But the facts were there, and they began to tell upon our minds.

*SESSION OF 1881*—The winter of 1880–81 was a bad one in Ireland. The rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill had borne the fruit which Mr Forster had predicted, and which the House of Lords had ignored. Outrages were numerous and serious. The cry in England for repressive measures had gone on rising from November, when it occasioned a demonstration at the Guildhall banquet. Several Liberal members (of whom I was one) went to Ireland at Christmas, to see with our own eyes how things stood. We were struck by the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information in Dublin, where the richer classes, with whom we chiefly came in contact, merely abused the Land League, while the Land Leaguers declared that the accounts of outrages were grossly exaggerated. The most prominent, Mr Michael Davitt, assured me, and I believe with perfect truth, that he had exerted himself to discountenance outrage, and that if, as he expected, he was locked up by the Government, outrages would increase. When one reached the disturbed districts, where, of course, one talked to members as well of the landlord class as of the peasantry, the general conclusion which emerged from the medley of contradictions was that, though there was much agrarian crime, and a pervading sense of insecurity, the disorders were not so bad as people in England believed, and might have been dealt with by a vigorous administration of the existing law. Unfortunately, the so-called "better classes," full of bitterness against the Liberal Ministry and Mr Forster (whom they did not praise till it was too late), had not assisted the Executive, and had allowed things to reach a pass at which it found the work of governing very difficult.

When the Coercion Bill of 1881 was introduced, many English Liberals were inclined to resist it. The great majority voted for it, but within two years bitterly repented their votes. Their motives, which I mention by way of extenuation, not of defence, were these. The Executive Government declared that it could not deal with crime by the ordinary law. If its followers refused exceptional powers, they must displace the Ministry, and let in the Tories, who would doubtless obtain such powers, and probably use them worse. We had still confidence in Mr Forster's judgment, and a deference to Executive Governments generally which parlia-



mentary experience is well fitted to dissipate. The violence with which the Nationalist members resisted the introduction of the Bill had roused our blood, and the foolish attempts which the Radical and Irish electors in some constituencies had made to deter their members from supporting it had told the other way, and disposed them to vote for it, in order to show that they were not to be moved by threats. Finally, we were assured that votes given for the Coercion Bill would purchase a thorough-going Land Bill, and our anxiety for the latter induced us, naturally but erringly, to acquiesce in the former.

When that Land Bill went into Committee we perceived how much harm the Coercion Bill had done in intensifying the bitterness of Irish members. Although the Ministry was fighting for their interests against the Tory party and the so-called Whiggish section of its own supporters, who were seeking to cut down the benefits which the measure offered to Irish tenants, the Nationalist members regarded it, and in particular Mr Forster, as their foe. They resented what they deemed the insult put upon their country. They saw those who had been fighting, often, no doubt, by unlawful methods, for the national cause, thrown into prison and kept there without trial. They anticipated (not without reason) the same fortune for themselves. Hence the friendliness which the Liberal party sought to show them met with no response, and Mr Forster was worried with undiminished vehemence. In the discussions on the Bill we found the Ministry generally resisting all amendments which came from Irish members. When these amendments seemed to us right, we voted for them, but they were almost always defeated by the union of the Tories with the steady Ministerialists. Subsequent events have proved that many were right, but, whether they were right or wrong, the fact which impressed us was that in matters which concerned Ireland only, and lay within the exclusive knowledge of Irishmen, Irish members were constantly outvoted by English and Scotch members, who knew nothing at all of the merits of the case, but simply obeyed the party whip. This happened even when the Irish members who sat on the Liberal side (such as Mr Dickson and his Liberal colleagues from Ulster) joined the Nationalist section in demanding some extension of the Bill which the Ministry refused. And we perceived that nothing incensed the Irish members more than the feeling that their arguments were addressed to deaf ears, that they were overborne, not by reason, but by sheer weight of numbers. Even if they convinced the Ministry, they could seldom hope to obtain its assent, because the Ministry had to consider the House of Lords, sure to reject amendments which favoured the tenant, while to detach a number of Ministerialists sufficient to carry

an amendment against the Treasury Bench, the Moderate Liberals, and the Tories, was evidently hopeless

At the end of the session the House of Lords came again upon the scene. It seriously damaged the Bill by its amendments, and would have destroyed it but for the skill with which the head of the Government handled these amendments, accepting the least pernicious, so as to enable the Upper House without loss of dignity to recede from those which were wholly inadmissible. Several times it seemed as if the conflict would have to pass from Westminster to the country, and, in contemplating the chances of a popular agitation or a dissolution, we were regretfully obliged to own that the English people cared too little and knew too little about Irish questions to give us much hope of defeating the House of Lords and the Tories upon these issues.

An incident which occurred towards the end of the session seems, though trifling in itself, so illustrative of the illogical position in which we stood towards Ireland, as to deserve mention. Mr Forster, still Chief Secretary, had brought in a Bill for extinguishing the Queen's University in Ireland,\* and creating in place of it a body to be called the Royal University, which, however, was not to be a real university at all, but only a set of examiners plus some salaried fellowships, to be held at various places of instruction. Regarding this as a gross educational blunder, which would destroy a useful existing body, and create a sham university in its place, and finding several parliamentary friends on whose judgment I could rely to be of the same opinion, I gave notice of opposition to the Bill. Mr Forster came to me, and pressed with great warmth that the opposition should be withdrawn. The Bill, he said, would satisfy the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and complete the work of the Land Bill in pacifying Ireland. The Irish members wanted it: what business had an English member to interfere to defeat their wishes, and thwart the Executive? The reply was obvious. Not to speak of the simplicity of expecting the hierarchy to be satisfied by this small concession, what were such arguments but the admission of Home Rule in its worst form? "You resist the demand of the Irish members to legislate for Ireland, you have just been demanding, and obtaining, the support of English members against those amendments of the Land Bill which Irish members declare to be necessary. Now you bid us surrender our own judgment, ignore our own responsibility, and blindly pass a Bill which we, who have studied these university questions as they affect both Ireland and England, believe to be thoroughly mischievous to the prospects of higher education in Ireland, only because the Irish members, as you say, desire it. Do one thing or the other. Either give them the power and the responsibility, or leave both with the Imperial Parliament."

\* The first step to this had been taken in 1879 by the University Education (Ireland) Act of Mr James Lowther.

You are now asking us to surrender the power, but to remain still subject to the responsibility. We will not bear the latter without the former. We shall prefer Home Rule." Needless to add that this device—a sample of the petty sops by which successive generations of English statesmen, Whigs and Tories alike, have sought to win over a priesthood which uses and laughs at them—failed as completely as its predecessors to settle the University question or to range the bishops on the side of the Government.

The autumn and winter of 1881 revealed the magnitude of the mischief done by making a Coercion Bill precede a Relief Bill. The Land Bill was the largest concession made to the demands of the people since Catholic Emancipation. It was a departure, justified by necessity, but still a departure from our established principles of legislation. It ought to have brought satisfaction and confidence, if not gratitude, with it, ought to have led Ireland to believe in the sincere friendliness of England, and produced a new cordiality between the islands. It did nothing of the kind. It was held to have been extorted from our fears, its grace and sweetness were destroyed by the concomitant severities which the Coercion Act had brought into force, as wholesome food becomes distasteful when some bitter compound has been sprinkled over it. We were deeply mortified at this result of our efforts. What was the malign power which made the boons we had conferred shrivel up, "like fairy gifts fading away?" We still believed the Coercion Act to have been justified, but lamented the fate which baffled the main object of our efforts, the winning over Ireland to trust the justice and the ability of the Imperial Parliament. And thus the two facts which stood out from the history of this eventful session were, first, that even in legislating for the good of Ireland we were legislating against the wishes of Ireland, imposing on her enactments which her representatives opposed, and which we supported only at the bidding of the Ministry, and, secondly, that at the end of a long session, entirely devoted to her needs, we found her more hostile and not less disturbed than she had been at its beginning. We began to wonder whether we should ever succeed better on our present lines. But most of us still regarded Home Rule as a disagreeable solution.

*SESSION OF 1882*—Still graver were the lessons of the first four months of this year. Mr Forster went on filling the prisons of Ireland with persons whom he arrested under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and never brought to trial. But the country grew no more quiet. At last he had nine hundred and forty men under lock and key, many of them not "village ruffians," whose power a few weeks' detention was to break, but political offenders, and even popular leaders. How long could this go on? Where was it to stop? It became plain that the Act was a failure, and that the

people, trained to combination by a century and a half's practice, were too strong for the Executive. Either the scheme and plan of the Act had been wrong, or its administration had been incompetent. Whichever was the source of the failure (most people will now blame both), the fault must be laid at the door of the Irish Executive; not of Mr Forster himself, but of those on whom he relied. It had been a Dublin Castle Bill, conceived and carried out by the incompetent bureaucracy which has so long pretended to govern Ireland. Such a proof of incompetence destroyed whatever confidence in that bureaucracy then remained to us, and the disclosures which the Phoenix Park murders and the subsequent proceedings against the Invincibles brought out, proved beyond question that the Irish Executive had only succeeded in giving a more dark and dangerous form, the form of ruthless conspiracy, to the agitation it was combating.

When therefore the Prevention of Crimes Bill of 1882 was brought in, some of us felt unable to support it, and specially bound to resist those of its provisions which related to treason, to trials without a jury, and to intimidation and boycotting.\* It was impossible, on the morrow of the Phoenix Park murders, to deny that some coercive measure might be needed, but we had so far lost faith in repression, and in the officials who were to administer it, as to desire to limit it to what was absolutely necessary, and we protested against enacting for Ireland a criminal code which was not to be applied to Great Britain. Our resistance might have been more successful but for the manner in which the Nationalist members conducted their opposition. When they began to obstruct—not that under the circumstances we felt entitled to censure them for obstructing a Bill dealing so harshly with their countrymen—we were obliged to desist, and our experience of the stormy scenes of the summer of 1882 deepened our sense of the passionate bitterness with which they regarded English members, scarcely making an exception in favour of those who were most disposed to sympathize with them. Many and many a time when we listened to their fierce cries, we seemed to hear in them the battle cries of the centuries of strife between Celt and Englishman from Athenry to Vinegar Hill, many a time we felt that this rage and mistrust were chiefly of England's making, and yet not of England's, but rather of the overmastering fate which had prolonged to our own days the hatreds and the methods of barbarous times.

ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ αἴτιοι ἔσμεν  
Ἄλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς

So much of the session as the Crimes Bill had spared was consumed by the Arrears Bill, over which we had again a "crisis" with the House of Lords. This was the third session that had been practically given up to Irishmen. The freshness and force of the

\* Sir Horace Davey, Sir Charles Russell, and myself were among those who spoke strongly in this sense.

Parliament of 1880—a Parliament full of zeal and ability—had now been almost spent, yet few of the plans of domestic legislation spread before the constituencies in 1880 had been realized. The Government had been anxious to legislate, their majority had been ready to support them, but Ireland had blocked the way, and now the only expedient for improving the procedure of the House was to summon Parliament in an extra autumn session. Here was another cause for reflection. England and Scotland were calling for measures promised years ago, but no time could be found to discuss them. Nothing was done to reorganize local government, to reform the liquor laws, to improve secondary education, to deal with the housing of the poor, or a dozen other urgent questions, because we were busy with Ireland, and yet how little more loyal or contented did Ireland seem to be for all we had done. We began to ask whether Home Rule might not be as much an English and Scotch question as an Irish question. It was, at any rate, clear that to allow Ireland to manage her own affairs would open a prospect for England and Scotland to obtain time to attend to theirs.\*

This feeling was strengthened by the result of the attempts made in the autumn session of 1882, to improve the procedure of the House of Commons. We had cherished the hope that more drastic remedies against obstruction and better arrangements for the conduct of business, might relieve much of the pressure Irish members had made us suffer. The passing of the New Rules shattered this hope, for it was plain they would not accomplish what was needed. Some blamed the Government for not framing a more stringent code. Some blamed the Tory and the Irish Oppositions (now beginning to work in concert) for cutting down the proposals of the Government. But most of us saw, and came to see still more clearly in the three succeeding sessions, that the evil was too deep-rooted to be cured by any changes of procedure, unless they went so far as to destroy freedom of debate for English members also. The presence in a deliberative assembly of a section numbering (or likely soon to number) one-seventh of the whole—a section seeking to lower the character of the assembly, and to derange its mechanism, with no further interest in the greater part of its business except that of preventing it from conducting that business—this was the pheno-

\* I may mention here another fact whose significance impressed some among us. Parliament, which usually sinned in not doing for Ireland what Ireland asked, occasionally passed bills for Ireland which we regarded as setting very bad precedents for England. By some bargain between the Irish office and the Nationalist members, measures were put through which may have been right as respects Ireland, but which embodied principles mischievous as respects Great Britain. The Labourers' (Ireland) Act of July 1885 is a conspicuous example. We felt that if it was necessary to enact such statutes, it would be better that they should proceed from an Irish Legislature rather than from the Imperial Parliament, which might be embarrassed by its own previous action when asked to extend the same principles to England.

menon which confronted us, and we felt that no rules of debate would overcome the dangers it threatened

It is from this year 1882 that I date the impression which we formed, that Home Rule would come "It may be a bad thing," we said to one another in the lobbies, "probably it is, though the case for it is stronger than we thought two years ago, but if the Irishmen persist as they are doing now, they will get it It is only a question of their tenacity"

It was impossible not to be struck during the conflicts of 1881 and 1882 with the small amount of real bitterness which the conduct of the Irish members, irritating as it often was, provoked among the Liberals, who of course bore the brunt of the conflict The Nationalists did their best to injure a Government which was at the same time being denounced by the Tories as too favourable to Irish claims, they lowered the character of Parliament by scenes far more painful than those of the present session on which so much indignation is now expended, they said the hardest things they could think of against us in the House, they attacked us in our constituencies Their partisans (for I do not charge this on the leaders) interrupted and broke up our meetings Nevertheless, all this did not provoke responsive hatred from the Liberals There could not be a greater contrast than that between the way in which the great bulk of the Liberal members all through the Parliament of 1880 behaved towards their Irish antagonists, and the violence with which the Tory members, under slighter provocation, conduct themselves towards those antagonists now I say this not to the credit of our temper, which was no better than that of other men heated by the struggles of a crowded assembly It was due entirely to our feeling that there was a great balance of wrong standing to the debit of England, that if the Irish were turbulent, it was the ill treatment of former days that had made them so, and that, whatever might be their methods, they were fighting for their country Although therefore there was little social intercourse between us and them, there was always a hope and a wish that the day might come when the Liberal party should resume its natural position of joining the representatives of the Irish people in obtaining radical reforms in Irish government And the remarkable speech of Feb 9, 1882, in which Mr Gladstone declared his mind to be open on the subject, and invited the Nationalists to propound a practicable scheme of self-government, had encouraged us to hope that this day might soon arrive

*SESSION OF 1883*—Three facts stood out in the history of this comparatively quiet session, each of which brought us further along the road we had entered

One was the omission of Parliament to complete the work begun

by the Land Bill of 1881, of improving the condition of the Irish peasantry and reorganizing Irish administration. The Nationalist members brought in Bills for these purposes, including one for amending the Land Act by admitting leaseholders to its benefits and securing tenants against having their improvements reckoned against them in the fixing of rents. Though we could not approve all the contents of these Bills, we desired to see the Government either take them up and amend them, or introduce Bills of its own to do what was needed. Some of us spoke strongly in this sense, nor will any one now deny that we were right. Sound policy called aloud for the completion of the undertaking of 1881. The Government however refused, alleging, no doubt with some truth, that Ireland could not have all the time of Parliament, but must let England and Scotland have their turn. Nor was anything done towards the creation of new local institutions in Ireland, or the reform of the Castle bureaucracy. We were profoundly disheartened. We saw golden opportunities slipping away, and doubted more than ever whether Westminster was the place in which to legislate for Irish grievances.

Another momentous fact was the steady increase in the number of Nationalist members. Every seat that fell vacant in Ireland was filled by them. The moderate Irish party, most of whom had by this time crossed the floor of the House, and were sitting among us, had evidently no future. They were estimable, and, in some cases, able men, from whom we had hoped much, as a link between the Liberal party and the Irish people. But they seemed to have lost their hold on the people, nor were they able to give us much practical counsel as to Irish problems. It was clear that they would vanish at the next General Election, and Parliament be left to settle accounts with the extreme men, whose spirits rose as those of our friends sank.

Lastly it was in this session that the alliance of the Nationalists and the Tory Opposition became a potent factor in politics. Its first conspicuous manifestation was in the defeat of the Government by the Allied Forces on the Affirmation Bill, when the least respectable privates in both armies vied with one another in boisterous rejoicings over the announcement of numbers in the division. I do not refer to this as ground for complaint. It was in the course of our usual political warfare that two groups, each hating and fearing the Ministry, should unite to displace it. But we now saw what power the Irish section must exert when it came to hold the balance of numbers in the House. Till this division, the Government had commanded a majority of the whole House. This would probably not outlast a dissolution. What then? Could the two English parties, differing so profoundly from one another,

combine against the third party? Evidently not. We must therefore look forward to unstable Governments, if not to a total dislocation of our parliamentary system

*SESSION OF 1884*—I pass over the minor incidents of this year, including the continued neglect of effective remedial legislation for Ireland, to dwell on its dominant and most impressive lesson. It was the year of the Franchise Bill, which as regards Ireland worked an extension, not merely of the county but also of the borough franchise, and produced, owing to the economic condition of the humbler classes in that country, a far more extensive change than in England or Scotland. When the Bill was introduced the question at once arose—Should Ireland be included?

There were two ways of treating Ireland between which Parliament had to choose

One was to leave her out of the Bill, on the ground that the masses of her population could not be trusted with the franchise, as being ignorant, sympathetic to crime, hostile to the English Government. This course was the logical concomitant of exceptional coercive legislation, such as had been passed in 1881 and 1882. It was quite compatible with generous remedial legislation. But it placed Ireland in an unequal and lower position, treating her, as the Coercion Acts did, as a dependent country, inhabited by a population unfit for the same measure of power which the inhabitants of Britain might receive

The other course was to bestow on Ireland the same extended franchise which the English county occupiers were to receive, applying the principle of equality, and disregarding the obvious consequences. These consequences were both practical and logical. The practical consequence was the increase in numbers and weight of the Irish party in Parliament hostile to Parliament itself. The logical consequence was the duty of complying with the wishes of the enfranchised nation. Whatever reasons were good for giving this enlarged suffrage to the Irish masses, were good for respecting the will which they might use it to express. If the Irish were deemed fit to exercise the same full constitutional rights in legislation as the English, must they not be fit for the same rights of trial by jury, a free press, and all the privileges of personal freedom?

Of these two courses the Cabinet chose the latter, those of its members whom we must now suppose to have hesitated either stifling their fears, or not apprehending the consequences of their boldness. It might have been expected, and indeed was generally expected, that the Tory party would refuse to follow. They talked largely about the danger of an extended Irish suffrage, and pointed out that it would be a weapon in the hands of disloyalty. But when the moment for resistance came, they swerved, and never divided as a



party against the application of the Bill to Ireland They might have failed to defeat the measure But they would have immensely strengthened their position, logically and morally, had they given effect by a distinct and solemn vote to the sentiments they were known to entertain, and which not a few Liberals shared \*

The effect of this uncontested grant to Ireland of a suffrage practically universal was immense upon our minds, and the longer we reflected on it, the more significant did it become It meant to us that the old methods were abandoned, and, as we supposed, for ever We had deliberately given the Home Rule-party arms against English control far more powerful than they previously possessed We had deliberately asserted our faith in the Irish people Impossible after this to fall back on Coercion Bills Impossible to refuse any request compatible with the general safety of the United Kingdom, which Ireland as a nation might prefer\* Impossible to establish that system of Crown Colony Government which we had come to perceive was the only real and solid alternative to self-government To those of us who had been feeling that the Irish difficulty was much the greatest of all England's difficulties, this stood out beyond the agitation of the autumn and the compromise of the winter as the great political event of 1884 †

Although this sketch is in the main a record of Parliamentary opinion, I ought not to pass over the influence which the study of their constituents' ideas exerted upon members for the larger towns We found the vast bulk of our supporters—English supporters, for after 1882 it was understood that the Irish voters were our enemies—sympathetic with the Irish people They knew and thought little about Home Rule, believing that their member understood that question better than they did, and willing, so long as he was sound on English issues, to trust him But they pitied Irish tenants and condemned Irish landlords Though they acquiesced in a Coercion Bill when proposed by a Liberal Cabinet, because they concluded that nothing less than necessity would lead such a Cabinet to propose one, they so much disliked any exceptional or repressive legislation that it was plain they would not long tolerate it Any popular leader denouncing coercion was certain to have the sentiment of the English masses with him, while as to suspending Irish representation or carrying out consistently the policy of treat-

\* A Tory member moved in Committee to leave out Ireland, and was supported by 137 votes against 332 But many leading Tories did not vote, nor did the party whips act as tellers The full Tory strength was then 249 No similar proposal was made in the House of Lords, where the Tory party was of course supreme

† At Easter 1885 I met a number of leading Ulster Liberals in Belfast, and told them that Home Rule was certainly coming, and urged them to prepare some plan under which any special interests they conceived the Protestant part of Ulster to have, would be effectually safeguarded They were startled, and at first discomfited, but presently told me I was mistaken, to which I could only reply that ~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> would show, and perhaps sooner than even English Liberals expected.

ing Ireland as a subject country, there was no chance in the world of their approval. Those of us therefore who represented large working-class constituencies became convinced that the solution of the Irish problem must be sought in conciliation and self-government, if only because the other solution, Crown Colony Government, was utterly repugnant to the English masses, in whom the Franchise Bill of 1884, completing that of 1867, had vested political supremacy.\*

*SESSION OF 1885*—The Allied Powers of Toryism and Nationalism gained in this year the victory they had so long striven for. In February they reduced the Ministerial majority to fourteen, in June they overthrew the Ministry. No one supposed that on either occasion the merits of the issue had anything to do with the Nationalist vote: that vote was given simply and solely against the Government, as the Government which had passed the Coercion Acts of 1881 and 1882—Acts demanded by the Tory party, and which had not conceded an Irish Parliament. At last the Irish party had attained its position as the arbiter of power and office. Some of us said, as we walked away from the House, under the dawning light of that memorable 9th of June, "This means Home Rule." Our forecast was soon to be confirmed. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, formed upon the resignation of Mr Gladstone's, announced that it would not propose to renew any part of the Coercion Act of 1882, which was to expire in August. Here was a surrender indeed! But the Tory leaders went further. They did not excuse themselves on the ground of want of time. They took credit for their benevolence towards Ireland, they discovered excellent reasons why the Act should be dropped. They even turned upon Lord Spencer, whose administration they had hitherto blamed for its leniency, and attacked him in Parliament, amid the cheers of his Irish enemies. From that time till the close of the General Election in December everything was done, short of giving public pledges, to keep the Irish leaders and the Irish voters in good humour. The Tory party in fact posed as the true friends of Ireland, averse from coercion, and with minds perfectly open on the subject of self-government.

This change of front, so sudden, so unblushing, completed the process which had been going on in our minds. By 1882 we had come to feel that Home Rule was inevitable, though probably undesirable. Before long we had asked ourselves whether it was really undesirable, whether it might not be a good thing both for England, whose Parliament and Cabinet system it would relieve from impending dangers, while leaving free scope for domestic legislation, and for Ireland, which could hardly manage her affairs worse than

\* My recollection of a conversation with a distinguished public man in July 1882 enables me to say that this fact had impressed itself upon us as early as that year. He doubted the fact, but admitted that, if true, it was momentous. The passing of the Franchise Bill made it, in our view, more momentous than ever.

we were managing them for her, and might manage them better And thus, by the spring of 1885, many of us were prepared for a large scheme of local self-government in Ireland, including a central body in Dublin \*

Now when it was plain that the English party which had hitherto called for repression, and had professed itself anxious for a patriotic union of all parties to maintain order and a continuity of policy in Ireland, was ready to bid for Irish help at the polls by throwing over repression and reversing the policy it had advocated, we felt that the sooner Ireland was taken out of English party politics the better What prospect was there of improving Ireland by the superior wisdom and fairness of the British Parliament, if British leaders were to make their Irish policy turn on interested bargains with Nationalist leaders? Repression, which we clearly saw to be the only alternative to self-government, seemed to be by common consent abandoned I remember how, at a party of members in the beginning of July, some one said "Well, there's an end for ever of coercion at any rate," and every one assented as to an obvious truth Accordingly the result of the new departure of the Salisbury Cabinet in 1885 was to convince even doubters that Home Rule must come, and to make those already convinced anxious to see it come quickly, and to find the best form that could be given it Many of us expected the Tory Government to propose it Rumour declared the new Lord Lieutenant to be in favour of it His government was extremely conciliatory in Ireland, even to the recalcitrant corporation of Limerick Not to mention less serious and less respected Tory Ministers, Lord Salisbury talked at Newport about the dualism of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the air of a man who desired to have a workable scheme, analogous, if not similar, suggested for Ireland and Great Britain The Irish Nationalists appeared to place their hopes in this quarter, for they attacked the Liberal party with unexampled bitterness, and threw all their voting strength into the Tory scale

Why, it may be asked, if the persuasion that Home Rule was certain, and even desirable, had become general among the Liberals who had sat through the Parliament of 1880, was it not more fully expressed at the election of 1885? This is a fair question, which I shall try to answer

\* Some thought that its functions should be very limited, while large powers were granted to county boards or provincial councils But most had, I think, already perceived that the grant of a merely local self-government while retaining an irresponsible central bureaucracy, would do more harm than good It might seem at first sight a safer experiment than the creation of a central legislative body But, like many middle courses, it combined the demerits and wanted the merits of each of the extreme courses It would not make the country tranquil, as firm and long continued repression might possibly do Neither would it satisfy the people's demands, and divert them from struggles against England to disputes and discussions among themselves, as the gift of genuine self-government might do

In the first place, the electors made few inquiries about Ireland. They disliked the subject, they had not realized its supreme importance. Those of us who felt anxious to explain our views (as was my own case) had to volunteer to do so, for we were not asked about them. The Irish party in the constituencies was in violent opposition to Liberal candidates, it did not interrogate, but denounced. Further, it was felt that the issue was mainly one to be decided in Ireland itself. The question of Home Rule was being submitted, not, as heretofore, to a limited constituency, but to the whole Irish people. Till then will have been constitutionally declared at the polls it was not proper that Englishmen and Scotchmen should anticipate its tenour. Liberals would even have been accused, had they pressed their opinions, and assumed that Ireland was wholly with Mr Parnell, of seeking to affect the result in that country, \*and, not only of playing for the Irish vote in Great Britain, as we saw the Tories doing, but of prejudicing the chances of those Liberal candidates who, in Irish constituencies, were competing with extreme Nationalists. A third reason was that most English and Scotch Liberals did not know how far their own dispositions towards Home Rule were shared by their leaders. Mr Gladstone's declaration in his Midlothian address was no doubt a decided intimation of his views, and was distinctly understood by some (as by myself) to imply the grant to Ireland of a Parliament, but, strong as its words were, its importance does not seem to have been fully appreciated at the moment. And the opinions of a statesman whose unequalled Irish experience and elevated character gave him a weight only second to that of Mr Gladstone—I mean Lord Spencer—had remained unknown. We had consequently no certainty that there were leaders prepared to give prompt effect to the views we entertained. Lastly, we were not prepared with a practical scheme of self-government for Ireland. The Nationalist members had not propounded one, so there was nothing for us either to adopt or to criticize. Convinced as we were that Home Rule would come and must come, we felt the difficulties surrounding every suggestion that had yet been made, and had not hammered out any plan which we could lay before the electors as approved by Liberal opinion \*. We were forced to confine ourselves to generalities.

Whether it would have been better for us to have done more of our thinking and scheme-making in public, and thereby have sooner forced

\* Some of us had tried to do so. I prepared such a scheme in the autumn of 1885, and submitted it to some specially competent friends. Their objections, made from what would now be called the Unionist point of view, were weighty. But their effect was to convince me that the scheme erred on the side of caution, and I believe the experience of other Liberals who worked at the problem to have been the same as my own—viz., that a small and timid scheme is more dangerous than a large and bold one. Thus the result of our thinking from July 1885 till April 1886 was to make us more and more disposed to reject half and half solutions.

the details of the problem upon the attention of the country, need not now be inquired. Any one can now see that something was lost by the omission. But those who censure a course that has actually been taken usually fail to estimate the evils that would have followed from the taking of the opposite course. Such evils might in this instance have been as great as those we have encountered.

I have spoken of the importance we attached to the decision of Ireland itself, and of the attitude of expectancy which, while that decision was uncertain, Englishmen were forced to maintain. We had not long to wait. Early in December it was known that five-sixths of the members returned from Ireland were Nationalists, and that the majorities which had returned them were crushing. If ever a people spoke its will, the Irish people spoke theirs at the election of 1885. The last link in the chain of conviction, which events had been forging since 1880, was now supplied. In passing the Franchise Bill of 1884, we had asked Ireland to declare her mind. She had now answered. If the question was not a mockery, and representative government a sham, we were bound to accept the answer, subject only, but subject always, to the interests of the whole United Kingdom. In other words, we were bound to devise such a scheme of self-government for Ireland as would give full satisfaction to her wishes, while maintaining the ultimate supremacy of the Imperial Parliament and the unity of the British Empire.

Very few words are needed to summarize the outline which, omitting many details which would have illustrated and confirmed its truth, I have attempted to present of the progress of opinion among Liberal members during the Parliament of 1880.

1 Our experience of the Coercion Bills of 1881 and 1882 disclosed the enormous mischief which such measures do in alienating the minds of Irishmen, and the difficulty of enlisting Irish sentiment on behalf of the law. The results of the Act of 1881 taught us that the repression of open agitation means the growth of far more dangerous conspiracy, those of the Act of 1882 proved that even under an administration like Lord Spencer's repression works no change for the better in the habits and ideas of the people.

2 The conduct of the House of Lords in 1880 and 1881, and the malign influence which its existence exerted whenever remedial legislation for Ireland came in question, convinced us that full and complete justice will never be done to Ireland by the British Parliament while the Upper House (as at present constituted) remains a part of that Parliament.

3. The break-down of the procedure of the House of Commons, and the failure of the efforts to amend it, proved that Parliament cannot work so long as a considerable section of its members seek to impede its working. To enable it to do its duty by England and Scot-

land, it was evidently necessary, either to make the Irish members as loyal to Parliament as English and Scotch members usually are, or else to exclude them

4 The discussions of Irish Bills in the House of Commons made us realize how little English members knew about Ireland, how utterly different were their competence for, and their attitude towards, Irish questions and English questions. We perceived that we were legislating in the dark for a country whose economic and social condition we did not understand—a country to which we could not apply our English ideas of policy, a country whose very temper and feeling were strange to us. We were really fitter to pass laws for Canada or Australia than for this isle within sight of our shores

5 I have said that we were legislating in the dark. But there were two quarters from which light was proffered, the Irish members and the Irish Executive. We rejected the first, and could hardly help doing so, for to accept it would have been to displace our own leaders. We followed the light which the Executive gave. But in some cases (as notably in the case of the Coercion Bill of 1881) it proved to be a "wandering fire," leading us into dangerous morasses. And we perceived that at all times legislation at the bidding of the Executive, against the wishes of Irish members, was not self-government or free government. It was despotism. The rule of Ireland by the British Parliament was really "the rule of a dependency through an official, responsible no doubt, but responsible not to the ruled, but to an assembly of which they form less than a sixth part"\*. As this assembly closed its ears to the one-sixth, and gave effect to the will of the official, this was essentially arbitrary government, and wanted those elements of success which free government contains

This experience had, by 1884, convinced us that the present relations of the British Parliament to Ireland were bad, and could not last, that the discontent of Ireland was justified, that the existing system, in alienating the mind of Ireland, tended, not merely to Repeal, but to Separation, that the simplest, and probably the only effective, remedy for the increasing dangers was the grant of an Irish Legislature. Two events clinched these conclusions. One was the Tory surrender of June 1885. Self government, we had come to see, was the only alternative to Coercion, and now Coercion was gone. The other was the General Election of December 1885, when newly enfranchised Ireland, through five-sixths of her representatives, demanded a Parliament of her own

These were not, as is sometimes alleged, conclusions of despair. We were mostly persons of a cautious and conservative turn of mind, as men imbued with the spirit of the British Constitution ought to

\* Quoted from an article in the *Century Magazine*, which I refer to because, written by myself in the spring of 1883, it expresses the ideas here stated

be The first thing was to convince us that the existing relations of the islands were faulty, and could not be maintained This was a negative result, and while we remained in that stage we were despondent Many Liberal members will remember the gloom that fell on us in 1882 and 1883 whenever we thought or spoke of Ireland But presently the clouds lifted We bore in mind the old objections to any Home Rule scheme, though we now saw that they were less formidable than the evils of the present system But we came to feel that the grant of self-government was a right thing in itself It was not merely a means of ridding ourselves of our difficulties, not merely a boon to be yielded because persistently demanded It was a return to broad and deep principles, a conformity to those natural laws which govern human society as well as the inanimate world—an effort to enlist the better and higher feelings of mankind in the creation of a truer union between the two nations than had ever yet existed When we perceived this, hope returned It has been strong with us ever since we committed ourselves formally to Home Rule in February, 1886 It is strong with us now, for, though we see troubles, perhaps even dangers, in the immediate future, we are confident that the principles on which Liberal policy towards Ireland is now based will in the long run work out a happy issue for her, as they have in and for every other country that has trusted to them

One last word as to Consistency We learnt in the Parliament of 1880 many facts about Ireland we had not known before, we felt the force and bearing of other facts previously accepted on hearsay, but not realized We saw the Irish problem change from what it had been in 1880 into the new phase which stood apparent at the end of 1885, Coercion abandoned by its former advocates, Self Government demanded by the nation Were we to disregard all these new facts, ignore all these new conditions, and cling to old ideas, some of which we perceived to be mistaken, while others, still true in themselves, were outweighed by arguments of far wider import? We did not so estimate our duty We foresaw the taunts of foes and the reproaches of friends But we resolved to give effect to the opinions we had slowly, painfully, even reluctantly formed, opinions all the stronger because not suddenly adopted, and founded upon evidence whose strength no one can appreciate till he has studied the causes of Irish discontent in Irish history, and been forced (as we were) to face in Parliament the practical difficulties of the government of Ireland by the British House of Commons

JAMES BRYCE

## THE GREAT OLYMPIAN SEDITION

ONCE upon a time, in the halls of bright Olympos, Zeus its king was within an ace of being put in bonds by a conspiracy against him. It was formed of three great divinities. Herè, Queen of heaven, his wife and sister, Poseidon, his next brother in the family of Kronids, the model and symbol of physical strength, full too of high notions of his prerogatives, and Athenè, the damsel of the flashing eye, born from his head, and endowed with the very best of the furniture of his brain. It was probably at the time when he was not yet well settled on his throne. It either was intended to keep him there in manacles, or, still worse, he might have been deposed, and relegated into distance like the primeval ancestor Okeanos, or plunged into the depths like the dishonoured Kronos. But there was a little silver-footed lady, dwelling with her sister Nymphs in the hollows of the sea, who had a wide circle of acquaintances among the supernaturals, and a marvellous faculty of persuasion, as well as a decided capacity for business. She had views and interests of her own on earth. She had become, or she was to become, a wife, and her child was to be a peerless type of humanity under the monarchy of Zeus. She bethought herself what could be done to save the god in this extremity, and she remembered that Poseidon had begotten a son, who had an hundred hands, and was stronger even than his sire once known as Briareus, but now having for his Achaian name Aigaion. Him she induced to show his terrible visage on Olympos. He took his place by the side of the imperilled Zeus, with an exuberant sense of his own power, which does not seem to have been extravagant, for at the sight of him the conspiring divinities thought better of it, and the whole plot vanished into air. But the tale remained, as well it might, in the memory of the silver-



footed Thetis, and she was wont to tell it in the halls of Peleus her mortal husband, and in the hearing of the young Achilles

So Achilles, wronged by Agamemnon, and divinely warned not to punish him with the strong hand, invokes his mother and prays her to use her influence with Zeus on the basis of this legend, and to induce him to scourge the Achaian host for the outrage committed by their king Such is the record of the first Iliad (357-412)

I have given to the legend the name of the Great Olympian Sedition, in order to draw a distinction, necessary to be kept in mind Tradition supplies us with a variety of legends spread over a variety of races, which present to us confusedly the ideas of a war in heaven, and also of a rebellion against heaven, by beings of a preter-human order, the latter conception usually predominating But the case before us is not one of resistance from without to the supreme power, and of endeavour to storm the celestial seat The Zeus of Homer, though he is more than *primus inter pares*, is of the same order with his compeers There is no generic distinction, as there is between the Creator and the rebellious creature The threatened war is of the nature of a civil war The legend is also a purely Achaian legend On both grounds it will well bear the name of "the Great Olympian Sedition"

There are in Homer a considerable number of Olympian, as well as terrestrial, narratives dating from periods anterior to the Trojan War or the action of the Poems These tales were, apparently, reckoned in other days as belonging to the garrulity or the somnolence of the Poet Gradually we find, as to the human part of them, that they not only admit but require a more practical interpretation, and powerfully tend to establish the essentially historical character of the Poems Then arises the question as to the higher group of incidents, whether and in what sense they too may be historical It has long been seen that the divine life represented in the Poems is mainly, or very largely, a reflection of their human life But this is a very fertile and significant proposition, and can by no means be limited to mere generalities First we find the partisanship of the divinities in the Trojan War to be associated with local and national distinctions of worship prevailing at the time There seems to be no tenable ground for limiting such interpretations of the theurgy to current events, or for excluding from them pre-Troic movements within the celestial circle, should they appear to correspond, as in a mirror, with known or probable occurrences of the national history, which it was an evident object with the Poet everywhere to build up and to illustrate It is true that to many of these legends no key has yet been found, but the progress and variety of modern research forbids us to despair Meantime we cannot decline to trace upwards the thread supplied by the reconciling action of Thetis, from its first and most

obvious exhibition in the stages of the Plot, to the prior occurrences of her own history

We thus arrive, as regards the great Olympian sedition, at a strong presumptive case in favour of a terrestrial counterpart for the tale, by reason of its immediate connection with her peculiar office. Let us now consider more at large the place of this important legend in its relation to the scheme of the War and of the Poem. For Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*, everything hangs on the efficacy of the argument by which he seeks to show the power of his mother to assist him, and the efficacy of that reparation to his honour, which will be effected by military reverses of the Achaian army in his absence. Nay, so much does he consider her compliance with his wish, and the assent and co operation it obtains from Zeus, as due to himself, that, in the great prayer of *Iliad* xvi to Zeus (236-7) he describes it as the acceptance by the god of his petition, and proceeds to pray that the flesh petition, which he is then about to offer, may meet with a similar success. And thus it will be observed that while other legends, having their scene in Olympus, but of an ambiguous or secondary interest, remain at present irreducible to historic interpretation, this particular legend takes its place among the foundation-stones of the Poem. For by means of it Achilles moves Thetis to move Zeus to do that, without which the Plot could not be carried forward, as the Wrath would remain unsatisfied by retribution, and the prowess of Achilles could no more be made available in the field. A great dignity and importance is in this manner given to the story, and we can hardly doubt that, like the minor strife of Poseidon at Athens with Pallas, and at Corinth with Apollo, it indicates by reflection something in the nature of religious conflict, or perhaps even revolution, in prior Achaian history.

In the First Book of the *Iliad*, the incipient stage of the Wrath is developed with the most artful care, so that the several parts of the Plot may fit together as compactly as a nicely executed piece of joinery. In this Book lies the construction of the plan, the rest is unravelling or execution only.

We have first the offence of Agamemnon against Apollo, and its complete redress as towards the god, accompanied with a new and supreme wrong against Achilles. When Apollo has accepted the atonement, the general position of the Achaian army in the face of the divine government seems again to have become normal. The natural consequence would be that the unquestionable superiority of their Chiefs, even after the deduction of Achilles and his friend Patroklos, should take effect in a series of victories for them, and of disasters for Troy. But the moral mischief is not all cured. The new wrong as between man and man stands unredressed. The grievance of Achilles lies in the fresh outrage committed by Agamemnon against

him A remedy can only be found in a series of divine contrivances, calculated to neutralize for a time the operation of the ordinary law of war that strength shall prevail And this could only be effected by a movement in the Olympian Court, for, had the matter been left to the unchecked action of the deities singly, both the balance of human strength, and the preponderating force of the Hellenizing party, especially of Herè, Poseidon, and Athenè, would have operated in such a way that there could have been no need and no glory for Achilles, and the moral, the national, and the poetical purpose would alike have been frustrated To bring about these Olympian deliberations, the mode chosen is that Achilles shall move his mother Thetis, and Thetis shall move her friend Zeus The second of these two is a formidable undertaking, for Zeus loves his ease, and knows the strength of the Olympian opposition Achilles, after setting forth the justice of his case (Il i 365-92), reminds his mother that she has a right to prefer this large demand For often had she told in the halls of Pelcus (396-7) the tale set out in the beginning of this paper, how, when he was menaced with bonds, by a combined rising of Herè, Poseidon, and Athenè, she saved him from captivity by summoning to his aid the hundred-handed Briareus, son of Poseidon, but still mightier than his father Strong in this essential service rendered, she was to expend her credit with Zeus in obtaining of him that the Achæians should suffer in the war, and that the fight should be carried even to the ships by his preternatural agency, until Agamemnon should at length be forced into repenting of his offence The question hereupon arises how and why this recital should propound to Zeus a motive sufficiently powerful to induce him to face the great inconvenience of a wrangle with Herè, and of possible collision with her powerful coadjutors

We have next to ask what has hitherto been done towards elucidating the meaning of the Poet An explanation has been suggested as follows Zeus has a latent love of Troy, which dates from his special affection for Dardanos, the founder of the race To remind him that the three great Hellenizing deities were old enemies of his, and had conspired to do him a deadly mischief, is the way to put him in motion against them, and by helping the Trojans he will, in a manner, be paying them off If this explanation be sufficient, it dispenses with all necessity for investigating this legend of an Olympian schism, since, without such an investigation, a reason is supplied to explain the action set forth in the Poem Beyond the suggestion just named, I have not found that the commentators have seen in this legend or myth any indication of a subject worthy of special explanation Monro in his pointed but brief commentary passes it over Paley appears to take it (Il i 402) as a mere variant of the great myth of the Titanomachy But that tale was of far larger scope, and

was of a rebellion from without against heaven, whereas this is an affair of faction or sedition within heaven itself. Heyne, accordingly, asserts strongly the distinction of the two relations. Leaf (*in loco*) refers, as above, to the fact that the three insurgent deities were likewise the great allies of the Achæans in the War.

It appears to me, however, that the explanation errs fatally in its conception both of the character of Zeus, and of the principle on which the Olympian life is founded in the Poem. Internal feud is exceptional, and is essentially foreign to the tenour of that life. According to its rules, when an occasion of need arises, means are at once found for disposing of differences.

Its basis and its aim are ease, enjoyment, absence of care, and these do not permit the deities to harbour troublesome grudges one against another. The idea, therefore, of a retaliation for an ancient and buried quarrel, of which all traces have disappeared from the supernal life, is alien to the whole conception, and supplies no appropriate motive to stir Zeus in the direction desired by Thetis and Achilles.

If this explanation of the legend be inconsistent with the personal character of Zeus as a lover of ease, it is not less in conflict with the other pole, so to call it, on which his action rests and moves, namely, a pervading spirit of political accommodation. According to the supposition before us, the great reverses suffered by the Achæan army have no other basis than the vengeance of Zeus against the three deities. But, besides that the idea of such a long-cherished grudge is inadmissible, the general relations of Zeus with Athenè are even affectionate, and all his conduct towards Herè is founded on a desire to keep the peace, while we see, from the cases of the Rampart in the *Iliad*, and the Scherian ship in the *Odyssey*, that he has no sort of quarrel with Poseidon except that which grows out of a particular and passing transgression. None of these considerations will allow his mind to be the seat of an enmity, which would have been a standing source of disturbance in the Olympian order. Moreover, such an explanation does not touch the essential point—namely, what it can be that puts Thetis, a mere sea-nymph by birth, in a position to move Olympus, to play so daring and so effective a part in directing the supreme governing will towards the essential purpose of the Poem?

There is, however, another motive which suggests itself as the simplest and most natural, the motive of gratitude for a priceless benefit, which may induce characters not wholly lost in selfishness to face what is disagreeable. A principle of requital, or what is called in familiar phrase the *quid pro quo*, is deeply rooted in the Achæan mind and character. We find it in the *threptia* or consideration for nurture (*Il.* xvii. 302), which, whether in love, or service, or whatever form, the child was bound to pay to the parent. We find it in the *zoagria* (xviii. 407), or reward for the salvage of life, in the

*mouchagnia* (Od viii 332), or fine on adultery \* We have it also in the incessant recurrence of cases where manslaughter is followed by the necessity of expatriation, and by refuge and permanent residence in another land It is, we see, requital for good as well as evil and, as it is a marked feature of Achaian life, so we look for its reflection among the inmates of the Achaian heaven

It will be seen, from the references just made, that we are not left to mere inferences or presumptions in this case That reflection of the human life, on which the Olympian life is based, embraces in all its force, as matter of fact, this law of requital To take one of the baser instances, it is the court of heaven itself which in Od viii exhibits to us the actual exaction of security for the payment of the *mouchagnia*, the right to which is urged by Hephaistos, and admitted by Poseidon, as acting head of the society It appears largely in the vindictiveness of the Olympians, not towards one another but towards human beings This passion is most profoundly manifested in the case of Poseidon's vengeance against Odysseus for having performed an act of self-defence against the Cyclop It has also a deadly vitality in Herò and Athènè, who hold so vivid a recollection of the adverse judgment of Paris on the relative beauty of the three goddesses, that, hating Troy on account of Paris, they likewise so hate the body of Hector on account of Troy, that they dissent from the general judgment of heaven in favour of procuring its release from the dishonouring and mangling process (Il xxiv 25-30) In the Odyssey, the Sun exacts the infliction of the severest vengeance on the ship and crew of Odysseus, because they had killed and eaten some of his kine, although this was only done when it became necessary for the saving of their lives (Od xii 357)

On the other hand, gratitude, or a sense of obligation, seems to be more clearly embodied in the character of deity, than almost any other human virtue This is shown in the case even of Aphroditè, the most degraded of the Olympians, who nevertheless retains a strong sense of obligation to Paris for the same act, which had drawn upon him the resentment of more powerful goddesses Even liberality in sacrifice draws forth, we know, general and full acknowledgment

If in this memorable portion of the narrative Homer has represented his Zeus as capable of doing what is disagreeable under the influence of gratitude, he, at least, is in perfect consistency with himself His Olympian gods live by passion and propensity rather than by principle, their besetting sin is a fault of inclination to what they like, not of absolute malignity, it belongs to the *akrasia*, not the absolute *kakia* of Aristotle Even Poseidon and Arès are not without natural affection in Zeus, as we see from the case of Sarpedon (Il xvi 431-459), and from a certain readiness to be appeased (viii 39), this is a real and powerful quality Homer invested his

deities not merely with human nature, but with the Achaian form of human nature. The Greek even of to-day is of quick emotion, and quick resentment, but he is eminently grateful. The gratitude of Zeus to Thetis supplies us, in truth, with a reflex indication of the persistency of racial qualities.

Assuming, then, that on this occasion gratitude was in the mind of Zeus pitted, so to speak, against love of ease, we must not undervalue the risk which he was about to encounter by his assent. Herè exercises towards him the power of a persistent and voluble wife over an ease loving husband. His conjugal experience enables him clearly to foresee the trouble which will arise, after the private interview with Thetis, when Herè begins to move under the double influence, perhaps, of personal jealousy towards Thetis, and of her supreme regard for the Achaian army, in no way qualified or restrained by any scruple as to the gross misconduct of Agamemnon.

On the other hand, the service previously rendered had been of the highest order. It placed Zeus under a standing obligation to the personage, who had devised the means for his relief. It amounted to a moral constraint which forbade him to refuse her prayer, and brought him, after a momentary hesitation, when she resolutely pressed it, to ratify, by the paramount symbol of the nod, an engagement for honouring Achilles, and provisionally afflicting the Achaian chiefs and army.

Guided by these various considerations, we have to inquire whether this legend of what I have called the great Olympian sedition or schism is susceptible of an historical interpretation, and really sets forth in figure what had had its place in the world of fact. I now proceed to particulars.

There are two preliminary points in the legend, which may attract attention if not surprise.

Firstly, the subordinate position and very limited attributes of Thetis stand in a contrast with the great importance of her actions, which may recall to our memories the insignificance of the little Hebrew maiden in the Second Book of *Kings* compared with the greatness of Naaman the Syrian.

Secondly, there is a curious distinction of epochs in the record of the reign of Zeus. Revolts and conflicts of divinities are not unknown to other mythologies. But this is a case where a revolt of the most formidable character had taken place, where the monarch threatened had not been saved by his own strength, or that of any one associated with his dynasty, and where notwithstanding, after its suppression, there had succeeded a course of established and unquestioned supremacy.

With respect to the first of these points, as I have long ago indicated \*

\* "*Juventus Mundi*," p. 337

in brief outline, this legend lies at the very base of the entire position which Thetis holds in the Poem. So far as I know, the full importance of that position has not yet been adequately recognized either by commentators on the *Iliad*, or by writers on the mythology of Greece. With Preller,\* she is only the chief of the Nereid nymphs, and their leader in processions. Welcker seeks to identify her with Tethys,† and sets out the later indications of her worship in and about Thessaly, which are, I apprehend, no more than the reflected rays of an Homeric luminary, in the region where the Poet had directly attached her to the interests of human history. Nagelsbach,‡ who conforms to the essential condition of treating Homer apart from the later traditions, falls short of attaching to her action in the *Iliad* anything near what I take to be its full significance. Until this significance is fully recognized, I do not think the true relation between the celestial *Iliad* and the terrestrial *Iliad* will be rightly appreciated. One great step indeed has been gained in the admission that Homer has made the Olympian life a reflection of the human life at large. But we have also to learn that the entire theurgy of the Poem is in relation at every point to the terrestrial and human history and aims. The Olympian facts are reflections of human facts, and the basis of this Olympian sedition, which may even be a pure invention of Homer for his own purpose, is to be sought, if anywhere, in the religious history of the Greek peninsula.

Secondly, as the government of the world is exhibited to us in the *Iliad*, it is worked on the part of Zeus by considerate and politic compliances (*Il* iv 14), but the basis of his sovereignty is absolutely fixed, actual resistance to him is nowhere contemplated proximately, or more than glanced at. He tries this question to the uttermost in *Il* viii 10-32, where he first threatens to inflict condign punishment on any deity who shall presume to interfere in the war, and then threatens the assembly of the gods collectively by a challenge to try their strength against his, which is such that he would drag the whole of them after him at the end of a golden chain, with earth and sea to boot. Pallas, in reply, admits that his might is irresistible. Such was his ascendancy, when consolidated by time.

The solution of the first difficulty is found in the immense derivative importance of Thetis as the link throughout the Poem, by means of her marriage, between deity and manhood. And that of the second we probably reach by referring the legend to the minority, so to speak, of the reign of Zeus, when Kronos had been overthrown, but the new dynasty was not yet consolidated. Now that minority can only mean a period of religious revolution or transition in the religious history of the peninsula, and the weak-

\* "*Griech Mythol*" i. 434

† "*Gr Götterlehre*," i. 618

‡ "*Hom Theol*," pp 84, 152

ness, which it is incongruous to refer to one period of the reign of a divinity as compared with another, is an appropriate poetical form for indicating a time of change and the weakness of a system not yet fully accepted in popular usage and belief

Grote,\* who, in his vast and comprehensive labour, evidently had not included any special study of the Homeric mythology, notices what may be called its generic difference from that of Hesiod, but seems to treat everything anterior to Zeus and his compeers as in the nature of poetic fiction, provided for us by operating backwards into the past, in order to satisfy the instinct which required both for gods and men that each should have an ancestry. But human history has now largely invaded that "foretime" which to him was so dark, and some part of its image may be traced in the celestial successions that are found in Homer, while in Hesiod they have accumulated into masses, where time and place seem to be hopelessly mingled, and the aggregate is placed far beyond the reach of historic interpretation, although it is probable that all the parts of his Theogony may have had, in some country, time, and religious order, its human counterpart. Religious revolution would, it is evident, be especially incidental to a period when the great migrations of man from his central seat were still in progress, and when local conquests and admixtures were of constant occurrence.

It was to be expected that substitutions of one divine dynasty for another would be effected with much variety of circumstance. Sometimes with the violence which was excited by the first endeavour to introduce the worship of Dionusos (II vi 132). Generally, we may estimate the mode in which the change was effected from the position in which we find the ousted deity. Thus from the honourable mention accorded to Okeanos, as *θεῶν γένεσις*, spring-head of gods (II xiv 201, 248, 302), we may assume that his cult had disappeared quietly, but the epithet applied to Kronos (II ii 205 *et alibi*), and his place in Tartaros (II viii 479) point pretty plainly to a violent revolution.

Next, an important peculiarity of the case before us seems to be indicated by the form of expression which the Poet has adopted. The conspiracy was not a conspiracy to eject Zeus from heaven, as for example he himself ejected Hephaistos (II i 590), 'but to alter his character or position there in some manner indicated by the phrase "putting him in bonds." Zeus was Dodonaian and Pelasgic (II xvi 233) in the solemn invocation of Achilles, and nowhere else, while he is habitually Olympian in the ordinary Achaian worship. In this variation we have a probable sign of special purpose. As the Pelasgic name stands in affinity with the old cult of Nature-Powers, which probably overspread the country in pre-Achaian times, it may



have been that the character of Zeus, as associated with those older epithets, presented the features of a Nature-Power, more than did the later and Olympian Zeus, who impels and compels natural agents, but is nowhere imprisoned or incorporated in them. In this view, the aim of the conspiracy might be to do violence to, in our modern phrase to put pressure on, the ancient, more or less elemental, Zeus, and make him pass into a Zeus modelled upon the theanthropic ideas of the Olympian system. If the objection should be taken that we have no warrant for assigning to Zeus this duality of parts, I reply by again appealing to the prayer of the Sixteenth Iliad, where it is expressly assigned to him. As he is in the first place Dodonaian and Pelasgic, we have constituted *in limine* his connection with the archaic, or pre-Hellenic, religion of the country. But then the prayer proceeds with its description, an elaborate description, such as is nowhere else found in the Poems, and such as reminds us, accordingly, that Homer never varies from himself without a reason. So, after disposing of the archaic character of Zeus, the Invocation proceeds to state that, round about the wintry seat of Dodona, dwell the Helloi or Selloi, who are his ministers, and are of rude habits of life (xvi 233-5). Here we have that great root-name, enlarged in the names of Hellenes and of Hellas, which are expressly appropriated in II ii 683-4 to the warriors of Achilles and their seat. But that chief, and the warriors whom he led, are evidently meant by the Poet to be taken by us as the prime and choicest representatives of the national character, which he was busily ripening into its maturity. Now observe the significance and the relation of these facts. The great invocation shows us, so to speak, the amalgamated Zeus, the Zeus of the older and of the younger world. And the transition, which the passage thus represents as accomplished, is exhibited by the Legend of the Great Sedition as in the course of being made.

Having, as I hope, established the proposition that it is reasonable to seek in human history an explanation of Olympian Legends, and having in some degree determined the position of Zeus and Thetis with reference to the Great Sedition, I have next to examine why and how far the three powerful insurgents have severally their appropriate place in the narrative, and to explain the singular combination which unites together a batch of deities so little in original, or pre-Troic, affinity, as Poseidon, Herè, and Athenè. Poseidon, the great and swarthy race-god of the South, is readily enough conceived of as coming into conflict with Zeus, when immigrants arriving in the country bring with them a Poseidonian worship to plant among its Pelasgian occupants. But then he has no relation to Athenè. Neither has he any to Herè, except through this very Zeus, upon whom he is attempting to lay hands. We may, however, at least admit that not

only as a reformer, but as a rebel against Zeus, he is in his place. For he bears every mark of a personage who, on reaching the Greek peninsula, has to step downwards from supremacy to a position in the thearchy which is virtually secondary. Still, this co-operation with the two goddesses cannot be referred to any original affinity, or permanent association. But occasion, as well as necessity, makes strange bedfellows, and a common antagonism for a common purpose may be in theory and fact an adequate basis for common action. Poseidon it seems plain was, as the god of southern immigrants, placed, prior to the consolidation of the Olympian system, in a natural opposition to Zeus, the indigenous divinity, and an opposition, not essential but accidental, may be accounted for in *Athenè* and in *Herè*, if they are the proper Homeric representations of historical and social forces which were not in harmony from the first with the conception, and the worship of the pre-Achaian or Dodonaian Zeus. But there is this difference in their cases from the case of their ally. Evidently neither of them can stand on the broad ground of competition which is available for Poseidon. They cannot be pretenders to the supreme place. The goddess presupposes the god. There is here no qucen-bee. *Olympos* must needs be under the Salic law. A contest for local predominance, as at Athens, is entirely within our limits, since no headship of the gods is there in question, but only a local predominance of cult. But perhaps the action of the two goddesses in the Legend may have some more limited aim, such as comports with the idea of putting Zeus under restraint, as distinguished from ejecting him. Now we shall find that both the deities are qualified for the part they play, in this attempt at a limited revolution, by the specific characters which the Poet has assigned to them.

This is not the place for setting forth at large the qualities and the action in the Poems of these two great and conspicuous divinities. I shall here refer to them only in the way of summary indication, with scarcely an attempt at proof or illustration, which would carry me beyond my present purpose.

Although, as I conceive, the character of *Herè* bears upon it indubitable marks of foreign or non-Olympian tradition, yet these marks are of secondary import in the Poems, and are completely subordinated to the idea of nationality, which is the stamp she carries in the Homeric system. She alone of the Homeric deities is endowed with a national name, she is the Argeian *Herè* (II iv 8, v 908). This was the particular epithet, and the only one, which could adequately connect her with the adolescent nationality ever before the eye and mind of the Poet. Hellenic she could not be, for the name was only applied by him in a peculiar district (II ii 634). Danaan she could not be, for the word was archaic and military. To be Achaian was not enough, for this appellation had a marked

leaning to a class. But Argeian she might be, for this name at once included the entire body of the people, and included it with special reference (which reappears in the name of Argeian Helen) to the seat of the Pelopid sovereignty, in which the national life is represented and summed up. The Achaian name, again, was applied to the southern portion of the Peninsula, which was Achaic Argos (II ix 141), the northern part was Pelasgic Argos (II ii 681), but Argos was the name which embraced the whole. Her first sympathy (II i 55) is for the rank and file, perishing in the Plague. Everywhere she regards Agamemnon simply as the head of the organization, her care is for the nation's weal, she has no favourites, and nowhere shows an overweening concern for this or that individual.

At this point it is requisite to recall to attention my preliminary supposition with respect to preceding phases of religion. It is, that the Greek Peninsula had, for generations (few or many) before the Troic time, been inhabited (*komedon* as it is called\*) by a settled agricultural population in tribes or groups, that these tribes or groups had gradually been modified and consolidated into at least the chrysalis of a nation, through the entrance at many points of new and ruling ethnical elements, at first local, as in the Aiolid and other like families, afterwards collective, when a dominant race appeared, and when the Pelopid dominion was established. Religious change had also been in progress. The more elemental system, prevalent in the prior period, had, it may almost be said of necessity, been enriched and complicated both by theanthropic ideas, and by the importation of deities of foreign association, such, for example, as *Hermes* and *Poseidon*, whom I name as specimens, because we have Homeric indications of their having taken root in the country at the Achaian epoch. Under the circumstances, the old conception of *Zeus* would have to be expanded accordingly, he found himself in new company, he had to pass over from the old physical into the new theanthropic associations. Instead of being merely Pelasgic, he was to assume an Argeian colour.

With regard to *Athenè*, we know that, throughout the *Iliad*, she is in close co-operation with *Herè*. Acting sometimes as her messenger (II ii 195), she might seem inferior. But, when the two deities descend together from *Olympos* in the chariot, *Herè* takes the secondary place of driver. They carry their sympathy or co-operation, on more than one occasion, even into the councils of heaven, and together oppose, or resent, the action of *Zeus* whenever it verges in any direction, even if ever so little, favourable to the *Trojans*. In a large degree, what has been said of the place of *Herè* in the Legend of the Great Sedition is, then, applicable also to *Athenè*. It is completely in keeping for her to take a large part in

\* Strabo, 151

the action which was necessary in order to bring the elemental conception of Pelasgian Zeus onwards and upwards into the surpassing majesty and splendour of his Olympian portraiture. The diversity of lection,\* which would here substitute Apollo for Athenè in the Legend, is profoundly un-Homeric. The Apollo of Homer has concurrence with the will of Zeus for the first law of his being, and never can appear in opposition to him, whereas Athenè is ready to play that part, within due bounds, on every occasion when it is required by her purpose.

Only, I think, at a single point of the Poems is the position of Athenè identical to that of Herè, with whom she is in the *Iliad* habitually allied. It is in the legend of the judgment of Paris on the three competing goddesses. But Homer only makes an isolated and a dark reference to that legend (*Il* xxiv\* 29), and attaches to it no idea except that of the disastrous favour which it earned for him from Aphroditè. But the broad distinction, running through the whole woof and web of the Poem, is that the interest felt by Herè is national, that felt by Athenè personal. Moreover, it is undeniable that her personal interest is not equally and uniformly diffused, but is marked by respect of persons in a striking degree, and is indeed concentrated upon three individuals—namely, Achilles, Odysseus, and Diomed. The characters for which she cares are the typical characters, first and foremost, the protagonists of the two Poems, next to these, and in single association with them, the great chief Diomed, who never quails under disaster, and who alone of the associated heroes even distantly approaches, in moral and intellectual scale, the nearly preterhuman Achilles.

There can, then, be no doubt as to the broad distinction in the Poems, between the action of the two goddesses. But the office of each finds for her an appropriate place in the great Olympian sedition. They represent respectively the two sides, the national and the personal side, of the upgrowing Hellenic life. Taken together, they comprise the whole. Let us see how this applies to the case of the legend before us†

My contention is that the legend is a mythical representation, through the figure which an Olympian transaction supplies, of changes that had taken place on earth, of the supersession of the older or Pelasgian form of society and worship by the Achaean religion and civilization. If this contention be granted, then I think the further concession must be made, that the three deities represent severally the greatest of those modifying influences which had been at work to bring about the religious portion of the change, and to substitute the organized humanistic polity of the Olympian system for the miscellaneous congeries of Nature-Powers, of which we have abundant glimpses in Homer, and a fuller, less luminous, more mechanical view

\* Leaf on *Il* : 400

in the Theogony of Hesiod Greece was undoubtedly to act upon our race through her nationality, and of this Herè in the legend is, so to speak, as well as in the Poem, the official representative. But it was by establishing a certain type of the individual mind, and development of individual character, more than through her collective character, that Greece became the teacher of the world. It is of this mental type that Athenè in the Poems seems to have had peculiar charge. And if Herè appears in the legend as the representative of the Achaian community, Athenè also has her own specific place there on behalf of the Achaian manhood.

Thus far, then, all our personages seem to have an appropriate part in the legend. We have Zeus as the head of the local religion under the old scheme, we have Poseidon, Herè, and Athenè to represent the great forces that were in action to bring about modification and development by means of "progression through antagonism." \* The first, as the symbol of Phœnician influence, represents here a competing cult, and a social source which evidently made a large contribution to the national life. The second embodies that nationality which, during the several wars of the heroic age, was struggling into existence, and the third, that splendid type of mind, at once intense, self-possessed, and many-sided, which was the heart and basis both of the heroic legends, and of the subsequent history. In this view we have here brought upon the field of action the main constituents of the nascent Hellenism, and we see before us the older Zeus as the recipient of those influences, the newer Zeus as their result.

While the main portion of the Legend may be disposed of with this interpretation, yet there still remains the person and part of Biareus or Aigaion, which cannot be overlooked and does not at once fall into line. What title had Thetis to call upon Aigaion? and what consideration induced him to obey the call? And further, how and why is it that we find him taking part, not for but against his father Poseidon? Let us consider first who this Aigaion was. Mr Grote † at the opening of his great work speaks thus of the order to which he belonged:

"Along with the gods are found various monstrous natures, ultra-human and extra-human, who cannot with propriety be called gods, but who partake with gods and men in the attributes of volition, conscious agency, and susceptibility of pleasure and of pain."

I will not here enter upon the question whether, in the interpretation of Homer, personages like Aigaion are to be considered as intermediate, or as divine. In my opinion, they are divine, and I observe that this is the title given to "the subtartarean gods, who

\* The title of a learned and interesting volume by the late highly accomplished Earl of Crawford and Balcarres

† Part x ch i p 1

have the name of Titans" (Il xiv 279) These beings are various and without a common tie, except it be found in the common possession of two powerful attributes—enormous physical strength, and an unruly and rebellious will

When we find in Homer for the same creature or thing a pair of names, not interchangeable, but one in use among the gods, the other among men, the usual, and as it seems reasonable, interpretation is, to treat them as the older and the more recent name respectively We have now before us the case of him who was called Briareus by the gods, but Aigaion by all men And the interpretation is the more natural in this instance, because we seem to be dealing with the succession of one form of religion to another, with a famous personage, who survives that revolution, and has a name widely current

The dominance of the attribute of mere strength, which is the prime attribute of their parent or *congener* Poseidon, tends at once to ally these monstrous beings with the order of Nature-Powers They are broadly distinguished from the Satan of Milton and his peers The instinct of mischief reigns, and counsel is unknown, among them Their great exploit is to heap mountain on mountain, that there may be a highway to heaven (Od xi 316), and the appropriate punishment seems to be to heap the weight of earth or mountains upon them Such is perhaps the idea of the lower Tartaros, and the suggestion which arises from the case of Typhæus (Il ii 783)

We have now before us two points which may assist in answering our first question One, that Thetis, retaining all the incidents of a Nature-Power, has, when Nature-Powers stand distinct from other supernatural agents, a ready and favourable access to them The other, that as a premium on his compliance, the huge Aigaion finds himself at once introduced into Olympus, and set by the side of its endangered ruler Perhaps this is as much as poetical verisimilitude requires

As respects our second question, the situation is eminently illustrative of the character of these beings Unlike the Olympian gods, who fail as men principally fail, rather by want of self-command than of knowledge, rather by insufficient appreciation of good than by loving evil for its own sake, these beings are truly *bad* beings The type is well exhibited in Poluphemos, though a man, who not only disobeys the right but mocks at what he disobeys, and insults those whom he was preparing to devour True he prays to his father Poseidon (Od ix 528), not, however, as an act of piety, but simply as an imprecation upon Odysseus, over whom he supposed the god to have some power, though for himself he utterly renounced that deity in common with all the rest, as being far inferior in strength (Od ix 276) to the Cyclopiæ race The only touch of

feeling in the monster is towards his ram (417), whom he addresses in a friendly phrase, but then it was upon the progeny of the animal that he depended for subsistence. Since then Poluphemos had no regard to the filial tie as importing any obligation, the same consideration may fairly apply to Aigaion, who need in no way be debarred from doing what we have supposed agreeable to him by the fact that it requires him to face and defy a father, who is too prudent, as an Olympian, to venture on an unequal strife.

Perhaps further or happier explanations may be supplied by students, who are qualified to draw more largely than I can upon the resources of comparative mythology. Should my contribution, I dare hardly say my solution, be deemed a partial and slender treatment of the case of Aigaion, I hope I have supplied some ground for the belief that the great Olympian sedition was in the main a celestial version of human facts, which had had their places in the religious history of the Achaian Peninsula.

W E GLADSTONE

## THE LIBERAL PARTY AND HOME RULE

AT the beginning of the year Mr Gladstone was of opinion that the controversy on Irish Home Rule had reached the "reflective stage" The charges brought by the *Times* against Mr Parnell and his lieutenants, and the Crimes Bill of the Government, have renewed the heat and passion of last autumn, and the political temperature for many weeks past has not been favourable to the calm consideration of the differences which have split the Liberal party, or to any serious attempt at the solution of an intricate political problem But the problem remains and it may not be wholly useless, even at such a time as this, to inquire to what extent Liberals are agreed on the method by which it is to be solved

During the last twelve months I have discussed the subject with very many of the most ardent and enthusiastic supporters of Mr Gladstone—keen politicians, living in the north of England, in the Midlands, in London, and in Wales—and I have endeavoured to discover their position in relation to those provisions of Mr Gladstone's Government of Ireland Bill which were regarded with the greatest dissatisfaction by Unionists like myself, and in this paper I propose to state as clearly and briefly as I can the conclusions at which I have arrived

### I

1 Those of Mr Gladstone's supporters whom I have happened to meet protest with great warmth against being called "Separatists" They declare that they are as firmly resolved to maintain the union between Great Britain and Ireland as Lord Hartington or Mr Chamberlain

When asked on what terms they desire to retain Ireland in connection with Great Britain—whether as the equal of England, Scot-



land, and Wales, or as a subject and tributary State—nine out of ten of them reply, in substance, that they wish to vindicate the honour of Ireland, and to atone for the injustice of many centuries, and that to relegate the Irish people to a position inferior to that which is claimed for the people of Great Britain would be altogether alien from the spirit and aims of any policy that ought to be supported by the Liberal party. But from the very first, it has been the contention of those who resisted the Home Rule Bill of last year, that the Bill condemned Ireland to a position of permanent political inferiority.\* Mr Freeman, in an admirable article published last autumn, while not expressing any judgment on the policy of the Bill as a whole, points to this as one of its capital merits.

"It was wonderful," he says, "that any should accept the main lines of Mr Gladstone's scheme, and should yet propose to get rid of this most essential feature of it" [i.e., the exclusion of the Irish members]. "Mr Gladstone's scheme, looked at as a political study, was a very bold one. It started from a fact, it gave that fact a prominence hitherto unfamiliar, and then tried to give it a wholly new character. Mr Gladstone found Ireland nominally an equal part of the United Kingdom, practically a dependency of another part of that kingdom. His scheme acknowledged the fact of this dependence, and put it into the strongest light. Ireland was to remain part of the Queen's dominions, part of the empire, if any one likes the word, it was even to remain part of the United Kingdom. But it was no longer to remain a part of the United Kingdom on the same nominal level as other parts. Its dependence was to be proclaimed, it was to keep its existing budget of dependence, and to be burdened with new ones"†.

Mr Freeman's judgment that the Bill assigned to the people of Ireland a position inferior to that which it reserved for the people of Great Britain, cannot be contested. Irishmen were to continue to be subjects of the Queen, but their political representatives were to have no power to make laws relating to "the status or dignity of the Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency." They were to continue to share the fortunes of Great Britain, and large numbers of them might continue to serve in the British army and navy, but the Irish Legislature was to be forbidden to legislate on "the army, navy, militia, volunteers, or other military or naval forces, or the defence of the realm," it was to have no share in the authority which alone could compel a Ministry to bring an unjust and ruinous war to a close, or destroy a Ministry for making a dishonourable peace. Over treaties with foreign nations, however seriously they might affect Irish interests, the political representatives of Irishmen were to have no control. They were to have no power to determine for what acts Irishmen should be liable to suffer the penalties of treason, nor were they

\* I may refer to an article in this REVIEW for June 1886, on "The Exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament."

† *Fortnightly Review*, September 1886, "Prospects of Home Rule," pp. 326-7.

to be permitted to legislate on matters affecting Irish trade and navigation. They were not to be at liberty to impose customs duties at Irish ports or to levy excise in Irish distilleries. Their powers were to be limited on such grave subjects as the establishment and endowment of religion and the education of their children. The powers withheld from the representatives of the Irish people were to be retained by the Parliament of Westminster, in which no representative of an Irish constituency was to have a seat.

It was the contention of those who disapproved of Mr Gladstone's measure, that with whatever eagerness such a settlement might be accepted by the Irish National party in order to secure the limited control over Irish affairs attributed to the Irish Legislature, the settlement could not be permanent, that it was in fact, though not in intention, a degradation of the Irish people, and that within a very few years it would provoke fierce and just resentment.

When the exclusion of the Irish representatives from Westminster was considered from another point of view—the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament—objections emerged of another kind. It was the contention of Mr Gladstone that the power of the veto inherent in the Crown was a sufficient protection and guarantee against any legislation by the assembly in Dublin that might be flagrantly unjust to any description of Irishmen, or dangerous to the general interests of the Empire. In reply it was maintained that the veto of the Crown, exercised on the advice of a Minister responsible only to the Imperial Parliament, in which no Irish city, borough, or county would have any representative, could have no moral authority in Ireland, and would be powerless to prevent legislation that might happen to be supported by any strength of popular passion. If the Crown, on the advice of the Imperial Ministry, is to veto an Act of the Irish Parliament, Ireland must be represented at Westminster, and represented in proportion to the number of her population.

It is true, no doubt, that although the colonies have never had Imperial representation, the Crown has disallowed a considerable number of Acts passed by colonial Legislatures, but these were Acts which created no deep and general interest among the colonial population, or which were in conflict with Imperial legislation or Imperial treaties, or which were contrary to the express terms of the Acts by which the colonial Legislatures were constituted, and colonial precedents give no adequate ground for believing that if Ireland were deprived of the Imperial representation which she actually possesses, it would be possible for the Crown, on the advice of the Imperial Ministry, to veto Irish Acts which received the vehement support of any large number of the Irish people.

For these and other reasons I find that nearly all the supporters of Mr Gladstone's policy with whom I have met are agreed that in

any new Home Rule Bill the twenty-fourth clause\* of Mr Gladstone's measure ought to have no place. They express surprise that Radical Unionists should still be insisting on this point as one of the distinctive articles of the Unionist creed. They do not always recognise its critical importance—a zealous Gladstonian in the House of Commons said to me only a few weeks ago, “the retention of the Irish members is only a detail”—but they universally suppose that it has been conceded†

It is no part of the object of this paper to revive the recriminations of last summer, but it is necessary to make it very clear that if before the division on the second reading Mr Gladstone had given a definite assurance that in reconstructing the Bill he would retain the Irish members, the second reading would have been carried. This was the only condition on which at that time the Radical Unionists insisted, for they believed that this practically carried with it a reconstruction of the whole measure. In their judgment this assurance was never given. Mr Gladstone was anxious that the retention of the Irish members should be regarded as an open question, insisted strongly that in voting for the second reading of the Bill no member was to be regarded as pledged to their exclusion, and promised to consider whether means might not be devised for enabling the voice of Ireland to be heard at Westminster on Imperial questions in which she was interested. For a few days Mr Gladstone's language at the meeting of the party at the Foreign Office seemed to myself, and to many that shared my position, sufficiently definite to justify the belief that on this one point the Bill would be reconstructed so as to meet our difficulties. But we soon became doubtful whether we had any right to attach to his words the meaning that we desired to find in them.

I have sometimes been told that Radical Unionists like myself were wrong in not trusting Mr Gladstone more generously, that our minds were infected with doubts which did him injustice, that we should have accepted his promises in the frank spirit in which they were given. But it seems to me that those who specially claim to be his friends were disposed to treat him much more unjustly than ourselves. It is unfair to an eminent statesman, possessing Mr Gladstone's mastery of the resources of the English language, to

\* “On and after the appointed day Ireland shall cease, except in the event hereafter in this Act mentioned [i.e., for the purpose of altering the Act, clause 39], to return representative peers to the House of Lords, or members to the House of Commons, and the persons who on the said day are such representative peers and members shall cease as such to be members of the House of Lords and House of Commons respectively.”

† While this paper was in the hands of the printers Sir George Trevelyan, addressing the members of the Eighty Club (May 16), declared that he did not believe that “there are twenty men in the party who would acquiesce in the exclusion” of the Irish members from the House of Commons. He added, “I do not believe there is one who would insist on it, if by conceding it we could get back into our ranks Lord Hartington and his friends, or, rather his followers, because we are all his friends.”

bind him to engagements which he has never made. That his words *might* mean that he was willing to retain the Irish members at Westminster is true, but those which I can recall might mean something else which in Mr Gladstone's judgment would avoid the difficulties with regard to legislation for Great Britain, which would obviously arise if Irish members at Westminster were allowed to decide the fate of measures affecting the domestic affairs of England, Scotland, and Wales, while they had an assembly of their own in Dublin for controlling the domestic affairs of Ireland \*

I believe that I have read carefully every speech in which Mr Gladstone has discussed the Irish question since the rejection of the Bill last June, and in none of them has there seemed to me a clear indication that he has come to the conclusion to retain the full representation of Ireland as an integral and permanent part of the Imperial Parliament. The kindness of a friend, however, has recently furnished me with a copy of a correspondence between Mr Gladstone and Mr Joseph Haslam, the Home Rule candidate for Bolton at the last election. Mr Haslam wrote to Mr Gladstone for an explicit expression of his present views respecting the retention of the Irish representatives at Westminster, and he received the following reply —

“*February 8, 1887*”

“DEAR SIR,

“I thank you for your obliging communication. I may observe that, before the rejection of their Irish Government Bill, the last Administration declared its willingness to make provision for securing to Ireland a due share in the management of Imperial concerns by the Parliament at Westminster — I remain, dear sir, your very faithful servant,

“W E GLADSTONE”

Mr Haslam replied to this letter as follows —

“57 Pall Mall, S W, Feb 9, 1887”

“*To the Right Hon W E Gladstone, M P*”

“DEAR SIR,

“I am obliged to you for your communication of yesterday's date

“I am aware that the late Government gave an intimation of their willingness to admit the Irish representatives to Westminster for Imperial purposes, but it was not sufficiently definite, and what is in my opinion required, from my own experience, is that full representation should be given to Ireland in the Imperial Parliament

\* Mr Gladstone made one of his most definite statements on the subject at a great meeting at Manchester on June 25, after the loss of the Bill. He said ‘Undoubtedly a very strong desire has been shown in England and Scotland that Ireland should not be severed from the transaction of Imperial concerns and I wish to remind you that we have undertaken two things. We have already in the Bill provided [for] a certain contingency’ [i.e., the modification of the Home Rule Bill] “and besides have undertaken that the fiscal interests of Ireland should not be affected without giving her members an opportunity of being here, and we have also undertaken to propose a plan for recognising permanently the concerns of Ireland in the transaction of Imperial as distinct from Irish business.” But this plan *might* be by delegation of members from the Irish Legislature to attend at certain times at Westminster

"By full I mean on the present lines of Irish representatives at Westminster Is it your opinion that this is practicable?—Yours faithfully,

"J C HASLAM"

Mr Gladstone's answer is as follows —

"February 10, 1887

"DEAR SIR,

"The proposal of the late Government could not with propriety be defined until the Committee stage had been reached I stated that I contemplated the full number I own myself quite at a loss to comprehend what you intend to convey by full representation if it be not what I stated in explicit terms—I am, dear sir, your faithful, obedient servant,

"W E GLADSTONE"

When the "explicit terms" referred to in the second of these communications were used I am unable to recall, but this correspondence may be taken as containing an assurance that Mr Gladstone is now prepared to arrange that when Parliament is discussing Imperial affairs, the Irish representatives—not a delegation from the Legislative Assembly in Dublin—shall sit and vote at Westminster, their present number in proportion to that of the whole House is to be practically undiminished, and they are to sit as the representatives of Irish constituencies

This—although I am not sure—is what I suppose to be Mr Gladstone's meaning He appears to have written to Mr Haslam on post-cards, and post-cards are hardly a convenient vehicle for the clear and full expression of the opinion of an eminent statesman on a great and difficult question of public policy It is to be regretted that in none of his great speeches, as far as I can remember, has there been any statement as definite as that contained in this correspondence—a correspondence which, for some cause or other, failed to attract much public attention\* But between Mr Gladstone's position, as defined in his communications with Mr Haslam, and the position of the Radical Unionists, there may still be a very wide distance Mr Gladstone may intend that the Imperial Parliament shall consist of two classes of members the members for Great Britain, who shall sit there always, and the members for Ireland, who shall sit there occasionally This is not what the Radical Unionists mean, and have always meant, by the retention of the Irish members at Westminster They believe that no scheme for the intermittent attendance of the Irish representatives can give them their true place and authority in the Imperial Parliament

\* It appears from Sir George Trevelyan's speech at the Manchester Reform Club (May 18) that Sir George has either not seen the correspondence with Mr Haslam, or has not found in it the definite assurance which he desires He thinks that "the minds" of those who disapproved of the Bill of last year, "would be quieted and their course made plain, if Mr Gladstone would state publicly and definitely that he has given up the idea of excluding the Irish members of Parliament A few words to that effect spoken now would give great satisfaction in many quarters, and I think that it is rather hard on the party if they are not spoken soon" I earnestly trust that before this paper appears Mr Gladstone will see his way to respond to this appeal

But whether we are right or wrong in having failed to discover, either in Mr Gladstone's speeches or letters, any assurance that he is willing to retain the Irish members as a permanent part of the House of Commons, with rights in the Imperial Parliament absolutely equal to the rights of the members representing the other parts of the United Kingdom, it is certain that we have never yet made the discovery, although many of us have been very anxious to make it. On the other hand, it is the conviction of the overwhelming majority of the supporters of Mr Gladstone with whom I have met, that this is what he means. On this point their position is that of the Radical Unionists, and they believe that it is Mr Gladstone's position too. If they are right in this belief, I hope that I may say, without presumption, that it is very desirable he should make his position perfectly clear.

2 It was a direct and necessary result of the proposed exclusion of the Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament that Ireland should be exempt from a war-tax. If she was to have no voice on peace or war, it was impossible that she should be required to contribute to the annual cost of a war, or should have any share in the debt created by a war. The same decisive reason was to exempt her from a share in meeting any increase in the Imperial civil expenditure of the United Kingdom. Clause 13, which fixed the maximum contribution of Ireland towards general Imperial expenditure at £3,242,000, with an additional £1,000,000 for the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was the immediate and necessary inference from the cesser clause (clause 24). The contribution of Ireland towards the army and navy of the United Kingdom was fixed at about one-fifteenth of the cost of the normal peace establishment, a similar contribution was to be made towards the Imperial civil expenditure. But the sum named in the Bill was never to be exceeded, though the Imperial expenditure in both these departments might increase. This was reasonable and just, Ireland was to have no power to check the increase, and ought not to be made liable to bear any part of it. On the other hand, the Bill provided that,

"if it appears to Her Majesty that the expenditure in respect of the army and navy of the United Kingdom, or in respect of Imperial civil expenditure of the United Kingdom, for any financial year, has been less than *fifteen* times the amount of the contributions above named on account of the same matter, a sum equal to *one fifteenth* part of the diminution shall be deducted from the current annual contribution for the same matter."

This provision, whether Ireland is represented or unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament, is perfectly fair. If the charges to which she has to contribute diminish, her contribution should be diminished.

But it was the contention of the Radical Unionists that if Great Britain were engaged in a struggle for existence Ireland ought

to bear her share of the cost. The area from which we can draw the revenues for the defence of the Empire is already too narrow, to narrow it still more, and to throw the whole cost of maintaining a great war on England, Scotland, and Wales, seems a dangerous policy. Hitherto Ireland has shared our Imperial vicissitudes. Her sons have rendered on land and sea noble service to the Empire, and won for themselves and their country enduring renown. While separation is repudiated, this partnership in our fortunes should be continued.

Many questions of a perplexing character would arise if the proposal to limit the charge on Ireland for the army and navy were carried. For example, could an Englishman deriving his income from foreign investments domicile himself in Ireland, and while England was paying an income tax of eighteenpence in the pound, get off with a tax of twopence? Again, if the excise duty were raised in England to meet the cost of a war, would it be worth while for Burton Breweries to transfer to Ireland all that part of their trade that provided beer for exportation to foreign countries? With the tolerable certainty that taxation for Imperial purposes will go on increasing, might it not become expedient, if Ireland were fairly prosperous under Home Rule, to transfer other industries across St George's Channel?

Questions of another kind occur. Last winter Mr Gladstone gave some indication that he was willing, if Scotland desired it, to grant Scotland the same kind of Home Rule that he was willing to grant to Ireland. In that case Scotland as well as Ireland would escape a war-tax, and England and Wales would be left to bear it alone. Or if Wales also claimed Home Rule, England, solitary and unaided, would have to meet all the current expenditure for a great war, and all the increased charges on the debt which the war would be certain to entail.

All Mr Gladstone's supporters with whom I have talked over these difficulties are absolutely at one with the Radical Unionists in their objections to this part of the scheme. Here, at any rate, the party is agreed, though the leaders may remain divided.

I have not forgotten that in case of war the Irish Legislature is empowered, if it pleases (clause 18), "to appropriate a further sum out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland in aid of the army or navy, or other measures which her Majesty may take for the prosecution of the war and defence of the realm, and to provide and raise money for that purpose." The clause is a singular illustration of Mr Gladstone's sanguine temperament. I wonder how many men in the kingdom, besides himself, believe that the Dublin Legislature would use its powers. Burke said that "confidence is a plant of slow growth in aged bosoms." In this, as in many other respects, Mr Gladstone is a conspicuous proof that age must not be reckoned by years.

3 On a third point to which Unionists attach great importance

I have found that those who most ardently support Mr Gladstone are generally indifferent. Clause 3 of his Bill enumerated the matters which are excepted from the powers of the Irish Legislature, clause 4, the restrictions on its powers. Most Unionists are of opinion that there are strong reasons for defining the actual powers of an Irish Legislature, instead of defining the powers which are withheld from it. These reasons it is unnecessary, for the purposes of the present paper, to explain. Those of Mr Gladstone's supporters with whom I have discussed the subject do not think that the difference between the two methods is of any serious consequence, they are willing that the matter should be settled either way.

## II

With regard, therefore, to two of the objections—and these the gravest—which were urged against the Home Rule Bill of last year, I have found that there is now no controversy between a large number of the most enthusiastic supporters of Mr Gladstone and the Radical Unionists. With regard to a third, Mr Gladstone's supporters are quite as willing that it should be settled according to the Unionist view as according to the view of Mr Gladstone's Ministry in 1886. I have no reason to believe that the men with whom I have had friendly discussions on this subject—men, as I have said, living in every part of the country—differ from their political comrades. I therefore came to the conclusion several months ago, that among the rank and file of the party, among its non-commissioned officers, to whom much of the hard fighting falls at election times, there is already general agreement on some of the questions upon which Liberals are supposed to be most widely separated. When I ask them whether they think it necessary to break up the Parliament of the United Kingdom in order that Ireland may have Home Rule, they vehemently say No. When they are asked whether they would refuse to Ireland the political rank and authority claimed for England, Scotland, and Wales, they say No, with still greater vehemence. And with equal political rights, they not only admit, but assert, that there must be equal political responsibilities. Ireland must not be let off from liability to a war-tax. The principle of the "tribute" must be abandoned.

They go further. If representatives of Ireland are to meet by themselves to legislate for Irish affairs, representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales must meet by themselves, in one, two, or three assemblies, to legislate for English, Scotch, and Welsh affairs. Delegate to an assembly or assemblies in Ireland legislative powers for Ireland, and you must delegate to an assembly or assemblies in Great Britain similar legislative powers for Great Britain. The Imperial Parliament, while retaining its supremacy over the legislative assemblies entrusted with the domestic business of these islands,



would then be left free to deal with those Imperial interests which are now grossly neglected. I find that large numbers of Mr Gladstone's most loyal supporters regard such a scheme as this with approval. They see that it would secure a more effective treatment both of domestic and Imperial business. They also see that if such a scheme is to be developed, the Irish members, in their full strength, must remain permanently at Westminster.\*

I do not complain that on the questions upon which the Radical Unionists differ from the policy of his Bill, Mr Gladstone has not, as far as I know, accepted their position. Such a complaint would be unreasonable—it would be insolent. He has abundant reason for trusting his own judgment. He may believe that, on the whole, it is best for Ireland that she should no longer share the political and financial responsibilities of the Empire. He may believe that Great Britain should bear these responsibilities alone. But I think that there is reason to complain that those who assert that they are in favour of Mr Gladstone's policy for Ireland do not make it clear that they are in favour of that policy—with a difference, and with a difference which is of vital importance. For anything that appears in their speeches and the leading articles in their newspapers, they will be perfectly content if in a new Home Rule Bill the cesser clause of the Bill of last year is 'reconstructed', even for its reconstruction they do not profess any keen anxiety, but what they really want is, that the clause should be dropped altogether. Publicly, they rarely, if ever, declare their objections to the "tribute," privately they agree with the Unionists that Ireland should continue to share with Great Britain the financial responsibility of providing for the whole cost of the army and navy, and for the whole of the Imperial civil expenditure. This is not fair to Mr Gladstone. It may mislead him as to the real opinions of those on whose allegiance he is relying. He may reasonably think that they wish for very slight and unimportant modifications of his old Bill. If he is disposed to make concessions, it would be easier for him to make them to men who

\* Some of the advantages of this scheme of Home Rule, which in principle, though probably with some necessary variations in detail, is applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom, were set out in the article in this Review for June 1886, to which reference has been already made. In the report of an interview between his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin (Dr Walsh) and a representative of the *New York Tribune* which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* (August 10, 1886), his Grace refers to the article in the following terms:—"To my mind the plan there suggested by Dr Dale contains within it practically all the elements of a thoroughly satisfactory—because complete and final—settlement of the whole question. I may say that I lose no opportunity that presents itself of calling attention to it where I find that it has escaped notice, and the result so far has been a marvellously strong concurrence of opinion favourable to its proposals generally on the part of all to whom I have spoken on the subject." The Archbishop then proceeds to discuss with approbation some of the points of the article. It was my contention that if the Irish members were retained at Westminster, an assembly or assemblies would very soon be created for the domestic affairs of Great Britain, with similar powers. The key of the true policy is the preservation of the integrity of the Imperial Parliament.

have stood by him with passionate loyalty, than to those of us who have been temporarily—we hope it is only temporarily—separated from him

### III

On two other questions at issue between the Radical Unionists and Mr Gladstone I do not find that Mr Gladstone's supporters are in such close agreement with the Unionist position

1 The Radical Unionists desire that the Imperial Government should retain real and effective powers for securing the administration of justice and the maintenance of order in Ireland. They do not refuse to Ireland anything that they would concede to Great Britain. Under a system of Home Rule for England, Scotland, and Wales, they would reserve to the Imperial Government the same authority that they are anxious should be reserved under any scheme of Home Rule for Ireland. On this point Mr Gladstone himself appears to be nearer the Unionists than are some of his followers. His Bill provided (clause 21, *b*) that "the Royal Irish Constabulary shall, while that force subsists, continue to be subject, as heretofore, to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing her Majesty"\*. This reservation contains the germ of concessions by which the Radical Unionists would be satisfied. The subject is one of the gravest difficulty. There is great weight in the contention that, unless Irish judges and magistrates are appointed by the Crown under the advice of Irish authorities, and are liable to removal only as the result of the action of Irish authorities, the Irish people will still be under "foreign" rule. There is equal weight in the contention that, until there is an Irish police responsible to Irish masters, the police are likely to be regarded by the people with hostility and distrust. The Radical Unionists—I speak for myself at least—feel to the full the strength of these considerations, and yet they hesitate to transfer at once to the Irish Legislature all the powers that were to be conveyed to it by Mr Gladstone's Bill. They would not ask that such powers should be transferred to any similar assembly entrusted with the domestic affairs of Great Britain. There are some of Mr Gladstone's followers who agree with us, there are very many that do not. That the differences between the two sections of the party on this subject are real and serious is certain, and yet I cannot but believe that some solution could be found which would practically satisfy both. Mr Gladstone's reservation of the control of the constabulary to the Lord Lieutenant for an indefinite period is an indication that he is not insensible to the Unionist difficulty.

\* The Dublin Metropolitan Police were to be subject "to the control of the Lord Lieutenant, as representing Her Majesty, for a period of *two years* from the passing of the Act." Many of Mr Gladstone's friends suppose that there was a similar limitation of the time during which the Royal Irish Constabulary were to be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant.

2 That the Protestant part of Ulster should receive special treatment appeals to most Radical Unionists to rest on grounds identical with those which support the general contention for Home Rule. The Protestants of Ulster are divided from the population of the rest of Ireland as widely as the population of the rest of Ireland are divided from the people of Great Britain. They differ in race, in religion, and in all the traditions which contribute most powerfully to the formation of national sentiment and national character. We therefore contend that part of Ulster should be under a separate legislative body.

This proposal is generally resisted by Mr Gladstone's supporters. They insist that if Ulster—or any part of it—is separated from the rest of Ireland, the national sentiment of the Irish people would not be satisfied, and that the separation would greatly diminish the financial resources of the administration at Dublin.

The second objection is perhaps less serious than it seems at first sight, and might probably be removed by an equitable distribution between the two provinces of that part of the proceeds of the Irish customs and excise which, under any scheme of Home Rule, would be available for the general purposes of Irish administration. The administration which covered the larger area and the larger population would have a right to receive a larger contribution from these sources of revenue. The first is more formidable. But if great consideration is due to the sentiment which insists that the whole population of Ireland should, in domestic affairs, be under the control of a single Legislative Assembly, the Radical Unionists believe that great consideration is also due to the sentiment—and to the fears—of that portion of the population which passionately protests against the proposal. Some of us, indeed, believe that both the passion and the fears of Ulster Protestants would be gradually allayed if they were not prematurely forced into a position which they declare that they abhor and dread. For myself I should regard the creation of a separate assembly for part of Ulster as only a temporary provision. If the policy of the Dublin Legislature and Administration fulfils the hopes of all those who desire to see the Irish people managing their own affairs, it is reasonable to believe that the alarms and the hostility of the Protestant North would disappear, and that the Ulster Legislature would concur with the Legislature in Dublin in proposing a scheme of union.\*

These considerations are regarded with some measure of favour by zealous supporters of the policy of Mr Gladstone, but, on the whole, they are of opinion that the demand for a single Legislature should be at once conceded.

\* It is possible that as soon as it became *certain* that there would be a Legislative Assembly in Dublin, the Ulster Protestants would declare that they preferred having representatives in Dublin to having an Assembly of their own.

In my judgment it is expedient and necessary to insist on the importance of the points on which the two sections of the party are agreed, while frankly acknowledging the gravity of the differences which still separate them. Sir William Harcourt, in his speech at the dinner to Mr Schnadhorst on March 9, informed the country that at the Round Table Conference it was discovered that the matters on which he and Lord Herschell and Mr John Morley agreed with Mr Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan were many and great, that the matters on which they differed were secondary and few. This is all I know of the discussions and results of the conference, when I heard it I thought that the time had come for the Liberal party to recover its unity and strength. Sir William Harcourt's account of the mutual approximation in opinion of the leaders of the party was even more satisfactory than the judgment which I had already formed of the state of opinion in the party generally. The two questions—Criminal Administration and a separate Legislature for Ulster—on which, as it seems to me, the rank and file of the party still differ, can hardly be regarded as “secondary” either by one section or the other, and I began to wonder whether on these two points, which occasioned so much difficulty to less acute minds, the keen and able men who met in Grafton Street had discovered some scheme of accommodation. I wondered what the scheme was.

But the hopes which were bright at the beginning of March have vanished. The Conference closed abruptly. Why it closed no one knew till Mr John Morley spoke at Wolverhampton on April 20. He said

“My own view of the Round Table Conference is, that the results were, negatively speaking, satisfactory. I mean by that that nothing happened, nothing was said in the course of our discussion to prevent any of us from feeling that agreement was not hopeless. I believe all my colleagues who no doubt will read what I am now saying, will support what I say—that none of us took up a position which on any of the points raised put accommodation out of the question as impossible and unattainable. (Hear, hear.) That is all very good, but there was a hitch. (Laughter.) I will tell you what the hitch was. How could we—I put it to you, and I will put it to any audience of Liberalists of any complexion, I would put it even to an audience of Liberal Unionists if I could find one—how could we, as men of sense, hope that useful, solid, practical results would follow from our efforts, when we found that one of our colleagues, who in the private conclave was as reasonable, conciliatory, and friendly as a man could desire—I will say no less—yet when we opened the newspaper the next morning we found that this self same colleague had by speech or letter said something in which all the old bitterness, and the old irritation, and the old offence were renewed, revived, and repeated? (“Shame”) I do not say shame—I make no remark. (Laughter.) I only say to you that there was a hitch. (“Shame”) I want you to mark that the conference had reached a point when we should have heard what the views of Mr Gladstone upon its

general course and results were. At that very moment there appeared an article or a letter in an organ called the *Baptist*, which I think nobody who has read it can, to say the least of it, feel was reconcilable with a conciliatory or amicable spirit. Now mark that it was no excess of thin-skinnedness on our part. It was not wounded personal feeling which made us at last despair. (Hear, hear.) It was not, as I have seen in a paper, "feminine susceptibility" which convinced us that the suspension of the negotiations was for a time desirable. No, gentlemen, personal feeling in affairs of this magnitude and moment would indeed be out of place—(hear, hear)—but I believe that from Mr. Gladstone down to myself in the conference there was not one of us who would not readily have put aside personal feeling if we could have thought that good practical results would have followed. But I ask you this question—How could we hope, in face of such a spirit as this, that when we passed from the preliminary negotiations to actual business, when we passed from talk to action, from the settlement of general principles to the even more arduous task of settling particular details—how could we hope that our co-operation would be marked by that spirit of mutual trust and confidence which are essential to the transaction of such a piece of business? (Cheers.)

The extract is a long one, but in summarizing it I might have done injustice to a man for whom, in common with large numbers of those who hold Unionist opinions, I feel the warmest admiration and esteem. Mr. Morley's is a less sanguine representation than Sir William Harcourt's of the extent to which the eminent men who discussed their differences at the Round Table discovered that they were agreed. Its chief interest lies in the account of the reasons which led to the termination of the attempt to bring the party together—an attempt which, according to Sir William, was so full of hope, and which, even according to Mr. Morley, was not hopeless. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches and letters, spoken and written while the discussions were going on, renewed, revived, and repeated "all the old bitterness, and the old irritation, and the old offence," and the results of the Conference were at last wrecked by Mr. Chamberlain's letter to the *Baptist*.

In what circumstances was this fatal letter written, and what was its substance? Mr. Chamberlain had declined to oppose—he had supported—the Government in depriving Mr. Dillwyn of the opportunity he had secured for moving a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The Government said that the time of the House was wanted for general business, and Mr. Chamberlain agreed with them. For this he was fiercely assailed by many of his old friends, and was denounced as flagrantly false to the cause of disestablishment. In his letter to the *Baptist* he reminded the Nonconformists of Wales that he had contended earnestly for disestablishment long before many of those who now supported the movement had declared in its favour, that in the actual state of public business the discussion of Mr. Dillwyn's motion could have no practical effect, that it was not he (Mr. Chamberlain) that stood in the way of disestablishment and many other Liberal measures, but the schism in the Liberal party created by the Irish proposals of

last summer, and that the true duty of those who desired the disestablishment of the Welsh Church was to do their best to end Liberal dissensions

It would not be easy, I think, to dispute the substantial accuracy of Mr Chamberlain's statements, but I admit that he was not in the mood to be "conciliatory" or "amicable" to those who, as he thought, had assailed him unjustly. When a man smites him on the right cheek, it is not Mr Chamberlain's habit to "turn to him the other also." I have known Mr Chamberlain for twenty years—during the whole of his public life. I have fought by his side or under his leadership in many hard battles, and he has honoured me with his private friendship. He has many great qualities—courage, frankness, a passion of pity for human suffering, a capacity for quick and fierce indignation against injustice, a deep and earnest desire to cheer and brighten the lives of the great masses of the people, a keen solicitude, foreign to some of the traditions of Radicalism, but in harmony with all that is truest and noblest in Radical principles, for the security and permanent greatness of the empire. But he is not without his defects. He will think none the worse of me if I say that, like most other men that I have known who had conspicuous powers of attack, he is unduly sensitive to attacks on himself if he thinks them ungenerous or unjust. He has not learnt that the leaders of a political party should attach very little importance to hot and bitter words spoken by people in the crowd, in the excitement of political conflict. If he were a prouder man he would have felt less keenly the cries of "traitor" with which he has been pursued during the last twelve months by many who two years ago regarded him with unmeasured confidence. If he had had the "superb scorn" once attributed to Mr Bright, he would have been unmoved by the vehemence with which he has been denounced for deserting his political principles at the impulse of personal ambition.

Through all the troubles which have brought so much disaster on the Liberal party and on the country, two distinguished men may claim at least the credit of consistency—Mr John Morley and Mr Chamberlain. Consistency is not the highest virtue of statesmen, for change of opinion may often be the inevitable result of open-mindedness and moral integrity. But consistency has its value and weight. Mr Morley has been consistent,—I believe that from the very first he has been in favour of a single Legislative Assembly in Dublin, with full administrative powers. Mr Chamberlain has been consistent,—long before the Bill of 1886 was laid before Parliament he had come to the conclusion that to create three or four provincial assemblies in Ireland, with legislative powers practically equal to those which Mr Gladstone proposed to confer on a single assembly, would be the best method of securing to the Irish people the manage-

ment of their own affairs. If he chanced to look through these pages, he may recall a long conversation between us one afternoon in the early summer of 1885, in which I pointed out some of the more obvious objections to his scheme, and drew from him in reply many of the arguments in favour of a separate treatment of Ulster which have since then had a frequent place in his speeches. When Mr Gladstone produced his Bill, Mr Chamberlain saw that the factors of the problem were changed, and then, as the pursuit of politics, to use a desponding phrase of Mr Morley's, involves nearly always "the choice of the second best," he declared that if the Irish members were retained at Westminster, he would vote for the second reading. He still preferred the principle of his old scheme, and on the disappearance of the Bill, fell back upon it.

He might have treated the charges of treachery which were flung at him with indifference. But if his sense of injury had been still more intense, and if it had found expression in much harder words than were found in the *Baptist*, I confess that, while he was "as reasonable, conciliatory, and friendly as a man could desire" in the private conferences, I am unable to understand why the conferences should have been abandoned. He was there—not for himself alone, but for those members of the Liberal party who are in substantial agreement with him. The interests of Ireland and of the Empire, as well as the interests of the Liberal party, were at stake. Had an agreement been reached, we might before now have been in sight of a satisfactory settlement of Irish difficulties.

But it was no part of my purpose to dwell on the history of our divisions, my only wish was to discover what are the differences which still separate us, and to endeavour to estimate their gravity. They do not seem to me sufficiently formidable to justify despair. Not yet, perhaps, will it be possible for those of us who have differed from the majority of our party to stand side by side with those who regard us with what is in our judgment an inexplicable and undeserved antagonism and distrust, but our common faith in the great principles of Liberalism renders ultimate reunion certain.

\* R W DALE

BIRMINGHAM, May 19, 1887

## THOMAS STEVENSON,

CIVIL ENGINEER

THE death of Thomas Stevenson will mean not very much to the general reader. His service to mankind took on forms of which the public knows little and understands less. He came seldom to London, and then only as a task, remaining always a stranger and a convinced provincial, putting up for years at the same hotel where his father had gone before him, faithful for long to the same restaurant, the same church, and the same theatre, chosen simply for propinquity, steadfastly refusing to dine out. He had a circle of his own, indeed, at home, few men were more beloved in Edinburgh, where he breathed an air that pleased him, and wherever he went, in railway carriages or hotel smoking-rooms, his strange, humorous vein of talk, and his transparent honesty, raised him up friends and admirers. But to the general public and the world of London, except about the parliamentary committee-rooms, he remained unknown. All the time, his lights were in every part of the world, guiding the mariner, his firm were consulting engineers to the Indian, the New Zealand, and the Japanese Lighthouse Boards, so that Edinburgh was a world centre for that branch of applied science, in Germany, he had been called "the Nestor of lighthouse illumination," even in France, where his claims were long denied, he was at last, on the occasion of the late Exposition, recognized and medalled. And to show by one instance the inverted nature of his reputation, comparatively small at home, yet filling the world, a friend of mine was this winter on a visit to the Spanish main, and was asked by a Peruvian if he "knew Mr Stevenson the author, because his works were much esteemed in Peru?" My friend supposed the reference was to the writer of tales, but the Peruvian



had never heard of "Dr Jekyll", what he had in his eye, what was esteemed in Peru, were the volumes of the engineer

Thomas Stevenson was born at Edinburgh in the year 1818, the grandson of Thomas Smith, first engineer to the Board of Northern Lights, son of Robert Stevenson, brother of Alan and David, so that his nephew, David Alan Stevenson, joined with him at the time of his death in the engineership, is the sixth of the family who has held, successively or conjointly, that office. The Bell Rock, his father's great triumph, was finished before he was born, but he served under his brother Alan in the building of Skerryvore, the noblest of all extant deep-sea lights, and, in conjunction with his brother David, he added two—the Chickens and Dhu Heartach—to that small number of man's extreme outposts in the ocean. Of shore lights, the two brothers last named erected no fewer than twenty-seven, of beacons,\* about twenty-five. Many harbours were successfully carried out, one, the harbour of Wick, the chief disaster of my father's life, was a failure, the sea proved too strong for man's arts, and after expedients hitherto unthought of, and on a scale hyper-cyclopean, the work must be deserted, and now stands a ruin in that bleak, God-forsaken bay, ten miles from John o' Groats. In the improvement of rivers the brothers were likewise in a large way of practice over both England and Scotland, nor had any British engineer anything approaching their experience.

It was about this nucleus of his professional labours that all my father's scientific inquiries and inventions centred, these proceeded from, and acted back upon, his daily business. Thus it was as a harbour engineer that he became interested in the propagation and reduction of waves, a difficult subject in regard to which he has left behind him much suggestive matter and some valuable approximate results. Storms were his sworn adversaries, and it was through the study of storms that he approached that of meteorology at large. Many who knew him not otherwise, knew—perhaps have in their gardens—his louver-boarded screen for instruments. But the great achievement of his life was, of course, in optics as applied to light-house illumination. Fresnel had done much, Fresnel had settled the fixed light apparatus on a principle that still seems unimprovable, and when Thomas Stevenson stepped in and brought to a comparable perfection the revolving light, a not unnatural jealousy and much painful controversy rose in France. It had its hour, and, as I have told already, even in France it has blown by. Had it not, it would have mattered the less, since all through his life my father continued to justify his claim by fresh advances. New apparatus for lights in

\* In Dr Murray's admirable new dictionary, I have remarked a flaw *sub voce* Beacon. In its express, technical sense, a beacon may be defined as "a founded, artificial sea mark, not lighted."

new situations was continually being designed with the same unwearied search after perfection, the same nice ingenuity of means, and though the holophotal revolving light perhaps still remains his most elegant contrivance, it is difficult to give it the palm over the much later condensing system, with its thousand possible modifications. The number and the value of these improvements entitle their author to the name of one of mankind's benefactors. In all parts of the world a safer landfall awaits the mariner. Two things must be said and, first, that Thomas Stevenson was no mathematician. Natural shrewdness, a sentiment of optical laws, and a great intensity of consideration led him to just conclusions, but to calculate the necessary formulæ for the instruments he had conceived was often beyond him, and he must fall back on the help of others, notably on that of his cousin and lifelong intimate friend, *emeritus* Professor Swan, of St Andrews, and his later friend, Professor P G Tait. It is a curious enough circumstance, and a great encouragement to others, that a man so ill equipped should have succeeded in one of the most abstract and arduous walks of applied science. The second remark is one that applies to the whole family, and only particularly to Thomas Stevenson from the great number and importance of his inventions. Holding as the Stevensons did a Government appointment, they regarded their original work as something due already to the nation, and none of them has ever taken out a patent. It is another cause of the comparative obscurity of the name for a patent not only brings in money, it infallibly spreads reputation, and my father's instruments enter anonymously into a hundred light-rooms, and are passed anonymously over in a hundred reports, where the least considerable patent would stand out and tell its author's story.

But the life-work of Thomas Stevenson remains, what we have lost, what we now rather try to recall, is the friend and companion. He was a man of a somewhat antique strain with a blended sternness and softness that was wholly Scottish and at first somewhat bewildering, with a profound essential melancholy of disposition and (what often accompanies it) the most humorous geniality in company, shrewd and childish, passionately attached, passionately prejudiced, a man of many extremes, many faults of temper, and no very stable foothold for himself among life's troubles. Yet he was a wise adviser, many men, and these not inconsiderable, took counsel with him habitually. "I sat at his feet," writes one of these, "when I asked his advice, and when the broad brow was set in thought and the firm mouth said his say, I always knew that no man could add to the worth of the conclusion." He had excellent taste, though whimsical and partial, collected old furniture and delighted specially in sun-flowers long before the days of Mr Wilde, took a lasting pleasure in

prints and pictures, was a devout admirer of Thomson of Duddingston at a time when few shared the taste, and though he read little, was constant to his favourite books. He had never any Greek, Latin he happily re-taught himself after he had left school, where he was a mere consistent idler. happily, I say, for Lactantius, Vossius, and Cardinal Bona were his chief authors. The first he must have read for twenty years uninterruptedly, keeping it near him in his study and carrying it in his bag on journeys. Another old theologian—Brown of Wamphray—was often in his hands. When he was indisposed, he had two books—"Guy Mannering" and the "Parent's Assistant"—of which he never wearied. He was a strong Conservative, or, as he preferred to call himself, a Tory, except in so far as his views were modified by a hot-headed chivalrous sentiment for women. He was actually in favour of a marriage law under which any woman might have a divorce for the asking, and no man on any ground whatever, and the same sentiment found another expression in a Magdalen Mission in Edinburgh, founded and largely supported by himself. This was but one of the many channels of his public generosity, his private was equally unstrained. The Church of Scotland, of which he held the doctrines (though in a sense of his own), and to which he bore a clansman's loyalty, profited often by his time and money, and though, from a morbid sense of his own unworthiness, he would never consent to be an office-bearer, his advice was often sought, and he served the Church on many committees. What he perhaps valued highest in his work were his contributions to the defence of Christianity, one of which, in particular, was praised by Hutchinson Stirling and reprinted at the request of Professor Crawford.

His sense of his own unworthiness I have called morbid, morbid, too, were his sense of the fleetingness of life and his concern for death. He had never accepted the conditions of man's life or his own character, and his inmost thoughts were ever tinged with the Celtic melancholy. Cases of conscience were sometimes grievous to him, and that delicate employment of a scientific witness cost him many qualms. But he found respite from these troublesome humours in his work, in his lifelong study of natural science, in the society of those he loved, and in his daily walks, which now would carry him far into the country with some congenial friend, and now keep him dangling about the town from one old book-shop to another, and scraping romantic acquaintance with every dog that passed. His talk, compounded of so much sterling sense and so much freakish humour, and clothed in language so apt, droll, and emphatic, was a perpetual delight to all who knew him before the clouds began to settle on his mind. His use of language was both just and picturesque, and when at the beginning of his illness he began to feel

the ebbing of this power, it was strange and painful to hear him reject one word after another as inadequate, and at length desist from the search and leave his phrase unfinished rather than finish it without propriety. It was perhaps another Celtic trait that his affections and emotions, passionate as these were, and liable to passionate ups and downs, found the most eloquent expression both in words and gestures. Love, anger, and indignation shone through him and broke forth in imagery, like what we read of Southern races. For all these emotional extremes, and in spite of the melancholy ground of his character, he had upon the whole a happy life, nor was he less fortunate in his death, which at the last came to him unaware.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

## FAITH HEALING AND FEAR KILLING.

**R**ELIGIOUS Enthusiasm and Scientific Medicine, far as they seem to be apart, have one thing in common. The records of both abound in cases of extraordinary cures of disease effected by Faith. The faith which accomplishes the religious cures is faith in Holy Men, Holy Prayers, or, it may be, Holy Oil, Holy Thorns, and Holy Water, and the faith which brings about the medical cures is faith in Doctors (not necessarily holy), in Bread Pills and impotent ointments.

To judge from a remarkable article in a former number of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, there could be, in the eyes of an eminent London physician, nothing more ridiculous than the assertion of a pilgrim to Lourdes or Bethshan, that he had been healed by a special exercise of Divine mercy, while, judging from such a work as Dr Tuke's "Influence of the Mind on the Body" (London, 1884), nothing is more scientifically certain than that a large number of persons have been healed of all manner of diseases by bread pills. The lay mind can with difficulty admit that there is essential absurdity in attributing recovery from sickness to prayer, and no absurdity in attributing it to bread pills.

That there is really such a thing as Faith Healing appears to my judgment a fact beyond dispute. Three-fourths—perhaps it would be nearer the mark to say nineteen-twentieths—of the stories of cures of the religious class are, undoubtedly, myths, frauds, exaggerations, fallacies of memory or of reporting, and quite as many of the medical kind may be divided between silly self-deceptions and the arrant falsehoods of interested quacks. All deductions made, however, there remains, I am convinced, a certain number of cures of both classes, of which no sufficient account can be given on any

theory of either fraud, or mistake, or natural recovery, cures which meet the following definitions —

- 1 The antecedent presence of serious disease, either functional or organic, has been established on sufficient testimony
- 2 The cure has been sufficiently sudden to exclude the hypothesis of a spontaneous termination of the disease
- 3 The cure has been effected without the exhibition of any drug or therapeutic appliance which could be recognized as adequate to the result

No candid reader of ecclesiastical history can, I think, doubt that cures fulfilling the above conditions have occurred many times in different ages and countries, and under many different phases of religious belief, and, equally assuredly, readers of such works as Sir Henry Holland's, Dr Carpenter's and Dr Tuke's, must admit that cases of the lower kind of Faith Healing have likewise occurred not unfrequently. The former "Miracles" are treated by men of science, when they deign to refer to them at all, with unmitigated scorn, because they are associated with what they deem to be contemptible superstitions, and have been usually recorded by witnesses ignorant of anatomy and physiology who make ridiculous blunders in describing disease. The latter are dealt with more leniently, even with good-humoured levity, as examples of the helpless credulity of patients, and of the action of a faculty which the writers (who may be great physiologists, but are certainly not psychologists) are pleased to call "Imagination." But both classes of Faith Healing are, assuredly, deserving of quite other modes of treatment than these. They form, to say the least, singular reversals of the usual order of medical art, whereby it is sought to minister even to a "mind diseased" through the stomach, while the glimpse they afford us of a mighty magic capable of transforming sickness to health, and causing the lame to walk and the deaf to hear, should make us sigh rather than smile, if we be driven to the conclusion that the wand which works such beneficial wonders is beyond our grasp.

Philosophic efforts hitherto made to reach the secret of Faith Healing have been few, comparatively to the interest of the subject. They have not gone deep, and have been singularly barren of practical results. We are told of the value of "Expectant Attention" in effecting the cures of pilgrims to holy shrines, and of patients who swallow inert drugs, and of these last Dr Tuke has afforded us a most amusing series of examples culled from Dr Lisle and Sir John Forbes' celebrated article, "Young Physic," in the *British and Foreign Medical Review*, Jan 1846. We hear also of the immense potency of the Will, as exemplified by Andrew Crosse, who got over an attack of hydrophobia by sheer dint of pluck (*Memoirs*, p 125), and by Edward Irving, who preached a splendid sermon in the agonies of Asiatic cholera. But no

effort, that I am aware of, has been made to bring the two kinds of Faith Healings which bear such obvious analogies, under any common law, or to construct a theory which shall explain their essential nature. Thus we find ourselves at the end of the nineteenth century, as regards this great agency, very much in the position which our forefathers occupied two centuries ago as regards electricity, when their experiments were limited to rubbing bits of amber and the backs of cats. Where are the Franklins and the Wheatstones of Faith Healing? Is it endurable that the use of a great beneficent Power in our nature should for ever be limited, as now, to fanatics and fools? Cannot sensible and rationally-religious persons be admitted to a share of the priceless advantage? "Sickness," said Dr Moxon, oracularly rebuking Bethshan, "is too serious to be trifled with by fanatics"\*. It is also too serious to be trifled with by doctors, who try diverting experiments on their patients with bread pills and pretended bleedings, wooden tractors and Braidism. But if, either from the fanatics or the doctors, we can obtain a clue to the mystery of Faith Healing carried on by both, we need not fear the charge of "trifling with sickness."

The inquiry into this subject is interesting likewise from another point of view beside utility. We are distracted in these days by perpetual talk about the action of the Body on the Mind. Morals and Psychology in the hands of the dominant school of biologists and novelists bid fair to become mere branches of Pathology,—Sin being reduced to a symptom of a disordered liver, and Genius in its heaven-soaring flights being brought down to a superior supply of blood to a well-convoluted brain. No sacred sentiment in human nature, not even the love of a mother for her child, escapes being stripped of its robe of beauty and sanctity, and nakedly presented to us as the mere result of the physical conditions of the relation. No action, howsoever divinely heroic, will henceforth be attributed to the self-sacrificing spirit of the martyr or the patriot, but only to the "combativeness of the male animal" developed by "Sexual Selection." Double-sided beings as we are—every feeling and every act being like the convex and concave sides of the shield, half mind, half matter,—we have hitherto needed to be reminded in the Triumph of Life, as by the slave beside the Roman victor's car, "Thou art mortal!", there is a physical analogue to all which our Souls feel and do, and the Body must not be forgotten. It was reserved for modern science to ignore, *not* the Body, but the Soul, to treat the material moiety of our being as the primary and all-important, perhaps the only really existent part of it,

\* Bethshan—it is a little startling to learn—is known to the profane post office as No. 10 Drayton Park, Holloway Road, N., between Highbury and Holloway stations of the North London and Great Northern Railways.

and to instruct us, as we tread the Via Dolorosa of our earthly way "Remember thou art *not* a Hero, not a Martyr, not a Saint, only a parcel of bone and tissue, flesh and blood, which any chemist could reduce to a few phials of water and white powder, and range on a shelf in the South Kensington Museum" I venture to think that it would be well, even in the interests of scientific truth, to pay a little more attention to the front of the shield, to study Psychology a little more, and Physiology, possibly, a little less. An inquiry into the laws of that mysterious Power of which we are speaking as lodged in the mind, and thence stepping forth to transform the conditions of the body, would seem, of all others, best fitted to counterbalance the materialist doctrines of the Buchner and Carl Vogt school. Were a science of psychical therapeutics really to be formulated, it would both supply us with the most potent of remedial agencies, and likewise help us, more than any other knowledge, to understand our own double natures—Soul and Body, Spirit and Matter, demi-god and demi-brute.

Who will step forward and help to clear the way for this science of Psycho-Therapeutics? At present, even when a doctor has himself effected astonishing cures by such things as a few crumbs of biscuit, it never seems to occur to him to prosecute his investigations. As Dr Hack Tuke says of some such dull physicians

"With regard to the experiments made by Dr Haygarth and others with wooden tractors, it can hardly fail to surprise the reader that these observers were content to stop when they had proved that their instruments were as potent as if metallic. They had relieved their patients by *something* sooner than they would otherwise have been relieved, and yet it never occurred to them to continue the practice. They called this *something* "Imagination," and thought that was quite sufficient to dispose of the whole subject"—*Influence*, &c, vol. II p. 260.)

Men who ransack the Mineral and Vegetable kingdoms of Nature, and torture the Animal, to find out the secrets of diseases and their remedies, are strangely content to leave this great battery of healing power locked up. They sneer at the fanatics and smile at the fools who are healed by Prayer or Bread Pills, and say "these people who know not the law" (of science) are besotted. But even the exasperating recurrence of whole cycles of religious miracles, and the still more obnoxious successes of quacks, fail to rouse them to sift the matter to the bottom, and try if they cannot, with all their science, equal Lourdes or Knock, and cure their patients honestly, without condescending to bamboozle them with bread pills. If the mind of a silly or stupid person can be inspired so as to make it heal his body, surely the mind of an intelligent and rational person (which, by the hypothesis, must be much the stronger and more fitted to cope with disease), ought to be equally open to influence? It is a disgrace to science to be obliged to confess that old Burton is still right, and that



"an empirick oftentimes doth more strange cures than a rational physician" He goes on to add, "because the patient puts his confidence in him," but the reason is a circular argument, for why does the patient believe in the "Empirick" more than in the rational physician, save that he knows the former has wrought more cures than the latter? The position of sundry eminent surgeons and physicians to-day, as regards bone-setters and various medical heretics, is like that which the Astronomer Royal would hold had Zadkiel foretold an eclipse which he had failed to predict. When they find they cannot cure our rheumatism, our paralysis, and twenty other maladies, surely our physicians might help us to obtain the mysterious benefits which have been derived from bread pills? Such is the weakness of human nature, that I fear the majority of us would elect to recover in the most irregular and unscientific manner rather than die *secundem artem* by orthodox medicine, leaving our mourning relatives to find the consolation conveyed by inscribing on our tombstones, "Physicians *was* in vain!"

The aim of such an inquiry as I would fain see undertaken would be twofold—first, by the correlation and examination of credible cases of Faith Healing to ascertain what is the efficient factor in each—the essential element, probably common to all, whereby the cure is actually brought about, secondly, the possible employment of this essential Healing agency at will in the cure of disease without descent either into fanaticism or quackery. Let us briefly catalogue the various classes of Faith Healing under the definitions given in the last page. They fall, I apprehend, into the following categories

- (a) Cures wrought by a Man or Woman supposed to administer Divine Healing
- (b) Cures wrought by Relics, Holy Water, &c, supposed to convey Divine Healing
- (c) Cures wrought by Charms, Amulets, &c, supposed to convey a supernatural—though not necessarily Divine—Healing
- (d) Cures wrought by a Man or Woman supposed to transmit a natural healing
- (e) Cures wrought by sham medicines and medical appliances supposed to convey natural healing

In class (a) we have a Man or Woman prominently engaged as the Healer. Historically he or she is generally distinguished by a great personal reputation for sanctity, but sometimes, as in the case of Popes and of Kings and Queens, who "touched" for the Evil, by the sacredness of their office.\* What part does this healer play in the cures he per-

\* See Macaulay's account of the "balsamic virtues of the royal hand," which William III so unkindly declined to exercise. Dr Carpenter ("Mental Physiology," p. 686) tells us "Not only theologians of eminent learning, ability, and virtue gave the sanction of their authority to the belief, but some of the principal surgeons of the day

forms, and what other part belongs to the person who is healed by faith in him? Does James, the healer, transmit a Force, a Virtue, an Effluence of some sort, directly to the *body* of John, the person healed? Or does James only influence John's *mind* by the recognized means of an impressive personality or rank, and leave the healing to be accomplished by John's mind, thus vividly impressed,—on John's body? This is the first question to be answered in any inquiry into Faith Healing, and it needs to be carefully examined. The ordinary view is of course the first. It is assumed that a Healing Virtue (*δύναμις*) proceeds straight from James to John's body. I must state my reasons for being of a different opinion.

In the first place, all evidence goes to show that the *sine quid non* of a successful experiment in miracle-working is the faith of the patient. "Not many mighty works" have been done in any time or place where "unbelief" prevailed. This faith would not be indispensable if the cure were effected by a material force or effluence reaching directly the body of the patient. Secondly, an equally large number of cures (class *b*) have been wrought by Relics, Holy Water, and such objects, which may be understood vividly to affect the *mind* of a believer, but from which it is impossible to think that a physical healing force or effluence can have been dispensed.

For these reasons I am convinced that all genuine cases of religious Faith Healing have been wrought purely by mental influence.

That I may not pain the feelings of any reader, I will not attempt to analyse from this point of view the healing miracles of the Gospels (notably the cures of epileptics and maniacs), but cite the observations upon them of the Bishop of London, than which in my humble judgment nothing can be more just or philosophical. Here are his remarks in his Bampton Lectures for 1884:

"Take, again, our Lord's miracles of Healing. There is no question at all that the power of the mind over the body is exceedingly great, and has never yet been thoroughly examined. Some have assigned to this cause the extraordinary cures that have been undeniably wrought at the shrines, or on sight or touch of relics, of Roman Catholic Saints. It is quite conceivable that many of His miracles of healing may have been the result of this power of mind over body which we are now considering. It is possible that they may be due, not to an interference with the uniformity of Nature, but to a superiority in his mental power to the similar power possessed by other men. Men seem to possess this power both over their own bodies and over the bodies of others, in different degrees."—*The Relations of Religion and Science*, p. 199 *et seq*

Putting aside, however, the Miracles of the Gospel as not desirable

certified that the cures were so numerous and rapid that they could not be attributed to any natural cause, and thus the failures were to be ascribed to want of faith on the part of the patients. Charles II in the course of his reign had touched near a hundred thousand persons. The service appointed by the Church of England for these royal healings was only withdrawn from the Prayer Book after the reign of Queen Anne.

subjects for our argument, we are elsewhere supplied with abundance of others, as, for example, in the records of the miracles of St Francis and numberless other saints, of Apollonius of Tyana, of Valentine Greatrakes, of Prince Hohenlohe, and of Father Mathew

If such "miracles," then, be explicable as results of strong mental excitement—the same in kind though greater in degree than we have all experienced,—we are forbidden by the law of Parsimony to seek an explanation of them farther away, in any material force or effluence

(b) The second class of Faith Healing supports the same conclusion with even greater cogency. As I have already said, a healing force proceeding from a living Saint is just conceivable, but one issuing from holy water, oil, thorns, old bones, nails, hair, and bits of wood, is hardly within rational acceptance. Especially, when it is noted that fictitious relics (such as the pieces of the "True Cross," of which there are said to be enough to build a ship) are just as efficacious as others, we cannot fail to see that it is through the believing Mind of the patient that the healing is achieved. As he approaches the holy shrine, to which he has perhaps made a long and toilsome pilgrimage,—the longer and more toilsome the better,—or is anointed on his sick bed, amid the tears and solemn prayers of his friends, the tide of religious emotion rises in the man's soul as in the presence of a living Apostle

The third class (c) of Faith Healings, wrought by Charms and Amulets, common among uneducated people to this day in England, and everywhere implicitly believed among savages, are so obviously cures wrought by *mental* stimulus alone (whenever wrought at all), that it is needless to speak of them at any length in this connection

The fourth class (d) of cures includes those wrought by men supposed to possess natural healing powers. Here we find ourselves in the midst of the Mesmeric and Hypnotic controversies, into which I confess myself unable to penetrate. One point connected with them, which supports the view that Faith Healings are purely subjective, is—that the phenomena produced when a powerful Mesmerist makes passes over his patient and *seems* to fling the magnetic fluid upon him, are very nearly matched by the phenomena produced by Bradism and Hypnotism, where no Mesmerist is concerned. As I have said, I feel incompetent to deal with this matter. There are many other cures, however, worked by faith in men or women quite independently of either Mesmeric or religious pretensions, *e g*, in the case of doctors of great reputation, whose mere presence in the sick-room does more good than their prescriptions.

Lastly, we reach the fifth (e) class of Faith Healings—cures wrought

by sham medical appliances supposed to possess natural healing powers. In this department of the subject we have certainly evidence galore of the power of purely mental impressions to heal disease. It is impossible to catalogue the absurd and absolutely inert drugs and agencies which—necessarily impotent on the *body* of the patient—have been powerful enough in their influence on his *mind* to enable that mind to cure his body. As Hunter remarked of one of them (a spider's web made into pills), it is necessary that they be administered "*with the knowledge of the patient*, else they have no effect at all." It is, then, his mental *impression* of their potency wherein all their potency resides. Dr Carpenter admits that these sham medicines produce their effect not only in maladies in which nervous disorders have a share, but also in some, such as scurvy and gout, which "seem to depend on the existence of a definite perversion in the condition of the blood." He quotes from Lind "On Scurvy" a story of the siege of Breda in 1625, when the garrison were in so deplorable a state from scurvy that they were on the point of capitulating when the Prince of Orange managed to send three small phials containing a decoction of chamomile and camphor to the doctors, who gave out that four or five drops in a gallon of water was an infallible remedy for scurvy. The "Prince's remedy" thoroughly checked the disease, and restored numbers who had been invalided. (See "Mental Physiology," p 688.)

We have now briefly surveyed the different kinds of Faith Healings, from the noblest to the basest, and having found reason to attribute the cure to an influence exerted primarily on the Mind of the patient, we are in a position to proceed to the main inquiry. What is the nature of that influence on the Mind which enables it to conquer the diseases of the body?

We must dismiss the idle notion which seems so strangely to have contented the majority of writers and talkers on this subject, that it is enough to name some one faculty of the mind as concerned in the case, as if by so doing we explained the *modus operandi* of the cure, such, *e g*, as "Hope," "Expectant Attention," or "Imagination."

Most absurd is it to speak of "Imagination," as is constantly done even by thoughtful medical writers, as if it were a faculty which not only "images"—*i e*, supplies unreal pictures in the mind—but is likewise capable of projecting itself into the material world as a Force, like electricity. Indolent and baffled inquirers seem to think it convenient to refer in this way to Imagination, because it appears a sort of Puck or Ariel among our faculties, and less amenable to law than Memory or Judgment, either of which it would be just as monstrous to cite as the proximate<sup>\*</sup> cause of the cure of a disease. It is to throw Psychology into hotch-pot to apply the name of the *vision-creating* faculty to something which performs physical miracles. Of

course it is open to any one to maintain in each given case that the *original disease* was imaginary, and consequently that the supposed cure was only the patient's restoration to reason, as when a man awakes from a dream and says, "I imagined I had lost my leg, and am glad to find I have done nothing of the kind." But it is sheer nonsense to describe his *awakening* and coming back to his senses as the result of "Imagination." When a disease has been accurately diagnosed by a competent physician, and pronounced to be serious, there is no room left for "Imagination" to play in the cure. The cure, if wrought at all, must be effected by some real agent, such as we assume the Soul itself to be, for the mere picturing faculty which we call "Imagination" can at the most have only supplied some stimulus to the Mind or Soul. But if neither Imagination nor, for similar reasons, Hope nor Attention can of themselves produce a cure of bodily disease, what are we to think of the Entity, of which they are but faculties and phases, which must be the real Agent—an agent which, without recognisable machinery, suddenly steps forth to assuage pain and to send a flood of fresh vitality through the diseased tissues and palsied limbs of its own fleshly companion?

With all due hesitation in treating such a matter I would say that the truth seems to me to be this. That part of us which we call Mind, Soul, or Spirit, and which in its ordinary relations with the body resembles a coupled dog, now pulling its companion its own way, now pulled by it in an opposite direction, is capable, under certain exceptional and as yet obscure conditions, of entirely mastering its mate. It can render the body insensible to the pain of mutilation on the battlefield, or of fiery dissolution at the martyr's stake, and it can effect, independently of any extraneous agency, such a change in the processes of physical life—the circulation, the innervation, we know not what—as to banish disease and reinstate health.

So far as we understand them at present, the conditions under which this Soul-healing is accomplished seem always to be those of *excitement*. They are not capable of being produced voluntarily and spontaneously by the subject, but must be created by something outside of himself. That something may be—and in the higher kinds of soul healing I presume always is—an exalting idea presented to the mind either by some grand Personality, or by a Relic or Token suggestive of sacred or patriotic sentiments, and touching those chords which vibrate deepest in the human heart. The theory recently put forth by Messrs Myers and Gurney, speaking of *Bruidism*—that the state in which the mind is abnormally concentrated on a bodily condition is that wherein its influence is at a maximum—is, in my humble opinion, the very reverse of the truth. It is, I hold, precisely when the mind is most completely *lifted above* the body and its patho-

logical conditions, that it can exert its supreme spiritual faculty of healing. Concentration of the mind on the body is the source, I conceive, always of disease, not of health. There are also, as we have noted, other and lower stimulants of the excitement which may suffice to produce healing results, the most commonly effectual being the hope of recovery through the use of some nostrum.

The last and supreme problem regarding Soul Healing, *Can we find out how to apply it?* is of course the real crux of all. Unfortunately the persons who are just now so busy in endeavouring to accomplish Faith Cures of the religious kind—some of them very humble and obviously silly folk, others on a much higher, social, and intellectual level—are all on the wrong tack (if the views stated in this paper be correct) to discover a real Method of Faith Healing. They persist in looking “for the angel to stir the waters,” instead of seeking the natural fount of Hope and Courage and Piety in each man’s bosom.\*

\* I am informed that the “true” Faith Healing people do not allow the use of any “means” whatever.

If any reader desire to see the exceeding nonsense which can be written and printed on this subject, he is referred to a book which has passed through nine editions in America—viz., “Science and Health, with a Key to the Scriptures” by Mrs. Eddy, President of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College (2 vols. 8vo, Boston, 1884). The following are specimens of the counsels of Mrs. Eddy on “Healing the Sick,” vol. 1 p. 180—

“Argue there is no disease. It is but the evidence and object of the senses you have to destroy, not a reality. Say to the patient mentally, you are not sick, and hold your ground with the skill of a lawyer. Argue down the witnesses against your plea, and you will destroy those witnesses, and the disease will disappear. Rely not in the least on the evidence of the senses, but on the evidences in metaphysical science of man’s harmony and immortality. Avoid talking disease to the sick. Make no unnecessary inquiries relative to their symptoms, never give them names for their diseases.

“If the case to be treated is consumption, begin your argument by taking up the leading points showing that it is not inherited, that inflammation, tubercles, hæmorrhage, and decomposition are but thoughts, beliefs, mental images before mortal minds, not the immortal mind. Hence they are not the truth of man, and should be treated as error—put out of mind, and then they will disappear from the body.”

And again vol. 1 p. 193 “Conservatism or dishonesty (?) in the theory or practice of metaphysics applied to the treatment of disease would betray a gross ignorance of the whole subject. Disease can neither be treated nor healed metaphysically if drugs or external applications are employed, and petitioning a personal God to do your work, or enable you to do it, is not metaphysics, wherein Truth works, and you understand the Divine Principle of your demonstration. Animal magnetism, clairvoyance, mediumship, or mesmerism are antagonistic to this science.”

Vol. 1 p. 248 “Bathing and brushing to correct the secretions or remove unhealthy exhalations from the cuticle, receive a useful rebuke from Christian healing, that makes not clean the outside of the platter.”

Vol. 1 p. 228 “That mother is not a metaphysician, and her affections need better aids to their duration, who says to her child ‘You look sick,’ or ‘You look tired,’ &c., or who goes to her little one fallen on her nose or the carpet, and, moaning more childishly than her child, says, ‘Mamma knows you are hurt.’ Drugs, cataplasms, and whisky are shocking substitutes for the dignity and potency of mind and the divine power to heal. Through the byways of physiology and materia medica to lead man into temptation in every direction is pitiful.”

“Palsy is a belief that attacks mortal mind, and this mind paralyses the body through fear. Ossification or any abnormal condition of the bones is the action of mortal mind as directly as insanity. Bones have no more substance than thoughts, and are only what they are named by and appear to mortal mind. What we call matter was primitively error in solution (!).”

P. 253 “Called to the bed of death, what remedy have we in matter when all its

We now reach the gravest side of this matter. If Faith and Piety and Hope so elevate and stimulate the Soul as to enable it to dispel disease, like Gabriel in Guido's picture striking down Lucifer, then, beyond all doubt, Mistrust and Pessimism and Fear must correspondingly depress the soul, and leave Lucifer master of the situation. In this case also it is literally true that "he who will save his life shall lose it." He who values his life beyond the purposes for which life was given, will forfeit it by his sickly anxieties. As Mill found of Happiness, so it holds good of Health: neither are to be attained by making it the chief object of mortal care. How, then, do we now stand as regards *Fear Killing*, the antithesis of Faith Healing? It seems to me that alongside of the gains which have accrued to our generation from the progress of hygienic science, we have acquired habits of mind which go far to counterbalance them. Proverbially, a brave man dies but once, a coward a thousand times, and we are coming perilously near the verge of cowardice. Forty years ago Kingsley took up his parable, and preached well and wisely of religious obedience to the natural laws of health. But had his noble life lasted till now, his voice, I think, would have been loudest in the denunciation of that *hygeiolatry* which threatens to become our only religion. Kingsley adjured us to preserve health that we might the better serve God with vigorous brains and hands. We coddle ourselves, chiefly, it is to be feared, for our own comfort, and ardently cherish this life, having no particular expectation of another. While our fathers considered the most sublime line in French poetry to be the profession of Joad,

"Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte,"

we have ceased to fear God, and learned to fear microbes.

Two causes contribute to this change. One is the decline of Faith, the other is that advancement of Science which places us in the position of the poor Brahmin who was cruelly induced to look through a microscope and perceive all the unsuspected monsters in a drop of the water he was drinking. Whether the old belief in an overruling Providence was, or was not, well-founded, its superior suitability to produce Courage as contrasted with scientific physical determinism, is obvious enough. Upon our generation it has come to lose in great degree that *Abhängigkeitsgefühl* which Schleiermacher deemed the very foundation of religion, and with it the sense of being—

"Safe in the hand of one disposing Power,  
As in the natal, in the mortal hour"

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remedies have failed." Mind must be our only resort at last. There is no death. All is mind. There is no matter. "He is not dead, but sleepeth."

What the "President" means by "Metaphysics" in these volumes can only be known: we should think, to the fortunate students of the "Massachusetts Metaphysical College."

No one talks now of "every bullet having its billet," or thinks of life as an "appointed span." The bullet proceeds by the laws of dynamics, and the length of life is determined by those of biology. If we desire that our days may be long in the land, we know that that end must be sought exclusively by sanitary and hygienic precautions, and that (barring accidents) it depends exclusively on how successfully we "struggle for existence" whether our existence will be extended for a longer or shorter period.

No one can doubt that this scientific view must prove in the long run more conducive to caution than the notion of a Providential span, or of "Fate," or a "Planet," or "Kismet", and accordingly, we practically find all-around us evidences of redoubled care concerning the conditions of health. Of course in many directions this new caution is good and rational. More temperate diet, more airy bedrooms, better drained houses and more effectual ablutions, are real improvements on the habits of our ancestors. But the excess to which hygienic precautions are carried, the *proportion* which such cares now occupy amid the serious interests of life, is becoming absurd, and conducting us rapidly to a state of things wherein, if we are not "killed" by Fear, we are paralyzed by it for all natural enjoyment. The old healthful, buoyant spirit seems already fled from the majority of English homes. Aged people (from this and, no doubt, other concurrent causes) seldom exhibit now that gentle gaiety which so often brightened with hues of sunset the long calm evening of a well-spent life, after the "six days' work" was done. The middle-aged are one and all haggard ridden by anxiety, and as to the young, if we may trust the reports which reach us from the great schools, a very marked change has come over them, curiously indicative of the sensitiveness of young souls to the chill breath of the *Zeitgeist*. The lads have grown colder and harder, and are interested in pecuniary profits rather than in nobler professional ambitions. Nay, we have been told (it is a large demand upon credulity!) that English schoolboys have almost ceased to be reckless about heat and cold, about eating indigestible things, about climbing trees and precipices, about going on deep water in unseaworthy boats, in short, about all those pursuits which excited the perennial alarms of their fond mothers. Many boys are to be found, it is stated (I write always under reservation), who may be described as Molly coddles, so cautious are they about their health and their limbs. Urchins in round jackets speak of the danger of checking perspiration after cricket, and decline to partake of unripe apples and pastry on the never-before-heard-of ground of dyspepsia. Invited in the holidays to the ecstatic "lark" of a long excursion on horseback, they have declined with reference to the playfulness of their pony's heels, and have been seen to shrink from a puppy's caressing tongue, murmuring the ominous word "Rabies."



In short, our girls, who are just acquiring physical courage as a new virtue, are sometimes braver than their brothers, who think it "good form" to profess disinclination to risk their valuable persons

It is not a small matter that this ebb should be noticeable anywhere in the tide of English manly courage. On the contrary, if it continue the results must be deplorable. For our present purpose it is enough to point out that all this new-born caution about their health (to which, perhaps, the very undesirable study of physiology by schoolboys has in some schools contributed) will at the best create a generation of hypochondriacs and valetudinarians not of robust and stalwart Englishmen.

The 'fears' of which we have been speaking, fostered by over-attention to the conditions of health and longevity, may not literally "kill" anybody. It may be carrying the paradox too far to say we shall die of them, or even that they may not be successful in lengthening our calendar by a few days. But the gain will be *nil* if they render every one of those days pitiful and mean and *mesquin*. Life, to be "worth living," must be concerned with quite other things beside diseases, draughts and drains, and we want to *live*, not merely to *postpone death* and die by inches through half a century.

The general Pessimism which weighs on us all, the *Atra Cura* who has mounted behind every horseman, and whom no amount of tobacco-smoking seems to dislodge, are lowering the vitality of our generation. Hope is the true *Elan Vitæ*, and instead of "Hoping all things" with St Paul, we Fear all things with Dr Richardson. One of the greatest artists of the day gave us two years ago—possibly without precisely intending it—a bitter satire on our age. The radiant goddess, whom Collins described with "eyes so far," trilling her "delighted measure," Mr Watts depicted as a blindfolded patient out of the Brompton Hospital, bent in a curve like an ammonite rather than a vertebrate creature, over a broken-stringed lyre. Such is the HOPE of the closing decades of the Victorian era!

We must pass over many examples which might be added of the Fear Killing prevalent in our time, to speak at some length of the most prominent of those of the last three years—to wit, the Hydrophobia Scare. The history of this scare, and of Pasteurism as connected therewith, will one day, I doubt not, form a very amusing and instructive chapter in a future continuation of Mackay's "Popular Delusions." We can but glance over it here.

A rare disease, which by its nature is exceptionally closely connected with and controlled by mental impressions, was announced to be suddenly manifesting itself all over the civilized world, from Moscow to Chicago. Mad dogs became as plentiful as blackberries—at least the reports of them in the newspapers were so—and it was difficult to

open a daily journal without finding a paragraph adding to the general hue and cry

That a great proportion of these newspaper stories belonged to the mythical order of the Gooseberry and the Sea-serpent goes without saying, and as regards the hapless dogs registered in London as rabid after being battered to death on doorsteps by policemen's truncheons, it is permissible to believe that a large proportion had excited public alarm by simply crying when kicked or run over, or by exhibiting the harmless fits common to teething puppies. On these occasions of popular panic there are always, as in the old witch persecutions, two classes of enemies to the victims. There is the ubiquitous Mr Matthew Hopkins, who obtains *kudos*, and perhaps more substantial reward, for every case he detects, and there is the stupid and terrified bystander, whose latent instincts of cruelty come out immediately at the call to slay and torment either a miserable old woman or a mangled dog.

Speaking of the "Hydrophobia Bugbear," which spread consternation through America while our own scare was depriving us of our common sense and our humanity, Dr Edward Spitzka tells us in the *Forum* for April 1887

"In order to determine how great the danger in the United States from rabies is, the writer has carefully followed up all the newspaper reports of alleged outbreaks of the disease. In not a single instance has satisfactory evidence of its existence been obtained" (After detailing the sham cases at Newark, Chicago, &c, he continues) "Scores of observations might be added, all tending to prove that during the past two years there has been no reported case of rabies in man in this country which could not be referred to in error of observation. Before scientific tests all the newspaper alarms are shown to have been either fabrications, exaggerations, or mistakes" (As an example of the exaggerations we may take the following) "In Pennsylvania a number of nervous persons were rendered unhappy by a sensational report that rabies had become epidemic, and that a large number of school children had been infected by dog bites. The nucleus of this report was an epileptic fit in a little black-and-tan dog, induced by his having swallowed a chicken bone!"\*

We are very far, indeed, from making light of the terrible disease of hydrophobia when it ever really afflicts man, woman or child. But the whole history of this scare bears a false ring which provokes incredulity. In the first place, we all know how reporters by the hundred are daily seeking provender to feed scores of newspapers which require fresh supplies every morning, and we know that the welcome given by editors to every scrap of intelligence bearing on a subject which for the moment is "up" in public interest, secures the particularly careful supply of the article so in demand. This alone accounts no doubt for a multitude of these mad-dog paragraphs. But there has been at work in this particular instance something more than every-day press hunger. There has

been wire-pulling going on from the side of that medical clique which is notoriously potent on the staff of some of the leading journals. As the *Referee* last August acutely observed

"One thing is certain. The present epidemic of rabies did not begin till M Pasteur was ready for it. If he were to-morrow to abandon his experiments in this direction, we should hear of very few cases of mad dogs. The panic would have died out long ago, but it has been fomented by the press in the interests of Pastourism, and when the mad dog has not been available for sensational treatises, the mad dog has been invented."

Had no hydrophobia scare been raised, and if it had been generally understood that many more men die every year from the kicks of horses than from the bites of dogs,\* Pasteur would have obtained no such apotheosis as was prepared for him. But by carefully spreading the panic of "Mad-dog," the successful vivisector, as the great deliverer from mad dogs, was elevated to so lofty an eminence in public opinion that an English religious newspaper spoke of him as a "God-sent healer," and compared his virus-kitchen in the Rue d'Ulm to the Mount of Galilee.

Whether, beside exulting over every real or fictitious case of rabies, Pasteur's admirers are responsible for actually causing the disease in some of the infected animals, is a question not to be dismissed hastily. Mr G H Lewes told the Royal Commission on Vivisection, "When one man publishes an experiment there are people all over Europe who will set about to repeat it, and repeat it, and repeat it." It is therefore excusable to surmise that some of the physiologists who have been so loud in their praises of Pasteur, have repeated his inoculations, and that some of the dogs on which they have tried the preventive method have subsequently developed the disease, and have communicated it to other dogs through whole districts. Pasteur and his followers have been playing with a tremendous poison of which the properties are utterly unascertained, and we may never know the evils they have let loose, both as regards the virus of rabies and of anthrax †

Perhaps it may be asked, What interest can English scientific men

\* 251 persons died in 1886 in consequence of accidents caused by horses and conveyances in the streets of London, and 9 from hydrophobia. (See Registrar General's Annual Summary, pp ix and xxvi.)

† A significant incident occurred in Florence some years ago, when opposition was raised to Professor Schiff's enormous consumption of dogs for vivisection. (It was calculated he had "used" 14 000 in ten years and their skins were said to be too much cut to pieces to be saleable for manufacturing purposes.) The indignant physiologist threatened that the ungrateful city would be shortly visited by an epidemic of rabies, and very soon mad dogs were seen on all sides. In one case a butcher who appealed to the *Società Protettrice*, alleged that his dog had been in the hands of the great vivisector, and had either escaped or been released from the laboratory and returned home, where it exhibited such real or apparent symptoms of rabies that its owner reluctantly put an end to its misery. Shortly afterwards a gentleman actually died of hydrophobia, and so closely did the Florentine populace connect the occurrence with Professor Schiff's prophecy, that they hissed some members of the *Società Protettrice*, who attended the funeral as authors of the calamity!

While these sheets are passing through the press I have received a letter from a

have had in glorifying the French *savant*? He was of course (we may speak in the past tense) an "illustration" of France, of which Frenchmen naturally made the most. But what concern was it of the chorus of English biologists and F.R.S.'s to join the *réclame* in his honour? The reason, I fear, is not far to seek. For twelve years past the English advocates of experiments on living animals have seized on every straw to enable them to answer the challenges of their opponents to produce a case wherein human life had been saved by a discovery due to vivisection. Over and over again they made, with great flourishes of trumpets, in the columns of the *Times*, announcements of wonderful results of their practice, which might, would, could, should, or actually *had* cured hitherto unconquerable disease. By some fatality, however, the discoveries (if such there be) arrived at by this method always prove singularly unfortunate, and fail practically to touch the ill of mortality. Like the revelations of *clavoyantes*, they sound imposing, and are received by the initiated with rapture. But when it comes to revealing either the number of a bank note locked in a box or the cure of a disease in the human body, the oracle is either dumb or fallacious.

Now, Pasteur, if his recognition as a successful healer of a dreaded disease could be insured, would afford the best possible argument for doing away with restrictions on English vivisection. As the recent Round Robin to the College of Surgeons showed, it was thought a good working grievance by the physiologists that they have "to go to Paris for experiments on Hydrophobia." If Pasteur's vaunted remedy had been obtained without any cruel experiments, if he had professed to cure hydrophobia by a method brought to light by clinical or microscopical observation, would he have been hailed by the men of science of England as an "illustrious *savant*?" Tell it to the Marines!

The proof is conclusive. There are before the world several other remedies for hydrophobia\* carrying quite sufficient testimonials of success to merit the patient investigations of medical inquirers. For example, there is the system of vapour baths, which was known to Celsus, and was brought into prominence by the late Dr Buisson, who cured himself by such means, and afterwards nearly a hundred

medical men in a remote part of the kingdom, referring to a case of hydrophobia on which I had made inquiries. He quietly tells me (as if no such thing as the Vivisection Act had been heard of) "I have secured the hound that has developed the symptoms, and myself and my colleagues intend to carry out some experiments by inoculating other animals, and if, as a result of our investigations, we come to any conclusion, I will send you particulars."

\* As I write I observe in the *L'armacista Italiano* of Naples notice of the alleged cure of 66 patients with already developed symptoms of hydrophobia, by means of the *Spræa filipendula*, administered by Doctor Prince Jagellos of Poland, who has made the subject a study for twenty years back.

patients But which of all the biologists and doctors who have glorified Pasteur has taken the trouble so much as to read the evidence in favour of these harmless methods of treatment, even when, as in the case of the Buisson baths, they have been largely advertised at the cost of non-medical benevolent persons, and offered gratuitously to needy patients? When Mr Walter McLaren, in April last, begged the Home Secretary to issue another Commission to examine into the results of the Buisson treatment, the suggestion was at once negatived None save a few unscientific people, who cared *merely* for saving men and animals, exhibited the least interest in the subject

And what, we now seriously ask, has been the outcome of the monstrous *claque* which has hailed Pasteur as a "Benefactor of Humanity?" Has he saved life, or been responsible for the loss of it?

The statistics of hydrophobia in France have been of late so manipulated in the interests of Pasteur that it is not easy to clear up the first question It appears, however, that the average number of deaths from the disease throughout France was 30 per annum from 1850 to 1872 Tardieu calculated them at 24 or 25, and after giving his reasons, added the significant remark that "if these figures did not represent the exact truth they were certainly not far from it," and that "the public mind should not be frightened with larger ones" Previously, in 1863, Boudin had presented to the *Académie de Médecine* a table in which he estimated the annual deaths in France from hydrophobia at 30\* If, then, we assume this to be a fair average, perhaps to be somewhat raised of later years, we ask What has M Pasteur achieved in the way of lowering it?

We find that in 1886 the deaths in France from hydrophobia were 39<sup>1</sup> Of these 22 were of persons inoculated by Pasteur, and 17 of others not inoculated Thus Pasteur had the opportunity of diminishing the mortality by more than half had his method been effectual Instead of this we find that the total of deaths *exceeded* the average by 9<sup>1</sup>

Taking the rest of the world into view, we have not materials for judging of the average of former years to compare it with the last, but we know that of Pasteur's patients—that is, of persons inoculated in Paris, or by those who are carrying out his system under his direction elsewhere—the number of deaths up to May, 1887, has been 79

On the other hand, How many lives has the Pasteurian delusion actually cost? For how many deaths are Pasteur and his supporters

\* See this question discussed by Dr Lutaud, *M Pasteur et la Rage*, chap xxi, and by Dr Constantin James, *M Pasteur sa nouvelle méthode*, &c, p 16

responsible? He has failed to *save* more patients than would have been saved, judging by averages, in the natural order of things. Of how many has he caused the death? It would seem clear that he has had two classes of victims

1st, Those who have died of the "intensive inoculations," which have created the new disease signalized by Dr Peter before the *Académie des Sciences* last January, and named ominously *Rage de Laboratoire*—or *Rage Paralytique*, the sufferers dying (like the rabbits from which they were immediately inoculated) of paralysis, instead of the ordinary forms of hydrophobia, and feeling pain at the places of inoculation, not of the original bite

Of this disease 11 persons perished in three months after the introduction of the *methode intensive*, and 13 up to date \*

2 Those (with whom we are more properly concerned in treating of Fear Killing), whose deaths are due to the panic which has been created to bolster up Pasteurism in Europe and America. How much deadly mischief has been done in this way will never be known, but may be guessed. Before the Pasteurian craze, grooms, gamekeepers, sportsmen, country ladies and gentlemen were bitten perpetually by dogs and cats, and sometimes by ferrets and stoats and rats, and thought no more of it than a hedger does of a scratch of a blackthorn. But now that the scare has prevailed everywhere, there is a panic every time a frightened beast uses its natural weapons. If the accident occur in London and to a policeman, the stalwart official marches to Scotland Yard, and solemnly reports at headquarters that his well-gloved fingers have been pinched by a puppy

To estimate the mischief done in the case of hydrophobia by such a panic as this it is only needful to read the statements and opinions of the writers who have treated of the disease, and who, without exception, connect its development with nervous alarm. Dr Barthélemy, who cured himself of an attack by sheer resolution, held that the disease was "mainly due to the imagination and irritability of the patient." Professor Fleming says —

"The influence of mental emotions on the development of hydrophobia would appear to be almost unquestionable, and there is every reason to inquire whether the greater mortality resulting from the bites of rabid animals in adult than in young persons may not be attributable, to some extent at least, to this cause. The diseased mind may favour the generation and expedite the recrudescence of the mortal malady" †

"If it were understood," says Dr Spitzka, "that fear and expectant attention may not only develop serious nervous symptoms, but actually cause death, many who are threatened with hydrophobia would cultivate healthful

\* Namely, Rouyer, Réveillac, Bodini, Née, Wildc, Goffi, Gerard, Letang, Gornot, Foulap, Albert Alfand, and Beyé

† *Rabies and Hydrophobia*, p 344

The "best authorities to-day," says the same writer, "incline to regard the majority of cases of reputed rabies in man as spurious. They believe that many of the sufferers who develop the imaginary disease were bitten by animals suffering not from rabies, but from epilepsy or from gastro intestinal disease—nay, even by healthy dogs. That the serious and oftentimes fatal influence of terror and expectant attention, fostered by popular alarm, is attended by other epidemics of imitative nervous disorder, is a familiar fact to those who have studied the influence of the mind on the body. From the fifteenth century, when Alsatian peasants imagined they were changed into wolves, and ran on all fours, howling and tearing children to pieces, down to the present day, when those dreading hydrophobia bark like dogs and mew like cats, the records of hydrophobia are replete to overflowing with delusion, superstition, hysteria, and unconscious simulation. The tragical case of a number of persons dying in the sixteenth century after having eaten of a pig that had been bitten by a dog, which in its turn had been bitten by another and rabid one, found its counterpart a few weeks ago in Russia, where a medical editor, a follower of Pasteur, suggested the treating of a number of persons in the Pasteur Institute at Odessa for no better reason than that they had partaken of milk from a cow bitten by a rabid dog."\*

The Pasteur Craze and the Hydrophobia Bugbear will soon be things of the past, but it will be well to remember for a long time to come that, so far as Biological Science has a voice in England, it was raised in hosannas to the French *savant*. Those "experts" in whom the simple lay public is constantly asked to confide, as the only proper judges of the *utility* of cruel experiments on animals, (and who would fain be permitted at the same time to settle the morality of the practice), those very experts have proved themselves in this noteworthy case absolutely and even ridiculously mistaken. Either they were not clever enough, or they were not honest and single-minded enough, to discern the unscientific and delusive character of a method which, once it has been exposed in plain language, appears the very climax of charlatanism. † Not one English vivisector charged his French colleague with useless cruelty, and the Commission, headed by Sir H. Roscoe, which was sent from England last summer to inquire into the method, forbore for nine months to give its Report, or warn the nation that it was being deceived into sending imperilled men and children to undergo a delusive and perhaps dangerous operation! This was all that Science did for us, in the face of this huge Medical Bubble. Those unscientific people who could only apply common sense to the subject and who revolted from the monstrous character of the method, or relied on their

† 'The neutralization of an already received rabic virus, by successive inoculations not of an antidote but of rabic virus of progressive virulence and this unaccompanied by the very smallest morbid symptom—such is the great mystery of the new religion — *M. Pasteur et la Rage*, by Dr Iutaud, p. 67

religious conviction that by no such barbarous means could real good come to humanity—these people, deafened as they were a year ago by the “Great is Diana” chorus of the biologists, and insultingly challenged in every newspaper to bow at last at the shrine of beneficent Vivisection—these, after all, prove to have been right

When next there is question of condoning cruelty on the plea of benefiting humanity, it is to be hoped that this instructive history will not be forgotten. Of the moral injury done to the community by sanctioning cruelty there can be no question at all. Of the physical advantages to be purchased by it we have a sample in Pusturism. An “infinite number” of miserable animals have died in the unutterable agonies of artificially produced rabies—an aggravated form of that awful disease which Mayhew tells us amounts to being *inflamed all over*. And the result of this burnt-offering in the temple of the Rue d’Ulm has been the death of seventy-nine patients, of whom at least a dozen have died unquestionably of *their inoculations*!

Old Selden says in his “Table Talk,” “To preach long, loud, and damnation is the way to be cried up. Men love the man who dunneth them, and run after him to save them.” The secret has, I fear, been bequeathed to our modern priests the doctors. It is right and proper for them to warn us in moderation, but they do it beyond all reason. “Touch not! Taste not! Handle not! There is Death in the Pot! ‘Ware Microbes here! ‘Ware Bacilli there! All the world’s a Hospital, and all the men and women merely patients.” There is no end to the “host of spectres pale” which beleaguers us summoned by their spells and clothed with double terrors by their alarming new scientific titles. But there should be some limits to this perpetual cry of “Wolf! Wolf!” We must all die sooner or later, whether with scientific advisers or without them, and it would, after all, be better to die sooner, pursuing noble objects, performing natural duties, and even enjoying innocent pleasures, than a little later, amid pitiful anxieties and odious messes and inoculations of filth, leading the lives of Molière’s “Malade Imaginaire.” Perhaps we may never, alas! discover the secret of “Faith Healing,” but at least we can avoid “Fear Killing”—dying by inches of sheer anxiety to live, and being slain at last by the very dread of Death.

FRANCES POWER COBBE



## OXFORD AFTER FORTY YEARS

IN a former article I spoke of some of the changes which strike one who has come back to Oxford after a considerable time of absence, of some of the outward and social changes, of changes in the relations between the University and the colleges, of changes in the relations between different classes of teachers, and specially of the way in which the colleges and the professors seem to have been looked at by the last Commission. But I said nothing directly on a matter perhaps more important still, the changes made during the same time in the subjects of study and examination. On these points I now propose to make some further remarks.

In the subjects and methods of study in the University, as they are now and as they were forty years back, there is change indeed. What first strikes one is the wonderful way in which the University seems to be cut up into little sects, each devoted to some particular branch of knowledge, and seemingly knowing or caring nothing about any other. It is like "I am of Paul," and "I of Apollos." Here is a "Greats man," here is a "Mods man." I never heard of a "Smalls man," indeed that name seems now to be forgotten. But there is the "History man," and the "Law man," and the "Natural Science man," or rather there are as many kinds of "Natural Science man" as there are new "ologies" coming into being every year. The "History man," like the "Greats man," is a more distinct figure. But the "Greats man" reads history as well as the "History man," how then are they to be distinguished? I once was inclined to define the two by saying that the "Greats man" had read his Thucydides, but that the "History man" had not. Late events may perhaps somewhat modify the first definition. It seems as if the "Greats man" is one who has indeed read his Thucydides, but who grudges that either himself or any one else should read any further.

Now all these various classes, "Greats men," "Mods men," "History men," "Law men," &c &c, with the examinations and studies in which they are severally interested, "Greats," "Mods," "Group A," "Preliminary B"—the mind gets dizzy at the endless varieties, endlessly shifting—seem to be like religious or political sects, or perhaps more like jealous neighbours, each maintaining his own right against all comers. The different branches of study seem to be treated as if they were enemies. One branch gets what is called "relief"—that is commonly relief from knowing something—and another branch cries out for the like "relief." One hears a great deal more about the interests of this or that school or division of a school than of the interests of sound learning. It would really seem as if many look at schools and examinations as an end in themselves, which it is a good work to multiply. All this division, all this strange rivalry, seem very wonderful to the man of forty years past. Those who have grown up under this complicated system probably understand it, with some indeed it seems to occupy their whole thoughts. One unused to it may be pardoned for thinking that, unless it does occupy a man's whole thoughts, he has no chance of understanding it. The system, be it observed, changes almost daily, every term sees two or three new statutes passed to create some new kind of examination, or to make some change in an existing one. And each is discussed, not with regard to the effect which it is likely to have upon learning, but with regard to the interests or the "relief" of this or that school or subject. One change is for the law men, another for the natural science men, another has something to do with "old classical moderations," a phrase which seems odd to those to whom "moderations" in any shape seem something new. When, for once in a way, it is proposed to make, not a change strictly so called, not the abolition or alteration of anything existing, but the mere introduction of an alternative, and that simply and purely in the interests of sound learning, it is rejected as being contrary to the interests of this or that set of learners or teachers. Otherwise, it seems to be understood that the more changes made the better, let the examinations be altered and multiplied daily, till the choice of objects of study shall be as wide as the choice of objects of amusement. They multiply till it is impossible to find names for them, there is Group A and Group B, and I know not how many more letters. To be examined in "Group A" instead of in a school with an intelligible name sounds something like being summoned to wherever "Assize County A" may have its business done, instead of to the natural capital of one's natural shire. Moreover I believe that in some schools, perhaps in Group A itself, a man may be examined piecemeal, part of him may be plucked, and the rest saved alive. One is reminded of the half-eaten victims of the lions spoken of by the Emperor Marcus, whose

surviving remnants were brought forth to supply fresh sport for a second day

Now all this seems to me to be thoroughly bad. An examination is surely not an end in itself, it is at most a necessary evil. The examination in front of him may cause many a man to read who otherwise would not have read at all, even in the case of the man who would have read whether he had to be examined or no, the examination, though an evil, is a necessary one, as there is no way of distinguishing such men beforehand. But the examination, though a necessary evil, is still an evil, reading for an examination is not genuine reading, it is reading for some other object than the simple gaining of knowledge. If I may speak of myself, I may say that I am most thankful that the Oxford course of my day compelled me to read some books which otherwise I most likely should not have read, but the examination was to me always a kind of spectre or tempter, something which supplied a false motive for one's work. When it was over, I said, Now I can really read something, and I began to read again with a good heart the books which I had already read under the deadening yoke of the false motive. Examinations cannot be wholly got rid of, but surely they ought to be few and searching. And the old examination for the bachelor's degree was indeed searching, the work of three years or so was brought up at once. Now I believe the principle is that a man's work should be cut into as many pieces as possible, and that he should go through as many examinations as possible. It is "relief" to examine him in one thing by itself, and to let him have time well to forget it before he is examined in something else. The principle of the old examination was, not to give a man time to forget, but to make it necessary for him to remember. It was a real test of knowledge, industry, and memory, when we took up at one time our history, our scholarship, and the studies which were then called "science," a name which has since wandered elsewhere. Even those who added mathematics in a separate school took them in directly after. We took up our Thucydides, we took him up at once as a great historian and a great writer of Greek. One man might be stronger in the matter of his books, another in the language, but no man could wholly neglect either or part the two asunder.

So far as to the effect of the two systems of examination on those who are to be examined according to either. But there is another point to be looked at. The amazing complication of the present system and the constant changes in it lead to another result as to the outward value of the degree and the class. It is surely of the first importance in any system of degrees, and above all in any system of classes, that the degree or the class should have a clearly understood meaning. Members of the University should have a clear idea, the

world in general should have some idea, as to what a degree or a class implies, what kind of studies the bearer of it has gone through, what kind of proficiency in them he has reached. Forty years ago it was pretty well known what an Oxford degree, what an Oxford first-class, meant. There was then no rivalry between one subject and another. We all learned much the same things, even those who went in for mathematical honours had necessarily taken a pass, and had most commonly taken a class, in the school of *Literæ Humaniores*. There was therefore no such gap between "classical men" and "mathematical men" as there is between votaries of different subjects now. But now the Oxford degree, the Oxford first class, may be got in a hundred different ways, so that nobody knows what it means in the case of each particular man. And the number of subjects is ever growing. There seems to be a notion afloat that every subject which is worth any man's study at any time of his life is fit to be made, and ought to be made, at least an alternative subject of examination for the degree of bachelor of arts. Now surely there are many subjects which a man may most fitly study, to which a man may even worthily devote his life, which still are quite unfit to be even alternative subjects in an examination which is in its own nature rudimentary. I will give as an example, not a whole subject, but a part of a subject, because it is one which I can myself better understand. The man who has the greatest mastery of any living man of the English history of the seventeenth century, himself an Oxford examiner, has deliberately put on record his judgement that the English history of the seventeenth century is not a fit subject for examination for the bachelor's degree. I have long thought so, but I might not have ventured to say so. The historian of the Stewart reigns has a right to say so, and he has said so. How worthy a subject for mature study that period is none has shown better than himself, but he has discernment enough to see that the period of history which he loves best for his own mature study and mature teaching is not a period suited for an examination which is in its own nature immature. But, among this multiplication of schools and subjects, the worst error of all is to give this immature examination, this examination for a first and imperfect degree, the character of an examination in a man's future profession. First of all, the whole system and theory of degrees and faculties is trampled under foot. It is strange indeed that the degree in arts, the class in arts, may be got by passing examinations which would seem to belong to the higher professional degrees. The University has a faculty of Divinity, a faculty of Law, a faculty of Medicine, with degrees in each, with practical examinations in two of them. Yet the degree in arts is most strangely to be had by examinations in divinity and in law, I will not venture to say that it can or cannot be had by

an examination in medicine, for no outsider will presume to define the exact boundaries between medicine and natural science. It is surely objection enough that the system of faculties is destroyed by giving a degree in one faculty after an examination in another. But far more important than this is the essential objection to bringing in anything of a professional kind into the examination for the first degree in the lowest faculty, the degree of bachelor of arts.

The old theory was that the first faculty, the faculty of arts, took in those subjects which had nothing to do with any particular walk of life, but which were held to be good for a man whatever his walk of life was likely to be. What those subjects may be is a point on which different generations will have different opinions, these first and necessary subjects have often been changed, and may very likely be changed again, but the principle has never changed, the arts course always was that course which in any particular age was thought to be good for all those who entered the University at all. By proficiency in that course men got the arts degree, the first and general degree, with that degree a man might remain satisfied, or he might go on to one of the higher professional degrees in Divinity, Law, or Medicine. To these last the arts degree—latterly it would be more correct to say the arts examination—was the only path.\* A man first showed his proficiency in those subjects which were held to be good for him in any line of life, till he had done so he did not enter on the subjects specially belonging to one particular line of life. Such was the theory, the evil was that, while the examination for the lower degree became more and more real, the exercises for the higher degrees became more and more nominal. In my time the Civil Law degree could practically be taken by any master of arts, the Divinity degree could be taken by any clerical master of arts. In medicine there was an examination, as to its depth or value of course an outsider can say nothing.

As things stood forty years back the bachelor's degree in arts practically involved two examinations, though the former of them was not known by that name. Before the bachelor's degree came the *status*, not exactly a degree, of *Generals Sophista*, a name which seems now to be quite forgotten in Oxford, though there are traces of it both at Dublin and in America, and I fancy at Cambridge also. This *status* was gained by the exercise called Responsions, commonly known in my day by the names of *Little-go* and *Smalls*. Though not called an examination, it really was one, but one of a trifling kind, which he

\* I say this, because, by a change older than my time, the *degrees* in Law and Medicine could be taken without taking the arts degrees. But the arts examination had to be passed, as well as whatever was required for the higher degree. Thus in those days men practically got degrees in divinity and law by passing an examination in arts, now they get a degree in arts by passing an examination in divinity or law.

who aimed at a class in the final examination felt rather irksome. Later came the "Public Examination" for the bachelor's degree, practically for the master's degree also, as no further examination or exercise was required for the higher rank.

Setting aside the somewhat vexatious "Little-go," the examination system, as it stood in my day, has always seemed to me to be excellent in what it did, but faulty in what it left undone. Modern improvements have, to my mind, greatly destroyed its excellence, while all that was faulty has been untouched. As I just now said, the bachelor's examination in arts was an examination in those subjects which any given age the thirteenth or the nineteenth, thought desirable for all who entered the University. Now if I were to say that the theory of the first half of the nineteenth century was that the subjects best suited for that purpose were "classics," with the necessary addition of logic and the optional addition of mathematics, I should be saying what would be liable to mislead. The main subject of our work was certainly the study of Latin and Greek writings, but it was something very different from the vulgar conception of "classics." We did something vastly better than that style of scholarship which consists in quoting Horace and making Latin verses. The Oxford class of those days was got by taking up, in Greek and Latin writers, enough of several subjects to give every man the best possible start in any one of them which he might choose to take up as the work of his future life. The system did not profess to turn out, at the age when men take their first degree, finished historians, finished philologists, finished mental philosophers. A man was a fool if he fancied that he came out of the schools any one of those three. But though he did not come out any one of the three, he had gone through the best possible discipline towards some day making him any one of the three that he might most wish to be. He had learned enough of at least three subjects to enable him to choose among them, and the time that he had given to the two which he did not choose was anything but thrown away. I have never carried mental philosophy further than was necessary in the schools. But I am thankful to have gone through a course which made me read Aristotle's *Ethics* and Butler's *Sermons*. Nay, I have felt the use even of the three books of Euclid that I took in for my Little go. For they all helped to clear my mind, to give me the power of comparing and distinguishing, of seeing what is proof and what is not. As a preliminary course, a course leading to an imperfect degree, the system was admirable. It may have needed a certain amount of expansion, but it needed expansion only on its own lines. There was no need to sweep away a system which was really wide, really liberal, really leading to the highest culture, and to put in its stead every vagary of a narrow and deadening "specialism."

Still the system had its faults. It had two main faults. Admir-

able as an examination for a first and imperfect degree, it was made to be, what it was not suited to be, an examination for a second and complete degree. That is to say, it was not followed by any further examination or other exercise for the degree of master of arts. This was one fault, the other was the existence of class-lists. To have class-lists, to make separate "honour" schools, is a confession that the mere degree is worth very little. In truth the standard for the ordinary degree was then, and I believe is now, pitched so low that the mere degree is worth very little. But no academical degree ought to be worth very little, the degree itself should be an honour, a sign of real proficiency. No one of course would propose that the standard for the ordinary degree should be pitched at the level of a first or even a second class. But it should be pitched very much higher than it is now, high enough to make the mere winning of the degree a certain distinction. Thus the mischievous excitement of class-lists might be got rid of, while the men who nowadays get the first classes might have another and more wholesome opportunity of distinguishing themselves. It is monstrous that the degree of master of arts, with all the powers which it still confers, should be given at random to every one who can pass the lowest form of the examination for the bachelor's degree. The complete degree should have its own exercise in some shape or another, something, I should say, like the dissertations for the corresponding degree in Germany, the doctorate in philosophy. Here specialism might fairly come in, let the choice of subjects be as wide as possible, consistent with their not being professional subjects. History, language, mental science, mathematics, such branches of natural science as astronomy and geology, and any others which do not come too nearly to a professional character, would all be in place. Let real proficiency in any of them obtain the master's degree, but let no man receive it who cannot treat some subject or other in a scholarlike fashion. The first, the imperfect degree, is the proper reward of those who have made a good start in several subjects. Then let the bachelor choose his subject, and let the master's degree be the reward of real advance in that subject. Let the bachelor's degree be once more made respectable, and the master's degree honourable, and the whole system of class-lists, a system tolerable only as long as the degree itself is thought lightly of, might be swept away, to the great advancement of solid study and to the lessening of unhealthy excitement.

Of the endless changes of forty years, how the last traces of the old system gradually gave way before the advancing tide of specialism, it might be both profitable and interesting to trace the course, but so to do in detail would need a volume. I can here speak of a few main points only. The two great changes of the system which

came into operation in 1853 were the division of the Public Examination in the two schools of *Literæ Humaniores* and Mathematics into a first and second examination, to be passed at two different times, and the addition of two new "final" schools, those of Natural Science and Law and Modern History. As Responses were left, and as every man had to pass two "final" schools, each man had really to be examined four times. But by some singular arithmetic, Responses not being counted, the second examination was called the first, and the third and fourth were both called the second. Moreover, as those who examined in Responses were not called Examiners but Masters of the Schools, so those who examined in the first [second] examination were called, not Examiners but *Moderators*. It was "the First Public Examination before Moderators." As no human creature could be expected to use such a name in ordinary talk, this examination took from the officers engaged in it the slang name of "Moderations," which, it is needless to say, is absolutely meaningless. But so necessary was some name that "Moderations" has ceased to be slang, and is now used by the gravest speakers on the gravest occasions. In ordinary talk "Moderations" has become "Mods," but "Mods" is still thought beneath the dignity of debates in Congregation. I have known an orator speak of "Mods" and correct himself into "Moderations," as if "Moderations" was not in itself just as much slang as "Mods." But the thing is more important than the name. The "First Public Examination," *alias* "Moderations," *alias* "Mods," is an examination in Greek and Latin Literature, there are also Mathematical Moderations, with which I am not concerned. Here comes in the distinction between "Mods" and "Greats." "*Greats*," so far as the name existed in my time, meant the Public Examination, as distinguished from Responses, Little-go, or *Smalls*, now it seems, rather oddly, to mean the final school in *Literæ Humaniores*, as distinguished from the other final schools. Now "Moderations," if I have rightly grasped its meaning, is a school in which Greek books are taken up for the language only, and not for the matter — what in my day was called the "science." This has been a puzzle to me ever since the change was first made. I believe I may say without vain boasting that I have read more Greek books than most people, but I have certainly never read one without attending both to the matter and to the language, and I cannot understand how the two are to be kept apart. It was startling, when "Moderations" were first invented, to hear that Demosthenes was to be read before Herodotus and Thucydides. I asked, How could these things be? how could a man learn about Philip before he had learned about Themistokles and Perikles? And I was told that the man who read Herodotus and Thucydides would have to know about Themistokles and Perikles, but that the man who read Demosthenes needed



not to know anything about Philip, for they took up the matter, he took up only the language. That must be nearer forty years ago than thirty, but to this day I am no nearer to understanding how a man can really read Demosthenes and not know about Philip. I am only glad that I never read Demosthenes or any other book in that fashion. But I believe that many men in Oxford now think that "Moderations" have been from all eternity, that they are as old as hereditary kingship, at any rate as old as the lord of the manor. I have myself been asked what class I took in them.

What has become of the earlier exercise called Responsions—the "Smalls" whose name suggested "Greats"—is more puzzling. I turned away as one wholly baffled when I found that, by a kind of Cæsarean operation, they are now practised on persons who have not as yet any academical being at all. If this points to a glimmering notion of a regular University examination for matriculation, something might come of it.

The two new "final" schools were those of Natural Science and of Law and Modern History. But I fancy that not many people remember the form in which the fourth school was first proposed to Convocation. The elder studies, it will be remembered, were mainly confined to subjects studied in Greek and Latin authors, among which Greek history took a leading part. The course might very well have been expanded, a wider choice of authors and periods might have been allowed, something might have been done to break down the superstition which with so many confines the study of the history and languages of Greece and Italy to a few arbitrarily chosen centuries of each. But in this direction nothing was done. Instead of it, "Modern History" was set up as something distinct from "ancient," almost hostile to "ancient." That "modern" history needed to be studied in original authorities in exactly the same way and with quite as much labour as "ancient" did not come into the heads of the devisers of the change. Their notion was to make an "easy" school for rich men, "modern" history was an "easy" study, which did not need any Latin and Greek, modern books in English, or at most in French, would be quite enough. But it was not only "modern history." The school, in its first form, was one of "Modern History and the Cognate Sciences," the "cognate sciences" being pretty well any subject, not distinctly mathematical or physical, provided it was not studied in Greek or Latin writers. The school was a school of odds and ends, thrown together in a heap, because it was too much book, was part of *Literæ Humaniores*, if studied in an English book, trouble to classify them. Mental science, if studied in a Greek it was a "cognate science" to "modern" history. This scheme never took effect, it was too much for the common sense of Convocation. In its stead came the school of "Law and Modern History."

What is to be said about this union of subjects? I should be inclined to say that it was good or bad, according to the line taken by the Examiner who took the law branch—though there was nothing to that effect in the statute, it was found convenient in practice to have always one professional lawyer among the Examiners. And I can truly say, when I look back on my legal colleagues in past times, that the effect of their presence was much oftener good than bad. It was bad with the gentleman who made the men say that William the Conqueror brought in the Feudal System at the Council of Salisbury, it was good in the hands, to mention one only, of such a man as Mr. Kenelm Digby, one of the foremost in a hundred most worthy of honour, those lawyers who were showing that the study of law may be made the best friend, instead of the worst enemy, of the study of history. There is something to be said on both sides, but on the whole I rather regret the separation between the two which was made at a later time, because it has led to what I look on as the great mistake of setting up a professional school of law as one of the alternative paths to the B.A. degree. History constantly needs the help of law, often the help of the professional lawyer, but law, as a subject for the B.A. degree, should be, as law from one side is, a branch of history.

Of the other new school that was set up at the same time, that of Natural Science, I can say nothing, except that some branches of what is called Natural Science are so closely connected with History that I should be well pleased to find some means of uniting the two. Geology, Palæontology, Natural History in some of its aspects, are distinctly historical studies, more nearly akin surely to History than to some other studies which go under the same name as themselves. In any case, both schools were new, and both had to struggle against the disadvantages of novelty, the Law and History school had to struggle against the further disadvantage of being thought easy. But one very odd thing was that the new schools were often trotted out before the world as "lay studies," as opposed to the older schools of *Litteræ Humaniores* and Mathematics. These last seem to have been looked on as specially clerical. How a school which was largely devoted to the doings of saints, popes, bishops, and heretics, was more "lay" than a school which had to deal almost wholly with pagan matters, was somewhat mysterious. But so it was, the Examiners, lay or clerical, in the school of *Litteræ Humaniores* were trusted to examine in what was then called "divinity," the Examiners in the school of Law and Modern History were not.

But this first stage of change, while it brought in new studies and new schools, did not make an utter severance between them and the old. When the system of four schools first came in,

every man had to pass in at least two, that of *Literæ Humaniores* and one other, Mathematics, Natural Science, Law and Modern History, at pleasure. It was a most fatal change when this pre-eminence of the school of *Literæ Humaniores* was taken away. I had myself, in several examinations in the school of Law and Modern History, the best opportunities of marking its effects. In the first days of the new schools, the man who had taken the most triumphant first class in *Literæ Humaniores* had still at least to pass in one of the other three schools. Having to pass, he very often preferred to read for a class in his second school. Hence in those days the most brilliant men in the University constantly found their way into the school of Law and Modern History, to the great advantage of the school and of themselves. In the school of *Literæ Humaniores* they had gained a valuable amount of positive knowledge, and they had also learned something of the art of using such knowledge as they had, they had learned, what in an age of examinations is not to be despised, the art of being examined. There was all the difference in the world between the men who came into the Modern History school from the honour school of *Literæ Humaniores* and the men who had merely passed in it. The former class were sometimes tempted to treat their Modern History work too much, as a Greek would have said, *ἡ παρεργή*, as a mere appendage to work which they deemed more important, while with the latter their Modern History work was their chief object. Still the men who had gone through whatever remnants "Greats" and "Mods" had kept of the sound discipline of the old schools were always the best. And what was more important than all, they did something of their own accord to remedy the frightful mistake of the system, that of making "Modern" History a distinct business from "Ancient." So it was in 1857-8 and in 1863-4. In 1873 I was Examiner again for a single turn. Between 1864 and 1873 the unlucky change had come which made the other schools wholly independent of the school of *Literæ Humaniores*. I felt the difference at once. My first remark was that the passmen were much better than they had been nine years before, and that the classmen were not nearly so good. The passmen were improved, because meanwhile a system of teaching had grown up, which did the passman some good, and saved him from the utterly brutal ignorance of earlier days. The merest crammer could keep men from saying that "Queen Philippa was the wife of Edward the First, who murdered her and then married again." But the really good man, such as were many of our classmen from 1857 to 1864, could teach himself a great deal better than the crammer could teach him. The classmen of 1873 had gone down, because the kind of men who came into the school nine years before had ceased to come into it. The man who had got his first class in

*Literæ Humaniores*, no longer obliged to pass in a second school, seldom cared to go in for a class in a second school. The classmen in Modern History were now almost wholly men who had not gone through the training of the elder school, and who did not bring with them the amount of historical knowledge which the elder school required. Up to that time the good sense of the men themselves had done something to lessen the evil of the fatal distinction between "ancient" and "modern" implied in the arrangement of the schools. Now there was nothing to check it. The man who had got his class in *Literæ Humaniores*—the "Greats man"—had no longer the same temptation as before to carry on his historical studies further. The man who aimed at a class in the Modern History school—the "History man"—had no longer the same temptation as before to begin his historical studies earlier. From 1857 to 1861 the "Greats man" and the "History man"—I do not think the names were known then—were very largely the same person. In 1873 I found they had become distinct. So it is still. The "Greats man" is a man who has read his Thucydides, the "History man" is too often one who has not.

The time that I examined in 1873, along with the present Bishop of Chester and Mr. Boase, was the last time when passmen and classmen were examined at the same time and by the same Examiners. Why a change was made I never could understand. The passmen have, I believe, vanished into the wonderful "Groups" for which no names can be found, but which have to be marked by letters. As for the classmen, in 1873 the Examiners still examined freely. Now there is a Board, and the Board has provided them with an elaborate system of "periods," "subjects," "books," what not, which makes the brain dizzy to look at it. The practical upshot of it all is that, in 1857-71, the tendency of the school was to the study of the earlier parts of so-called "Modern" history: men did build something is near to a foundation as the sad gap between "ancient" and "modern" would let them. Now the fashion is to run off to the very latest times, to the French Revolution and times since the French Revolution. To say nothing of the impossibility of really understanding these late times without a grasp of the times before them, these late times, in themselves as important, as worthy of deep and mature study, as any times that went before them, are unfit for University study and examination. They are unfit, because of the lack of original authorities in the shape of books. For the French Revolution there is no Thucydides, no Procopius, no Matthew Paris. But so it is, the Professor may gather round him a chosen few devoted to more solid work, and may do good work with them. But for the mass of "History men" he preaches in the wilderness. Those to whom the real teaching power of the University has passed have settled matters otherwise.

Law and Modern History had been parted asunder before 1873. Since then the tendency has been more and more to what is called "specialism," to divisions upon divisions, to multiplied schools and examinations, to everything that can more and more split up the University into sections with different objects and studies, to everything that can more and more give the B A examination a special and professional character, to everything that can more and more take from it its old and healthy nature as an examination in subjects good for men of all sorts. Every man who has a pet subject wishes for a separate school for his pet subject. Every one who has a profession wishes to have something specially done for his own profession. Every day a new -ology asks for a new school and new Examiners. As nobody but the particular -ologist knows the meaning of the particular -ology, as of course "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*," everybody is afraid to refuse, they might be called obscurantists or reactionaries, if they did, though to the outsider it sometimes sounds as if we were asked to supply special Examiners in Sicilian coins or in Provençal commonwealths. One day we are asked to create a mysterious being called a master in surgery, another day we are asked to do something for solicitors who do not care to learn Greek. Divide, divide, is the cry, specialize, specialize, let there be no time for general culture, for common study of any kind, lawyers, physicians, divines, none of them can wait to build up the special learning of their several callings upon a good common foundation, they must rush at the business of their own callings from the very first. It is forgotten that the real business of a first degree, an imperfect degree, is to be the badge, not so much of having learned this or that particular subject, as of having gone through a course of discipline which will stand a man in good stead in the more mature study of any subject. And amid this rush after professional studies, the older studies themselves are becoming professional. I have heard the words "tutorial profession"—very ominous words indeed. I have heard words more ominous still, "the pecuniary value of a first class." I have heard a speaker in Congregation take for granted that the main object of an Oxford man's studies was to become a schoolmaster of some kind. Amid all this hubbub, what time or space is left for the old culture, the old discipline, the culture and discipline good for all, which trained, and did not wholly train in vain, the man of earlier generations, when "specialism" had not been devised, and when the word "profession" in connexion with the first degree was unheard of?

The answer to this argument is obvious, and the answer to the answer is no less obvious. We are told that a man has now no time for general studies, he must take to his professional studies early, as soon as he enters the University, or he will not be able to come to the University at all. One is afraid to do more than

whisper a doubt whether the University wants men who come merely to work at their own professions, and not to seek general culture of any kind. It must be only in the same whisper that one can venture to hint that the old distinction of Greek and barbarian is not yet worn out, and that the knowledge of the most perfect form of human speech is still the test which parts off the cultured man from the uncultured. It may be less dangerous to call attention to the fact that the average age of admission to the University has advanced a year since my day, and full two years since the beginning of the century. I am sure this is no gain in any point of view. It is said to be somehow in the interests of schools and schoolmasters. And that is a very great and formidable interest. Ever and anon one hears of a synod of schoolmasters, who seem to meet to teach, not only the Universities but all mankind, how they ought to behave. A year or two back I read a most wonderful paper signed by eight schoolmasters. It took for granted, as a physical law of the Universe, that no one could enter the University till he was nineteen. It deplored the sad fate of certain youths, who by some unhappy chance got scholarships before they were eighteen. Now I got my scholarship before I was eighteen, so did many of my contemporaries, some got theirs before they were seventeen, and no one thought they were unlucky, quite the other way. Now if we could do such a reactionary thing as to fall back on this earlier time of entering the University, two years would be gained for general work. Possibly it might not suit the schoolmasters, but the school must learn to adapt itself to the University, and not the University to the school. The time gained would be clear gain, for the general complaint is that a lad, on coming from school to the University, loses a great deal of time in doing again what he has already done at school. Even if it is a law of Nature that specialism should begin at nineteen, there would thus be a year or two years after school is ended and before specialism begins. With regard to language, the functions of school and University seem sharply enough marked. The business of a school is to teach the languages, in the sense of knowing how to construe them, the business of an University is to teach language in the higher sense, the wide comparative study of language, and to teach the subjects treated in those languages in the original writers. A man ought to come to Oxford, not to learn Greek but to study Greek books, he should have already learned Greek, in the school-boy sense, at school.

And not only should he have thus learned Greek, and of course Latin, he should, in the same sense, have learned some at least of the present spoken languages of Western Europe. Their study is now as needful as that of the elder tongues, the error is in thinking that, because a new thing has become necessary as well as the old, there-

fore the new thing should displace the old. The truth to be taken in is that there is no real opposition between "ancient" and "modern languages," that they are simply parts of the same study, that either is imperfect without the other. We must grasp the truth, hard to be grasped by both friends and enemies, that there is no special mystery about Greek and Latin, nothing to part them off from other European tongues, nothing to make them the objects of a study all by themselves. It was very natural for men to think so in the sixteenth century, it is unpardonable to think so in the nineteenth. Latin without the Romance tongues is a beginning without an end, the Romance tongues without Latin are an end without a beginning. And here comes an immediate question at Oxford. There is now before the University a proposal of quite another character from the endless frivolous tinkering of this and that paltry detail of which some at least have got quite weary. It is a weighty proposal, supported by weighty names, a proposal, not in the interests of this or that clique or calling, but in the true interests of learning. This is the movement for "a final school of Modern Languages"\*. Its object is the scientific study of the Teutonic, Romance, Celtic, and Slavonic languages. The great question at once occurs, Why this division? Why this qualification of "Modern" languages? Why should not Greek and Latin also come in for the advantages of the new school? Why should they be shut up in the prison "Greats" and "Mods," and not allowed to come out and keep company with their children and kinsfolk? There is absolutely no reason to be given, except that "Greats" and "Mods" are interests, and that there is a "tutorial profession". The scheme is brought forward by some of the foremost, perhaps not always the most conspicuous, scholars in the University, by men of wide and sound learning, by men who love learning for its own sake, and who have mastered it as those only who love it for its own sake can master it. They see well enough the emptiness of the distinction, the thorough mischievousness of the barrier, between so-called "ancient" and so-called "modern" studies. They would rejoice to place the tongue of the Greek alongside of the kindred tongue of the Goth, to make the study of Homer and of Beowulf go, as reason bids, hand in hand. But they are doubtless wise in their generation in adapting themselves to necessity, in waiting a while till more people have found out what the Greek and Latin tongues really are. It is an evil to make yet another school, it is an evil to study old Italian in one school and new Italian in another, it is an evil to label anything with the misleading titles of "ancient" and "modern". But these evils are not the creation of the proposers.

\* This school is at present (May 18th) under discussion in Congregation, with very good hopes.

of the present scheme, they are sad and humiliating conditions to which they have to submit in order to get any place at all for their own subjects. Sound and wide scholarship has to shape itself to the requirements of "Greats" and "Mods," scholars of æcumenical grasp and æcumenical knowledge have so to walk as not to draw on their work the opposition of the "tutorial profession."

How strong the narrow interests are against which such men have to strive was shown by the fate of another proposal in which I myself had a hand, and to which I have already made a reference. The attempt made last year to bridge over the gap between "ancient" and "modern" history was in no sense my statute, as some people were pleased to call it, I was only one worker at it among several, and I do not think that the first idea of it was mine. To the name of the school, "History Moderations," "History Preliminary," or any other, I was utterly indifferent. The one object which I and those who worked with me had, was to offer to those who chose an opportunity of reading some books not commonly studied, and of reading some books that are commonly studied from an unusual point of view, of reading them namely as contributions to æcumenical history, helps to fill up the sad gap which divides the "Greats man" and the "History man." The most enlarged and enlightened classical scholars supported the scheme, the Provost of Oriel and the Professor of Latin could hardly be suspected of plotting against the well-being of Greek and Latin learning, but the well-being of "Greats" and "Mods" was thought to be threatened, the tutorial profession gathered at the last moment, and—to translate the language of University legislation into that of Parliament—after accepting the second reading of our bill, after making amendments in committee and on the report, they at last threw it out on the motion "that this bill do pass." By this fact the promoters of the School of Modern Languages—I need not say that they had their part on our side of the late struggle—have doubtless taken warning.

Nothing can be more short-sighted just now than such a policy as this on the part of the special students of Greek and Latin learning. Their studies are on their trial. We constantly hear murmurings against them. How much better it would be, we are told, to study "modern" things instead of "ancient," to study "living" French and German instead of "dead" Greek and Latin. Those who part off the Greek and Latin tongues and subjects studied in Greek and Latin writings from all other tongues and all other subjects, do in effect plead guilty to the charge. If I believed that Greek and Latin were "dead languages," I should be the first to strive to get rid of them. To get rid of them, I mean, as parts of general education and culture, they would still remain, like the tongues of the Hittite and the Accadian, wholesome and profitable studies for those whose



tastes led them that way. It is because the tongues, the literature, the history, of old Greece and Italy are not dead, but the most living things of their kind, that I plead for keeping them, not in their old place, but in a worthier place. But they can have no worthy place at all as long as they are kept apart from their fellows, as long as it is ruled that the study of Homer is "spoiled" by treating him, as in truth he is, as the earliest of European historians, the earliest of European geographers, the earliest painter of the political life of Europe, the first leader in a band who loses his dignity and his value if he is not allowed the fellowship of his comrades. Show that Greek and Latin learning is a living, practical learning, the necessary foundation of all that comes after, and Greek and Latin learning may still flourish and win fresh honour. Shut it up as something all by itself, which has nothing in common with modern tongues and modern life, and it will be presently pulled down, and, I do not hesitate to say, justly. Writing by the Great Harbour of Syracuse, I look out on the camps of Nikias and Himilkon, and I read the tale of their warfare as it can be read nowhere else. A step or two, and I look out on the castle of Maniakkês and of Frederick. I tread the soil that was delivered by Timoleon, by Roger, and by Garibaldi, soil on which no one deliverer must shut out any other. Here in Sicily at least, history is one. What nature and reason have joined together, the interests of "Grecs" and "Mods" must not be allowed to put asunder.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN

## LITERARY PLAGIARISM

ACCORDING to a recent biographer of Byron, originality can be expected from nobody except a lunatic, a hermit, or a sensational novelist. This hasty remark is calculated to prejudice novelists, lunatics, and hermits. People will inevitably turn to these members of society (if we can speak thus of hermits and lunatics), and ask them for originality, and fail to get it, and express disappointment. For all lunatics are like other lunatics, and, no more than sane men, can they do anything original. As for hermits, one hermit is the very image of his brother solitary. There remain sensational novelists to bear the brunt of the world's demand for the absolutely unheard-of, and, naturally, they cannot supply the article. So mankind falls on them, and calls them plagiarists. It is enough to make some novelists turn lunatics, and others turn hermits.

"Of all forms of theft," says Voltaire indulgently, "plagiarism is the least dangerous to society!" It may be added that, of all forms of consolation, to shout "plagiarism" is the most comforting to authors who have failed, or amateurs who have never had the pluck to try. For this reason, probably, a new play seldom succeeds but some unlucky amateur produces his battered old MS., and declares that the fortunate author has stolen from *him*, who hath Fortune for his foe. Indeed, without this resource it is not known how unaccepted theatrical writers would endure their lot in life. But if stealing is so ready a way to triumph, then humanity may congratulate itself on the wide prevalence of moral sentiments. So very few people greatly succeed (and scarce any one who does not is called a thief) that even if all successful persons are proved robbers, there must be a lofty standard of honesty in literature. On the other hand it is a melancholy fact that the very greatest men of all—Shakspeare,

Molière, Virgil (that furtive Mantuan), Pausanias, Theocritus, and Lord Tennyson—are all liable to the charge of theft, as that charge is understood by the *advocatus Diaboli*. It is a little odd, not only that our greatest are so small, but that our smallest—the persons who bark at the chariot of every passing triumph—are so great. They have never stolen, or nothing worth stealing, or nothing that any one would buy. But Dante—why, the whole idea of a visit to Hell, and a record of it, was a stock topic in early mediæval literature. But Bunyan—every library possesses, or may possess, half a dozen earlier Progresses by earlier Pilgrims. But Virgil—when he is not pilfering from Homer or Theocritus (who notoriously robbed Sophron) he has his hand in the pocket of Apollonius Rhodius. No doubt Bavius and Mævius mentioned these truths in their own literary circle. No doubt they did not gloss over the matter, but frankly remarked that the “Æneid” was a *pastiche*, a string of plagiarisms, a success due to Court influence, and the mutual admiration of Horace, Varro, and some other notorious characters. Yet the “Æneid” remains a rather unusual piece of work.

Some one, probably Gibbon, has remarked about some crime or other, that it is “difficult to commit, and almost impossible to prove.” The reverse is the truth about plagiarism. That crime is easy to prove, and almost impossible to commit. The facility of proof is caused by the readiness of men to take any accusation of this sort for granted, and by the very natural lack of popular reflection about the laws that govern literary composition. Any two passages, or situations, or ideas, that resemble each other, or are declared to resemble each other when they do not, are, to the mind of the unliterary person, a sufficient basis for a charge of plagiarism. These circumstances account for the ease with which plagiarism is proved. Yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to commit. For he who is charged with plagiarism is almost invariably guilty of a literary success. Now, even the poorest and most temporary literary success (say that of a shilling novel) rests on the production of a *new thing*. The book that really wins the world, even for a week, from its taxes, and politics, and wars and rumours of war, must be in some way striking and novel. The newness may lie in force of fancy, or in charm of style, or in both, or in mere craftsman’s skill, or in high spirits, or in some unusual moral sympathy and insight, or in various combinations of these things. In all such cases, and always, it is what is *new*, it is the whole impact of the book as one thing, that enables it to make its way to the coveted front. Now, what is stolen cannot be new, it can be nothing but the common-places of situation, and incident, and idea—each of them as old as fiction in one shape or other. Not the matter, but the casting of the matter, not the stuff, but the form given to the stuff, makes the

novel, the novelty, and the success. Now, nobody can steal the form, nobody, as in the old story (or nobody except a piratical publisher), can "steal the brooms ready-made." The success or failure lies not in the materials, but in the making of the brooms, and no dullard can make anything, even if he steals all his materials. On the other hand, genius, or even considerable talent, can make a great deal, if it chooses, even out of stolen material—if any of the material of literature can be properly said to be stolen, and is not rather the possession of whoever likes to pick it up.

On this view of the matter, the only real plagiarism is that defined in the Latin dictionary *Plagiarius*, 'a man-stealer, kidnapper' so used by Cicero and Seneca. Secondly, "a literary thief (one who gives himself out to be the author of another's book)." Martial uses the word (i. 52) —

"My books, my Quintian, to thee  
I send—if I may call them mine — \*  
For still your Poet, who but he  
Recites them —well if they repine,  
In that their slavery do thou  
Come to their rescue and befriend them,  
And raise the hue and cry, and vow  
The hand that wrote them now doth send them,  
You'll aid them much by this relief,  
And bring confusion on the thief."

Here "thief" is *plagiarius*, and a thief the rival poet is, for he gives himself out to be the author of another's book, and steals it ready-made.

This is the only perfect plagiarism, according to the definition—namely, the claiming of a work of art which belongs to another man. Now, plainly this kind of plagiarism is rare, nor would it be easy to mention a case in which it has been successful. In a number of novels we meet the story of a man who comes into possession of a book in manuscript, perhaps the deposit of a friend, and who publishes the work as a performance of his own. Such a man is a *plagiarius*, he casts his net (*plaga*) over the property of another. In real life it might be impossible to find an example of success in this kind of robbery. There are, unluckily, plenty of men and women who take credit, among their relations and friends, for the authorship of anonymous books which have been successful. They are "claimants," like the Tichborne pretender, rather than successful plagiarists. The case of George Eliot and "Adam Bede" is well known. There was a person named Liggins who gave himself out for the author, and even reaped some social if not pecuniary benefit. In the same way, but on a smaller scale, there were various pretenders to the honour of having written a certain essay in the *Saturday Review*, "The Girl of the Period." According to the actual writer, one of the pretenders was a clergyman. About twelve years ago an

admired poet had great trouble with a married lady who asserted that the poet's real name was her assumed *nom de guerre*. Her husband, naturally, was well deceived by this fair *retiarist* and caster of the *plaga* over other people's poems. Though it has nothing to do with the question of plagiarism, let us commiserate unlucky persons of letters whose real names, somehow, sound like assumed names. It is a misfortune they can scarcely recover from, and probably many people in the country still believe that Lord Lytton wrote "Evan Harrington" and "Richard Feverel."

Mr Liggins did not succeed in the long run, nor does literary history, perhaps, contain a single example of the triumph of a literary Perkin Warbeck. Only in very unusual and fantastic circumstances could he hope to keep the goods he stole ready-made. In the last novel on this situation, the pretender had every reason to believe that the true author of the MS was drowned at sea. Unlucky and ill-advised pretender! The sea invariably gives up her dead—in novels. Short of such an unexpected accident as the sea's not giving up her dead, how is the true plagiarist to feel comfortable with his stolen goods? Almost his only chance, and that a bad one, would be by way of translation from some little-known language. Not long ago a story or novel by a modern author was published in a periodical. Presently the editor got a letter from a correspondent, offering to furnish "the sequel of your little tale from the Basque," or whatever the original language may have been. Yes, it is very difficult to find a language safe to steal from. Let me confess that, in a volume of tales written by way of holiday tasks, I once conveyed a passage from the Zulu. There could not have been a more bare-faced theft and no doubt, in the present inflamed condition of the moral sense, somebody would have denounced me, had the tale been successful. But as long as you do not excite the pretty passion of envy, you may drive the Zulu cows unnoticed. There were only about three lines in the passage after all. The coolness of plagiarism has occasionally been displayed on a larger scale, as when a novelist boldly took a whole battle scene out of Kinglake's "History of the Crimean War." He was found out, but he did not seem to care much. Probably this particularly daring theft was a mere piece of mischief—a kind of practical joke. What other explanation can be given of Mr Disraeli's raid on M Thiers, and the speech about General Saint-Cyr? Of course, Mr Disraeli could have made a better speech for himself. Thefts of this kind, like certain literary forgeries, are prompted by the tricky spirit of Puck. But the joke is not in good taste, and is dangerous to play, because the majority of mankind will fail to see the fun of it, and will think the thief a thief in sober earnest. Only a humorous race would have made a God of Hermes, who stole cattle from the day his mother cradled him.

From these and similar cases, the difficulty, the all but impossibility, of successful plagiarism becomes manifest. If you merely use old ideas (and there are no new ideas), and so produce a fresh combination, a fresh whole, you are not a plagiarist at all. If you boldly annex the novel ready-made, either by way of translation, or publication of a manuscript not your own, you are instantly found out, and probably never get back your reputation. It appears that Mr Charles Reade, in the 'Wandering Heir,' "bodily appropriated" twenty or thirty lines of a little-known poem of Dean Swift's, descriptive of fashionable life in Dublin. Mr Reade appears to have used this poem in such a way as to make the public think it was his own composition. If he did, he acted, to say the least, with very great rashness. He reckoned without the unsuccessful novelist, and the unsuccessful novelist's family. Of course he was "denounced as a plagiarist by two anonymous writers, who afterwards turned out to be a not very successful rival novelist and his wife." These "lynx-eyed detectives" do, pretty often, "turn out to be" unsuccessful novelists and their kinsmen. Mr Reade then uttered loud cries of wrath and spoke of "masked batteries manned by anonymuncula, pseudo-nymuncula, and skunkula." \*

"He contended that to transplant a few lines out of Swift, and to weld them with other topics in a heterogeneous work, was not plagiarism, but one of every true inventor's processes, and that only an inventor could do it well." The whole affair was not worth much consideration, but Mr Reade's theory of what a true inventor might lawfully do was certainly a little advanced. A lump of such a brilliant manufactured article as a poem by Swift would be apt to look incongruous even in a true inventor's prose, and certainly was appropriated ready made. If Swift's notions about Dublin society had been adopted, and had informed the prose of Mr Reade, a legitimate use would have been made of the material. Or, if Mr Reade had said, "the Dean of St Patrick's wrote thus on the subject," then once more the propriety of the quotation would have been unimpeachable. But perhaps the former of these suggestions will be demurred to by our moralists. There appears to be an idea that a novelist must acknowledge, in a preface or in footnotes, every suggestion of fact which comes to him from any quarter. For example, I write a novel in which a man is poisoned by *cumari*. Am I to add a note saying, "These details as to the Macusi tribe are extracted from Wallace, from Bates, and from Brctt's 'Indians of Guiana' (London Bell and Daldy 1878). I have also to acknowledge the kind assistance of Professor Von Selber of Leiden. For another and earlier example of a somewhat similar use of this

\* "How Charles Reade Worked," *St James's Gazette*, May 3, 1887

drug, the curious may consult 'Le Crime de l'Omnibus,' by M Fortuné du Boisgobey, to whose practice, however, science may urge certain pathological objections "

This kind of thing is customary and appropriate in books of learning, but it seems incredible pedantry to demand such explanations from authors of works of fancy. When the scene of a story and the manners of the peoples described are not known to a novelist by personal experience, he must get his information out of books. For example, any reader of the first volume of Mr Payn's "By Proxy" might fancy that Mr Payn had passed his life in the Flowery Land. But this is believed to be a false impression, caused by the novelist's ingenious use of works of travel. Is he bound to acknowledge every scrap of information in a preface or a note? The idea is absurd. A novel would become a treatise, like Bekker's "Chronicles." The effect of this conscientiousness may be studied in the "Epicurean" of the late Mr Thomas Moore, where there are plentiful citations, on every page, of Egyptologists—for the most part exploded. The story would be better without the notes, which are useless in the age of Maspero and Mariette. Of course, if any novelist can make his notes as delightful as Sir Walter Scott's, the more he gives us the better we shall be pleased—provided, they come at the end of the volume.

All ideas are old, all situations have been invented and tried, or almost all. Probably a man of genius might make a good story even out of a selected assortment of the very oldest devices in romance. Miss Thackeray made capital stories out of the fairy tales, that are older than Rameses II, and were even published by a scribe of that monarch's. Give Mr Besant or Mr Stevenson two lovers, and insist that, in telling these lovers' tale, the following incidents shall occur

*A Sprained Ankle*

*An Attack by a Bull*

*A Proposal in a Conservatory, watched by a Jealous Rival*

*A Lost Will*

*An Intercepted Correspondence*

Even out of these incidents it is probable that either of the authors mentioned could produce a novel that would soothe pain and charm exile. Nor would they be accused of plagiarism, because the ideas are, even by the most ignorant or envious, recognised as part of the common stock-in-trade.

Now, it is a fact that almost every notion and situation is as much part of the common stock-in-trade as those old friends. The "Odyssey," for example, might be shown to contain almost all the material of the romance that is accepted as outside of ordinary experience. For instance, in "She" we find a wondrous woman, who holds a

man in her hollow caves (note the *caves*, there are caves in Homer), and offers him the gift of immortality. Obviously this is the position of Odysseus and Calypso. Rousseau remarked that the whole plot of the "Odyssey" would have been ruined by a letter from Odysseus to Penelope. Rousseau had not studied Wolf, but had letters been commonly written in Homer's time, the poet would have bribed one of Penelope's women to intercept them. Homer did not use that incident, because he did not need it, but all his incidents were of primeval antiquity, even in his own time, he plagiarized them from popular stories, he stole the Cyclops almost ready-made.\*

There are, doubtless, exceptions to this rule of the universality and public character of the stock of fiction. These exceptions are rather of an empirical sort, and should be avoided chiefly for the sake of weak brethren, who go about writing long letters in the news papers.

A few instances may be given from personal experience. A novelist once visited the writer in high spirits. Certain events of a most extraordinary nature had just occurred to him, events which would appear incredible if I ventured to narrate them. My visitor meant to make them the subject of a story, which he sketched. "But you *can't*," I said, "that's the plot of 'Ferdinand's Folly,' " and I named a book which had just arrived *sub lumine oras*. He had not heard of "Ferdinand's Folly," but he went away sad, for he was a young man that had been robbed of a great opportunity. But he was presently consoled by receiving a letter from another author, a gentle man of repute in more than one branch of literature. "I have just read your 'Daisy's Dream,'" said this author, "and I find that there is a scene in it which is also in my unpublished work, 'Psamathoe.'" He then described the scene, which certainly did appear of glaring originality—if anything could be original. "Nobody will believe two people could have invented this, and what am I to do?" said the second unfortunate author, and indeed I do not know what he did, or whether "Psamathoe" was punished by an early doom for her unconscious plagiarism. The study of the diffusion of popular tales seems to show that there is no incident which may not be invented over and over again—in Siberia, or Samoa. These coincidences will also occur in civilized literature, but some examples are so astonishing that the small fry of moralists are certain to shout "Stop thief!" On the whole, an author thus anticipated had better stop before they shout, but it was the merest accident that gave pause to the two novelists of these anecdotes. Alas! unconscious of their doom, the little victims might have published.

Another very hard case lately came under my notice. A novelist invented and described to me a situation which was emphatically new,

\* Gerland "Alt Griechische Märchen in der Odyssee."



because it rested on the existence of a certain scientific instrument, which was new also. The author was maturing the plot, when he chanced to read a review of some new work (I never saw it, and have forgotten its name), in which the incident and the instrument appeared. Now, may this author write his own tale, or may he not? If he does (and if it succeeds), he will be hailed as an abandoned rogue, and yet it is his own invention. Probably it is wiser to "endure and abstain," otherwise, the "lynx-eyed detectives" will bring out their old learning, and we shall be told once more how Ben Jonson stole "Drink to me only with thine eyes" from—Pisistratus! This I lately learned from a newspaper.

Thus it appears that, though plagiarism is hardly a possible offence, it is more discreet not to use situations which have either made one very definite impression on the world of readers, or which have been very recently brought out. For example it is distinctly daring to make a priest confess his unsuspected sin in a sermon. The notion is public property, but every one is reminded of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." Thus the situation is a thing to avoid, as certain measures—that of "In Memoriam" for example—are to be avoided in poetry. The metre is everybody's property, but it at once recalls the poem wherein the noblest use was made of it. Again, double personality is a theme open to all the world. Gautier and Poe and Eugène Sue all used it, but it is wiser to leave it alone while people have a vivid memory of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. It is not inconceivable that an author might use the old notion as brilliantly and with as much freshness as Mr Stevenson has done, it is certain that if he tries, he will be howled at by the moral mob. A novelist may keep these precautions in his mind, but if, though he writes good books, he is not a bookish man, he will be constantly and unwittingly offending people who do not write good books, although they are bookish. Thus it lately happened to me to see an illustration of an unpublished work, in which a wounded and dying warrior was using his last force to break, with singular consequences, the weapon that had been his lifelong companion. I knew (being bookish) the incident was perfectly familiar to me, but I could not remember where I had met it before. It haunted me like the names which you try to recover from faithless memory, and one day it flashed on me that this incident was at least eight hundred years old. But I leave (not its source, for the novelist who is no bookman had probably never tasted of that literary fountain), but the place of its early appearance, to be remembered or discovered by any one who is curious enough to consult his memory or his library. But here another question arises: let it be granted that the novelist first found the situation where I found it, and is there any reason in the world why he should not make what is a thoroughly original use of it? The imagination or invention needed for this particular

adaptation was at least as vivid and romantic as the original conception, which, again, might occur, and may have occurred, separately to minds in Japan and in Peru

I have chiefly spoken of plagiarism in fiction, for there is little need to speak of plagiarism in poetry. Probably no man or woman (apart from claiming a ready-made article not their own) ever consciously plagiarized in verse. The smallest poetaster has too much vanity to borrow on purpose. Unconsciously even great men (Scott confesses in one case) have remembered and repeated the ideas or the rhythm of others. In a recent Jubilee Ode one reads (indeed it is quoted in a newspaper article on plagiarism)

"Deep based on ancient right as on thy people's will  
Thy rule endures unshattered still"

'The debt to the Laureate's verse is not to be mistaken, but no less unmistakable is the absence of consciousness of this in the author. When I was a freshman, and when Mr Swinburne was the new poet, I wrote a (most justly unsuccessful) Newdigate, in which I thought there was a good line. Somebody's hands were said to be

"Made of a red rose swooning into white"

'This seemed "all very capital," like matrimony to Mr Weller, till I found, in "Chastelard," somebody's hand

"Made of a red rose that has turned to white."

The mind of the unconscious plagiarist had not been wholly inactive, as the word "swooning" shows, but it was a direct though unintentional robbery. No robberies, in verse, are made, I think, with more *malice prepense* than this early larceny.

On the whole, then, the plagiarist appears to be a decidedly rare criminal, whereas charges of plagiarism have always been as common as blackberries. An instructive example is that of Molière and "Les Précieuses." Everything in it, cried Somaise and De Villiers, is from the Abbé de Pure, the Italians, and Chapuzeau. But somehow none of these gallant gentlemen did, in fact, write "Les Précieuses Ridicules," nor anything that anybody except the Moliériste ever heard of.

The laudable anxiety of the Somaises of all time for literary honesty would be more laudable still if they did not possess a little vice of their own. It is not a vice of which any man is the *fanfaron* the delicate veiled passion of Envy. Indeed, these lynx-eyed ones have a bad example in their predecessor, Mr Alexander Pope.

Mr Pope had a friend who became an enemy—Mr Moore, who took the name of Smythe. This Mr Moore-Smythe wrote a comedy, "The Rival Modes," played in 1727, wherein the persons

occasionally dropped into poetry, printed in italics On March 18, 1728, an anonymous correspondent in the *Daily Journal* accused Mr Pope of having plagiarized certain verses from this comedy, and published them in the third volume of his "Miscellanies"

"'Tis thus that vanity coquettes rewards,  
A youth of frolics, an old age of cards"—

and so forth There was no doubt that these verses, after appearing in the "Rival Modes," came out in Pope's "Miscellanies" But in 1729, in the enlarged edition of the "Dunciad," Pope quoted the anonymous letters (there were two), and maintained that the verses were his own, and that Moore-Smythe was the plagiarist\* He had given Smythe leave to use them (the men had once been on good terms), and had suggested their withdrawal later Pope then, on a quarrel with Smythe, published them, and antedated them (1723), "in order to found or support the charge of plagiarism against Smythe" And Mr Alexander Pope himself (like Conkey in "Oliver Twist") was his own anonymous accuser, bringing the charge against himself, that he might retort it on the luckless Moore-Smythe But Mr Moore-Smythe was in one respect well advised he made no reply

Though it appears from this anecdote, as told in Mr Carruthers' Life of Pope, that people who bring charges of plagiarism are not invariably of a delicate morality, yet a review of the whole topic cannot but console the moralist Mr Matthew Arnold assigns to morality but a poor seven eighths in the composition of human life But we see that morality has far more interest and importance than this estimate allows A masterpiece of mere art in poetry or fiction might be published (I wish it were probable) without exciting one hundredth part of the interest provoked by the charge of stealing half a page Thus we learn that Art is of no importance at all in comparison with Conduct A good new book is murmured about at a few dinner parties A wicked new action—say the purloining, real or alleged, of twenty lines—is thundered about from the house-top, and flashed along all the network of electric wires from London to San Francisco While men have this overpowering interest in morals, who can despair of humanity?

A LANG

## THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE LATE THOMAS HILL GREEN

**I**N no country has there been through many centuries a more continuous discussion of the questions of practical politics than in England. In no country has the interest in politics been diffused more widely through the whole community. But there has been no corresponding activity in the philosophical study of the nature of society and the State. Hobbes and Herbert Spencer are almost the only two English philosophers who have treated politics as an integral part of a complete philosophical system and it might be shown that the monarchical prejudices of Hobbes and the individualist prejudices of Spencer have hindered them from even so adequate a treatment of the nature of the State as their philosophical theories admitted. We can hardly reckon the brilliant political Essays of Hume in this connection, for Hume was professedly a destroyer of systems and his attention to politics and to history went along with his despair of metaphysics. The political writings of Locke and of John Stuart Mill have not only a permanent interest for the student of political ideas, but have exercised in different ways a direct influence on the course of political events, but this influence was direct, very much because both Locke and Mill wrote on politics more as politicians than as philosophers. Locke makes no explicit link between his theory of knowledge and his theory of government, though both were given to the world about the same time, in fact, the ideas of a "law of nature" and "natural rights," on which his political doctrines rest, belong to that manner of thinking which the analytic method of the Essay mainly contributed to discredit. Hume attacked the idea of "social contract" by using just such weapons as Locke had used in attacking "innate ideas." In the case of Mill the careful

reader can trace the connection between the psychical atomism<sup>1</sup> (for he treats sensations as if they were psychical atoms) which forms the fundamental assumption in his theory of knowledge and the individualism out of which his practical interest in human well-being helped him partially to escape, but, though Mill himself was fully aware of the ultimate interdependence of different departments of human thought and human prejudice, and though he regarded himself as fighting for the same cause of progress in his "Logic" and "Examination of Hamilton" on the one hand, and in his "Liberty" and "Representative Government" on the other, yet the two sets of works are obviously addressed to different classes of readers, and it requires the diligence of the student to see more than a biographical connection, and, in any case, Mill was concerned with practical questions about the limits of government-action and the arrangement of representative bodies, not with the primary and more strictly philosophical questions about the nature of the State. In fact, the intense preoccupation of the most vigorous English minds in the immediately practical problems of legislation and administration has diverted attention from an investigation of the ultimate principles on which government is based. And, while it has been an enormous advantage that those amongst us who have written about government have themselves had some practical acquaintance with what legislation and administration meant, we have lost something, not only in clearness of theory but in consistency and firmness of practice, because the elementary terms of political discussion have passed current without having their value scientifically tested. In Germany, on the other hand, some of the very best energy of philosophical thinking has been devoted to the doctrine of rights and the nature and functions of the State, but, owing to the fact that political liberty is not yet very well known in Germany, we may occasionally complain (echoing the complaint of Aristotle) that the Sophists, or Professors, who profess to teach *πολιτική*, or Staatslehre, have no practical experience of their subject, while the practical politicians of our own country have not raised their knowledge of the State from the domain of experience to that of thought.

This scarcity of English political philosophy gives a peculiar importance to the portion of the last issued volume of the late Professor Green's "Philosophical Works," which contains his "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation"\*. The same metaphysical subtlety, which had been already applied to the Theory of Knowledge and the Theory of Ethics, is here directed to a

\* "Works of Thomas Hill Green, late Fellow of Balliol College and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford" Edited by R. L. Nettleship, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford Vol II London Longmans 1886 (See pp 308—the end)

criticism of political theories and to the attempt thereby to arrive at a more adequate doctrine of political rights and obligations. To those who knew Professor Green personally, this part of his Works has an additional and very special significance, for here we have the meeting-point between the speculative and the practical interests, which to onlookers might seem to be two divergent channels in which his life ran, but which in his own mind were united and tended in the same direction. The painstaking pursuit of philosophical truth and the endeavour in all things to be the good citizen and the honest politician were equally characteristic of the man, and sprang from a common source of earnestness and sincerity. His conscience was equally exacting in speculation and in practice. His philosophical thinking was to him no mere exercise of intellectual ingenuity, but provided the basis of his conduct and influenced the details of his actions to an extent very rare even amongst those whom we consider the most conscientious of men. He neither despised the small matters of local politics, nor forgot the wider interests of mankind. He went straight from the declaration of the poll, when he was elected a town councillor, to lecture on "The Critique of Pure Reason." He was robbed of his sleep by thinking about the Eastern Question, and dreading lest the country should be driven, by motives "of which perhaps a diffused desire for excitement has been the most innocent,"\* into what he regarded as an indefensible and unrighteous war. His strong opinions on the liquor traffic were in his own mind directly connected with his conception of the ethical end and the nature of rights.

The late Mark Pattison † thought it must have been due to "a certain puzzled-headedness" on the part of the Professor that he, "a staunch Liberal," should have imported into Oxford "an *a priori* philosophy, which under various disguises aims at exempting man from the order of Nature, and making him into a unique being whose organism is not to be subject to the uniform laws which govern all other being that is known to us." It was, in any case, from no want of thinking and puzzling over problems, that Professor Green was at once "a staunch Liberal" and an "*a priori* philosopher." Mark Pattison's phrase, "*exempting* Man from the order of Nature," must be challenged on behalf alike of Kant and Green, who by no means deny that Man is a part of Nature, and that human actions are natural events, but who do deny that Man can be understood if he be considered as *merely* a part of Nature and his actions *merely* as natural events. But that question must be left for the present.

There is a remarkable passage in the "Autobiography" of J. S. Mill (pp. 273-275), where he says —

\* Cf. "Philosophical Works," ii p. 476.

† See his "Memoirs," pp. 167, 242.

"The difference between these two schools of philosophy, that of Intuition and that of Experience and Association, is not a mere matter of abstract speculation, it is full of practical consequences, and lies at the foundation of all the greatest differences of practical opinion in an age of progress. The practical reformer has continually to demand that changes be made in things which are supported by powerful and widely spread feelings, or to question the apparent necessity and indefeasibleness of established facts, and it is often an indispensable part of his argument to show how those powerful feelings had their origin, and how those facts came to seem necessary and indelible. There is therefore a natural hostility between him and a philosophy which discourages the explanation of feelings and moral facts by circumstances and association, and prefers to treat them as ultimate elements of human nature, a philosophy which is addicted to holding up favourite doctrines as intuitive truths, and deems intuition to be the voice of Nature and of God, speaking with an authority higher than that of our reason. In particular, I have long felt that the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of human character as innate, and in the main indelible, and to ignore the irresistible proofs that by far the greater part of those differences, whether between individuals, races, or sexes, are such as not only might but naturally would be produced by differences in circumstances, is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions, and one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to human improvement. This tendency has its source in the intuitional metaphysics which characterized the reaction of the nineteenth century against the eighteenth, and it is a tendency so agreeable to human indolence, as well as to conservative interests generally, that unless attacked at the very root, it is sure to be carried to even a greater length than is really justified by the more moderate forms of the intuitional philosophy. That philosophy had ruled the thought of Europe for the greater part of a century. My father's *Analysis of the Mind*, my own *Logic*, and Professor Bain's great treatise, had attempted to reintroduce a better mode of philosophizing, latterly with quite as much success as could be expected, but I had for some time felt that the mere contrast of the two philosophies was not enough, that there ought to be a hand to hand fight between them, that controversial as well as expository writings were needed, and that the time was come when such controversy would be useful."

These considerations Mill assigns as his special reason for refuting Sir William Hamilton.

Sir William Hamilton was a Whig, it is true (and a Whig in those days was still a Liberal), but undoubtedly the doctrine of "intuitive truths" has served as a convenient formula under which time-honoured delusions and abuses have been sheltered from the attacks of critical analysis and reforming zeal. The "intuitional metaphysics" of this country and the so-called "spiritualist" philosophy which flourished in France under the restored monarchy, have both been associated with the maintenance of existing ideas and institutions in society, politics, and religion. The supporters of these Intuitionalist systems very often pointed to the triumphs of the Kantian Criticism and sometimes of the post-Kantian Idealism in Germany, glad to use the sanction of great names where they were available, without committing themselves to speculative theories which had the reputation of being vaguely "dangerous." Those,

too, who first introduced the names and theories of the German philosophers were generally enlisted on the side of the reaction against the French Revolution—Coleridge most conspicuously, De Quincey and others following in the same line. In Thomas Love Peacock's "Nightmare Abbey" the "Kantian" philosopher, Mr Flosky, is represented as an extreme obscurantist reactionary, his very name, by an old-fashioned etymology, signifying "the lover of darkness." Certainly Hegel was a Prussian Conservative, and Schelling seemed to lead the way through mysticism back into the fold of the Catholic Church, but people would appear to have forgotten how the aged Kant, with tears in his eyes, said his *Nunc dimittis* on hearing of the proclamation of the French Republic, and how Fichte was the intellectual father of German Socialism. Mill and Pattison might also have remembered that Hobbes was an Absolutist, and that Hume became more and more a Tory without becoming less a sceptic, and it has not yet been explicitly proved that there is a logical connection between "philosophic doubt" and support of the Tory party. From a man's philosophical speculations we cannot always predict his attitude in practical politics. But the mistake in the statements both of Mill and Pattison lies in the assumption that the *a priori* philosophy of Kant and his followers is identical with the "intuitional metaphysics" which had been the familiar object of attack to the English Empiricists. The resemblance between the answers to Hume of Kant and of Reid is slight and superficial, compared with the difference between them. And the attitude of Hegel to the problems of knowledge and of life is distinct both from the old metaphysics and the new empiricism. The German Idealist is equally distasteful to the defender of "innate ideas" or "intuitive truths" and to their assailant—because he is apt to be misunderstood by both. And, if we pass to the more practical application of philosophy, there would be more reason for classing Hegel and his followers along with Comte than with the obscurantist theologians whom Pattison disliked and the obstructionist Conservatives whom Mill opposed. Comte, it is true, presents a double face: he is both of the Revolution and against it. And the same remark really applies to Hegel. Hence it is no wonder that opposite parties should have started from the same great school, and that Catholic and Positivist, Conservative and Socialist, should have found weapons in the same armoury. Which is the truer interpreter it is of course important to decide, and it does not always follow that the initiator of new ideas will himself be the best judge of their practical tendency.

Another side to the mistake in Pattison's remark about Green is the failure to appreciate fully the change that has come over English Liberalism. During the last century and the earlier part of the



present century, the friends of social and political reform were engaged in a struggle mainly against mischievous interference with individual liberty on the part of a government which chiefly represented the influence and interests of a hereditary ruling class thus Liberalism came to be identified with the criticism and removal of repressive laws and institutions, and an intellectual basis for such a policy was naturally found in a philosophy of critical analysis It was in the same spirit that Locke, the father of English Empiricism, criticized the doctrine of innate ideas and the doctrine of the divine right of kings And this alliance between Empiricism in philosophy and Liberalism in politics continued with few exceptions to the time of John Stuart Mill, whose philosophical creed remained, on the whole, in its intellectual aspects what his father had taught him, however modified by emotional sympathies, but whose political ideas underwent a greater change than he himself was aware of The efforts of Liberals having passed from the merely negative work of removing mischievous State-action to the more positive task of employing the power of a government, which is now, more or less, the real representative of the "general will," in behalf of the well-being of the community, it is natural and necessary that the intellectual basis of the new political creed should be found in a philosophy of construction, and not in one of merely negative criticism and analysis Thus there is a real affinity between the newer stages of Radicalism and a political philosophy such as that of Hegel or of Comte, apart from the special influence of Prussian bureaucracy in the one case and the admiration for mediæval Catholicism in the other, which are, after all, elements belonging more to the idiosyncrasy of the philosophers than to the essence of the ideas of which they are the most notable representatives

These remarks must not, however, be taken as implying that Professor Green was only "the importer" (to adopt Mark Pattison's phrase) of a German philosophy It is rather common to hear him classed as one of "the English school of Hegelians" He would certainly not have acknowledged the title himself, and it is really inaccurate—unless it be very carefully qualified If we are to connect him with any particular names of philosophers, it would be least misleading to say that he corrected Kant by Aristotle and Aristotle by Kant Now, this is just what might have been said of Hegel himself, for, if Hegel had no other claims to distinction, he would have this, that first of modern philosophers he really understood and appreciated the Greeks Referring to Hegel, Green is reported to have said, "It must all be done over again"—*i e*, he admitted the general validity of Hegel's objections to the subjective, and, in appearance, merely psychological method of Kant, and to the survivals (from the old metaphysics) in Kant's system of ways of thinking and speaking, of which Kant

himself had implicitly made an end, but he considered the Hegelian attempt to read off the whole secret of the Universe, to fill up the whole contents of the Eternal Self consciousness, premature and over-hasty, and he set himself to do some small part of the vast work in a more modest spirit and with special reference to the English theories which he found occupying the field \*

There is a brief but important reference to Greek philosophy in the lectures on Political Obligation (§ 39), where it is said that, just because Plato and Aristotle regarded man as finding his end in the end of the State, they founded a true theory of rights. In the "Prolegomena to Ethics" it was argued that Greek ethics were defective, not in defining the end as self-satisfaction or self-realization (*ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς*), but because, in the stage of moral and social progress then attained, this self-realization was only possible to a few, and so here it is said, "Practically, it is only the Greek man that Aristotle regards as *φύσει πολίτης*, but the Greek conception of citizenship once established was applicable to all men capable of a common interest." As Aristotle concludes his "Ethics" by passing on to Politics, because the good life can only be fully realized by the citizen of the good State, so Green's view of Ethics is completed by his view of Politics, because he conceives that the function of the State is to make it possible for men to realize themselves, which they can only do by attaining a good that is a common good. In the ethical writings the phrase "self-satisfaction" or "self-realization" is perhaps the most conspicuous, in the political "common good" (which, however, is used quite as much in the ethical), but it is just because to Green these terms are identical expressions of the end for man that his ethics can escape the reproach of being only the Egoistic Hedonism he professedly rejected come back under a disguised form. "If the end be self-realization," it might be objected, "does it not depend entirely on the individual what he chooses to do? The pleasure seeker might say he was realizing himself quite as much as the patriot or the philanthropist, and how can you prove him wrong?" He can only be proved wrong, if it be shown that the self in a human being is something other than a mere series of feelings, and so in its true nature other than a mere subject for pleasurable sensations. And Green argues that the self is other than a mere series of feelings just because it is what renders possible the consciousness of a series of feelings: the self-consciousness, which is manifested in them, must yet be other than they, for, as J. S. Mill himself had seen, it was a "paradox" that what is only a series of feelings should be aware of

\* It is worth calling attention to the very great degree in which the questions discussed and the phraseology adopted in the "Lectures on Political Obligation" are determined by Locke's "Treatise of Civil Government." Green's polemic against Locke's theory of knowledge has not prevented his sympathy with the most politically important English book on the nature of government.

itself as a series \* In this fact of self-consciousness, discovered by examination of mental phenomena, Green finds the metaphysical basis of Ethics, on the other side, the interpretation of self-realization as the realization of a common good is what makes the connection between Ethics and Politics "The good which a man seeks for himself is not a succession of pleasures, but objects which, when realized, are permanent contributions to a social good which thus satisfies the permanent self" † Thus, the practical tests which Green applies to determine the rightness of any proposed course of conduct, either for the individual or for the State, seem to coincide with those which would be proposed by the Utilitarian Of this he is quite aware,‡ but he considers that he has a logical justification for applying the test of social well-being to which the Utilitarian, with his Hedonist starting-point, has no claim, and that, having defined the end as the realization of a permanent self-satisfaction, he escapes the difficulties attending the balancing of pleasures and pains The practical benefits conferred by Utilitarianism on political and social conduct he is most ready to acknowledge, but he maintains that the significant part of Bentham's famous formula was not "the greatest happiness," but the reference to *the greatest number*, and especially the added clause, "Every one to count for one and no one for more than one" § This he holds to have been the main source both of the beneficence and of the unpopularity of Utilitarianism "The healthful influence of Utilitarianism has arisen from its giving a wider and more impartial range to the desire to do good, not from its stimulating that desire" || When we look to politics rather than to ethics, we shall see the reason why Green would have found himself, in the case of so many questions, on the same platform with John Stuart Mill, and that without the least sacrifice of philosophical consistency He would have agreed with a follower of Locke or of Rousseau in demanding, for instance, an extension of the franchise, but he would have agreed with Bentham and Mill in objecting to any talk about "natural rights" he would have preferred to put the matter on the ground of social expediency, but while Mill would *ultimately* have brought the question back to some consideration of pleasures and pains, Green would have insisted that the social expediency was determined ultimately, not by the probable effects on the greatest number of pleasures of an individual consistently with those of other individuals, but on the scope given to the individual for exercising all his capacities of self development, all true

\* Cf Mill's "Examination of Hamilton," p 248 (5th edition)

† "Prolegomena to Ethics," § 234 Anal

‡ Cf "Lectures on Political Obligation" (in "Philosophical Works," vol 11), § 23, of which Mr Nettleship's analysis is — "The Utilitarian theory so far agrees with that here advocated that it grounds existing law, not on a 'natural' law prior to it, but on an end which it serves" § "Prolegomena to Ethics," § 213 || *Ibid* § 331 (Anal)

self-development implying, however, the well-being of a community, for man, as we often repeat without fully understanding what we say, is essentially "a social animal" The convenience of Bentham's formula is the readiness with which it supplies a means of checking and criticizing individual and class prejudice and selfishness And formulæ for ordinary rough use need not be philosophically unassailable There is no reason why the Idealist, after making clear his objections to Hedonism, should not join hands with the Utilitarian In fact, an ethical system like Green's is really on its practical side J S Mill's Utilitarianism with a securer basis and a criterion provided, which Mill cannot logically provide, for distinguishing the different *qualities* of pleasures Mill, we know, would himself prefer the higher pleasures But what justifies him in considering those to be the best pleasures for other people? To say that the common good is the end may *seem* more vague than to say that pleasure is the end, but to say that pleasure is the end is in reality quite as vague and is more open to objection, because the vagueness is less obvious, and therefore more misleading

Besides "self-realization" and a "common good" as phrases for the ethical, which is also ultimately the political end, Green is willing to allow Hegel's term "freedom" In a special discussion of the "different senses of 'freedom' as applied to will and to the moral progress of man,"\* which may be taken as intermediate between the "Prolegomena to Ethics" and the political lectures, he distinguishes between a *generic* sense of "freedom," in which it applies to *all* will—whatever be the character of the object willed ('freedom' meaning, simply, self-determination or acting on preference)—and a *particular* sense, according to which acts are only "free" in so far as the self-realizing principle in man tends to be realized—i.e., in so far as the objects of reason and of will tend to coincide† Free acts are rational acts In this sense Hegel's dictum, that the object of the State is freedom, is accepted, but only as the statement of an ideal to which actual States so far as they are well regulated tend to approximate

"Hegel's account of freedom as realized in the State does not seem to correspond to the facts of society as it is, or even as, under the alterable condition of human nature, it ever could be, though undoubtedly there is a work of moral liberation, which society, through its various agencies, is constantly carrying on for the individual"‡

Now it is obvious that freedom in this sense as the ideal end of the State is very different from the "freedom" to which Locke considered that man had a "natural right" in which a well-managed

\* See "Philosophical Works," vol. II pp 308-333

† Cf Spinoza's use of *libertas* as equivalent to the rule of Reason, *potentia intellectus*

‡ "Philosophical Works," II p 314

State ought to secure him \* This freedom is the mere negative freedom of being left alone, and corresponds to the generic sense of freedom in morals. It is a mere means to the attainment of the freedom which is itself an end. This distinction shows what Green's attitude to the questions about State-action and *laissez faire* was likely to be. State-action, he holds, is expedient just in so far as it tends to promote "freedom" in the sense of self-determined action directed to the objects of reason, inexpedient so far as it tends to interfere with this. The direct legal enforcement of morality cannot be considered expedient or inexpedient—it is impossible. The morality of an act depends on the state of the will of the agent, and therefore the act done under compulsion ceases to have the character of a moral act. It wants the negative condition of morality. But, on the other hand, there is no *à priori* presumption in favour of a general policy of *laissez faire*, because in a vast number of cases the individual does not find himself in a position in which he can act "freely" (i.e., direct his action to objects which reason assigns as desirable) without the intervention of the State to put him in such a position—e.g., by ensuring that he shall have at least some education. Terms like "freedom," "compulsion," "interference," are very apt to be misleading. As Green points out, "'compulsory education' need not be 'compulsory,' except to those who have no spontaneity to be deadened" and it is "not as a purely moral duty on the part of a parent, but as the prevention of a hindrance to the capacity for rights on the part of children, that education should be enforced by the State"†. The "interference" may be interference in behalf of individual liberty—even in the negative sense of liberty. So also, when interference with "freedom of contract" is spoken of, we must consider not only those who are interfered with, but those whose freedom is increased by that interference‡.

It is not possible here to give a detailed account of the way in which Green works out his own theory of political obligation and doctrine of rights by a criticism of Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Rousseau, and Austin—a criticism which is probably more valuable and suggestive than any dogmatic treatise on political science. The foregoing exposition may, at least, serve to make it clear that, whether Professor Green was mistaken or not in his development of

\* Locke, however, also uses freedom in a positive sense, "Treatise of Government," ch. 4. "Freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power erected in it."

† "Lectures on Political Obligation" § 209.

‡ There is a popular lecture of Prof. Green's on "Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract" (published by Slatter & Rose, Oxford, 1881), which it is interesting and important to compare with these lectures now published. The philosophical doctrines of the College lectures will be found to underlie the popular lecture, which serves as an excellent commentary on them.

Kantian and Aristotelian philosophy, or in his sympathy with Radical politics, he was at least thoroughly and perfectly consistent. The State has, in his view, not the mere policeman's business of stepping in to arrest the wrongdoer, not the sole function of ruthlessly enforcing fulfilment of contracts, whatever these contracts may be and between whomsoever made, but the duty of providing such an environment for individual men and women as to give *all* as far as possible an equal chance of realizing what is best in their intellectual and moral natures. Material well-being *alone* might hinder, instead of furthering, this end, but we need not be afraid of weakening moral responsibility by making a moral and *human* life possible to those for whom at present it is practically hopeless. The politician is thus not inconsistent, who, after opposing all such State action as "tended to strengthen some at the cost of others' weakness," supports such measures of compulsion as shall secure to all, as far as possible, true freedom—*i.e.*, "a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that too something that we do or enjoy in common with others"\* No better expression of Professor Green's social ideal can be found than in words of his that have already been quoted as typical by Professor Caird —

"I confess to hoping for a time when the phrase ['the education of a gentleman'] will have lost its meaning, because the sort of education which alone makes the gentleman in any true sense will be within the reach of all. As it was the aspiration of Moses that all the Lord's people should be prophets, so with all seriousness and reverence we may hope and pray for a condition of English society, in which all honest citizens will recognize themselves and be recognized by each other as gentlemen"†

This is certainly a democratic, some would call it a Socialist, sentiment. It is only one outcome of the recognition that the ethical end of self-realization is an end for all human beings without those barriers of class and caste which we are in the habit of saying that Christianity has broken down. When the philosopher does turn to politics, he is apt to take certain phrases more seriously than other men

D G RITCHIE

\* "Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract," p. 9

† "The Work to be done by the new Oxford High School." A Lecture addressed to the Wesleyan Literary Society, Dec. 19, 1881

## LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT

ABOUT three years ago, Mr Broadhurst, Mr James Rowlands, and myself founded the Leaseholds Enfranchisement Association, whose object is to obtain for urban leaseholders compulsory power of purchasing the fee-simple on equitable terms, or, to put the matter still more simply, to enable a man who holds the lease of a house to buy up the ground-rent. I am compelled to say "the man who holds the lease," and not "the leasehold owner," for, strange as it may seem to simple people, no such thing as leasehold ownership exists. Many leaseholders imagine that they are owners, if only for a limited term, but this is not the case. A man sees a notice outside a new house—"This House to be Sold," he goes to the vendor, who is probably a builder, and pays down in hard cash the full market value of the house; nevertheless he does not become its owner. The law holds that any permanent structure placed upon a piece of land is the property of the owner of the land. What the man has bought is simply the use of the house, and the ground upon which it stands, for a term of years, provided he continues regularly to pay a certain amount of ground-rent, and fulfils a number of onerous conditions as to repairs, insurance, and the purposes for which the house shall be used. He may not pull down the house nor make structural alterations without the ground landlord's consent, nor use it for any other purpose except that specified in the lease, he must insure against fire in a particular office, and if it is burned down he must rebuild to the ground landlord's satisfaction, and he must pay all present and future rates and taxes. He holds the lease of "the premises"—*i.e.*, of the land described in the beginning of the document—but he is not the owner of the house, though he has paid its full value. The very terms in which

the agent of the ground landlord demands the ground rent are significant "Attendance will be given for receipt of rent due to Mr ——— for premises in your occupation"

In the suburbs of every town under the terminable leasehold system, for years before the land is built upon, its value in the market steadily rises, and not unfrequently increases by leaps and bounds. That increase of value is partly due to the thrift and enterprise of the people already living in the town, partly to the expenditure of those people through the local rates, but the land, until it is covered with houses, only pays rates on the agricultural value. In the suburbs of London thousands of houses have been built since the Metropolitan Board of Works constructed the main drainage system, in the advantages of which all these houses share, but the owners of the land on which they are built only contributed an infinitesimal fraction of the cost. The ground landlord, as soon as he grants a lease, takes care that the leaseholder shall covenant to pay all rates, and if he is not an occupying leaseholder, he has to bear all the risks of failure to let, and of temporary depreciation of rents through over-building. Indeed, in towns which depend mainly upon one industry the leaseholder stakes the whole of his money on its permanent continuance. The ground landlords contend that they let their land at a lower rent in consideration of their one-sided covenants—a disputable proposition which I will not here turn aside to controvert, but whatever amount of truth there may be in the proposition, it cannot be denied that they escape the whole of the burden of any increase in the rates or of any new rate. For example no man when taking the lease of a new house in London in 1850 could calculate on having to pay a Metropolitan Board rate which has gradually grown to  $7\frac{1}{2}d$  in the pound, no man when taking a lease of a new house in London in 1868 could calculate on having to pay a School Board rate of  $9d$  in the pound, no man when taking a lease of a new house in Finsbury Park and some other London suburbs could calculate on having to pay a ~~less a payment~~ rate which would for some years swallow up a ~~for~~ <sup>far</sup> ~~insist upon~~ <sup>exceed</sup> the letting value. In each of these cases the payers of rates are liquidating the principal as well as the interest of the money borrowed. Thus the ground landlord, into whose hands the property will ultimately pass, escapes at the end as well as at the beginning. His representatives may juggle as they will with musty legal axioms and modern economic fallacies the fact remains, that the terminable leaseholder has to bear the burdens of ownership, yet does not own.

Those who are directly interested in the preservation of the terminable leasehold system have recently issued a pamphlet, which they have printed, but shrink from publishing. The public will not fail to



note their tactics For three years a few of the victims of the leasehold system have attacked it on the platform and in the press, and have done so openly, challenging discussion, and not without effect, considering that the enfranchisement of leaseholds is now a recognized plank in the platform of the National Liberal Federation, and has been accepted also by Lord Randolph Churchill and several other members of the Conservative party Our interested opponents, who have all the advantages of an intimate acquaintance with the workings of the system, prepare a case to be laid before the Town Holdings Committee, but supply copies thereof only to one or two newspapers who are notoriously hostile to our demand, and refuse to sell a single copy across the counter of their printers They take care that hostile newspaper articles shall be written against us, and they take equal care that we shall not have an opportunity of replying, thus leaving on the public mind the impression that we have no answer to a case that we have never seen fully stated These gentlemen affect to despise the ignorance of the victims of the terminable leasehold system Well, we confess our ignorance, and frankly admit that we are now only half enlightened We only knew that the great ground landlords of London, who neither toil nor spin, were growing fabulously rich, and that some of them, or their heirs, when their leases fell in, would draw revenues greater than those of not a few of the smaller States of Europe Further, we knew that we were contributors to their vast revenues, through the system of periodic confiscation which they had forced upon us Further, we knew that the satellites of the ground landlords were great gainers by the present system I lay stress upon this, because a few years ago, when I passed as a small occupying leaseholder from one house to another, owing to a family requirement of additional bedrooms, I had to pay £35 to two sets of these gentlemen for doing next door to nothing Yes, it is true that we knew but little when we put our hands to the work, but we have been steadily adding to our stock of information, and have unearthed some of the mysteries of the system, so that we have acquired quite sufficient information to enlighten our fellow-countrymen, and to meet our opponents before a Select Committee of the House of Commons Even now we do not pretend to have probed to the bottom the cruelty and extortion which are the fruits of the system in remote districts, but we know quite enough to join issue with our interested antagonists, who, by the way, are unwittingly assisting us now, just as they did in giving their evidence before the Royal Commission \*

We expected that those who are connected with great leasehold estates would be leagued against us, they would be more than human if they did not resent our attack upon their vested interests, for as a matter of fact they are more directly concerned in the maintenance

of terminable leaseholds than their employers. The interest of the ground landlord is often remote, that of his agent or solicitor is immediate. On one of the largest estates in the West End of London a fee of two guineas must be paid down before an answer can be obtained to the simple question on what terms a house may be leased. Gentlemen who require a payment of two guineas before they will condescend to reply to a question, which can be answered in five minutes, have an obvious objection to our proposal. I know another estate at the West End where a friend of mine has a lease of a corner shop. That lease bristles with restrictive covenants against the carrying on of the most ordinary trades, not that they are intended to be enforced, but that the agent may secure a fresh fee for granting permission every time there is a change in the nature of the business. The great majority of leaseholders are compelled to insure in some particular office. To secure the freeholder it would be sufficient that the leaseholder was compelled to insure in an office approved by the freeholder, but this would not suit the agent, who of course takes care to get his commission for all the fire insurance business he brings to the office. Every new lease is a source of profit, to be paid by the leaseholder to the solicitor of the estate. We have plenty of lawyers on our side who would welcome the more general distribution of legal business, our opponents are the estate lawyers, to whom a great leasehold estate is a mine of wealth regularly worked at the leaseholder's cost. Mr Arthur Burr, who has the management of the Haldon estate at Torquay and of the Mansel estate at Swansea, and who has an enfranchisement clause in his leases, having first had a model lease drawn up, printed it, and freely distributes copies to those who desire to take land. The lawyers connected with great London estates charge eight or ten guineas, or more, for the lease of a small house. We never hoped that these gentlemen would be on our side.

Our opponents have long succeeded in imbuing the minds of the people of London with the superstition that the terminable leasehold system is a part of the order of Nature, just as Lord Beaconsfield used to insist upon his doctrine of the three profits when addressing the Buckinghamshire farmers. We have knocked that superstition on the head. It is now demonstrated that, to say nothing of Scotland, in the majority of the great towns of England terminable leases are unknown. Mr Charles Harrison, one of the most eminent men in the legal profession, has collected a great mass of information from town clerks and other legal authorities in all parts of the country, by which he has been enabled to prepare a leasehold map of England and Wales, which he has placed before the Town Holdings Committee. This map shows that over the greater part of this country the people are in happy ignorance of the system against

which we contend Not a few attempts have been made to introduce it, but except in places where they could not help themselves, the people would have nothing to do with it Mr Eli Sowerbutts, the secretary of a large building society at Manchester, testified before the Royal Commission that the men of Manchester would not have it at any price, Mr Fatkin, the secretary of another large building society at Leeds, showed that the Leeds people would not lend money on leasehold security in any of the leasehold towns, the trustees of Sir John Ramsden's estates long ago tried to introduce the system of periodic confiscation into the West Riding of Yorkshire, but no one would take up the land, and accordingly they had to go to Parliament again for power to grant leases for 999 years, which is equivalent to a perpetual tenure Though Sir John Ramsden's trustees failed, I regret to say that in some cases, where the land monopoly enabled the landlord to dictate his own terms, the obnoxious system has been forced upon the people, and of late it has even been introduced into Scotland, which till recently was entirely free from its baneful operation

The system prevails extensively in London, Woolwich, Cardiff, Swansea, Grimsby, Southport, Folkestone, Jarrow, Newport, Pembroke Dock, Merthyr, and the Welsh quarry districts and watering-places It obtains partially at Sheffield, Liverpool, Birmingham, Walsall, Oxford, Cambridge, Southampton, and a few other towns In its worst form of life leases it is found at Devonport, Malvern, in some parts of Wales, and in the most populous portions of Cornwall As the greater part of England is free from it, it is therefore neither an economic nor a social necessity, and the flimsy pretext that it is absolutely requisite in order to prevent men from injuring each other's property, falls to the ground If any other refutation is required, it will be found in the return obtained by Lord Granville from the British embassies at various continental capitals, which showed that terminable leaseholds are almost unknown on the Continent, and that municipal regulations are quite strong enough to prevent one man from injuring his neighbour's property So much for the cats'-meat-shop-in-Belgrave-Square argument But before I leave it I must remark that the ground landlord is after all only a protector as long as he chooses to act, and that when his interest is the other way he will consult his own interest first From the way in which our opponents talk it might be supposed that, while the leaseholder is bound by covenant not to injure his neighbour's property, the ground landlord is also bound by covenant not to allow the leaseholder's property to be injured But it is not so The ground landlord in effect echoes the words of Miss Flora McFlimsy of Madison Square to her lover "This is a sort of engagement, you see, which is binding on you, but not binding on me" I speak

from experience A few years ago I was a leaseholder on a suburban London estate Some houses in the main road, out of which my road turned, having been badly built by a jerry builder, fell at length into my ground landlord's hands He found some difficulty in letting them as private houses, and so for his own profit let one to a cobbler, another to a news vendor, another as a sweetstuff-shop Remonstrance was useless Our supposed protector was himself the man who injured our property He was sure of his ground-rents, no matter what loss he inflicted upon us Myself and other leaseholders were too glad to sell at a disadvantage before the neighbourhood had further degenerated I could give other examples, but this will suffice

The term of original leases ranges from ninety-nine years down to forty years In those parts of Wales which are in the hands of one proprietor, or of two or three who come to a common understanding, sixty years is the customary term, though the houses are built of such splendid materials that they will last for two or three hundred years In London the old customary term of ninety-nine years has been largely cut down to eighty years, not only by the Metropolitan Board of Works, but also by owners of suburban estates But this is not all The leaseholder of a new house rarely gets the full term His lease is often—I think I may say generally—antedated I know that I have never had my full term, and that is a common experience of others There is a very large estate in the south-east of London where the nominal term is only eighty years, but it has taken five years to develop the estate, and those who now take original leases really have not more than seventy-five years The difference is hardly likely to deter a man from taking a house, but this is only one of other proofs that might be cited of the truth of the axiom, that all things work together for good to the ground landlord

We are met at the outset with the objection that our proposal is an interference with the freedom of contract Of course it is So was the abolition of slavery, so were the Factory Acts, so were the Truck Acts, so was the Agricultural Holdings Act, so was the Hares and Rabbits Act, so is Mr Chaplain's Allotments Bill It is now recognized by all, except the doctrinaires of the Liberty and Property Defence League, that freedom of contract should be limited where there is a great inequality of status between the two parties This more especially applies where the natural monopoly of land is in question I learned this doctrine long ago, as assistant secretary of the Land Tenure Reform Association, from the lips of John Stuart Mill, but it is hardly worth while to offer arguments in its favour now Mr Chaplain's Allotments Bill, which is backed by eminent Conservative members, has no other logical basis than the principle He applies it only to the country, I apply it also to the town Devonport is owned by one man, those who wish to work there or

carry on business there, must agree to his terms, or remove Blaenau Ffestiniog, the largest quarry town in North Wales, belongs to two or three men, the quarrymen must submit to their terms, or depart. The land available for building purposes in Pembroke Dock belongs to one man, the dockyard hands must accept the conditions he imposes, or give up their employment. If any one contends that this ought so to be, I do not reason with him, but I appeal to the people of Devonport, Blaenau Ffestiniog, and Pembroke Dock, to give a mandate to their parliamentary representatives on the question. Even in London there is not much greater liberty of choice when all circumstances are taken into consideration. Five years ago I was compelled to look out for a house with certain conditions as to size, locality, and proximity to a railway line with one particular terminus. After four months' unwearying search I failed to find a single one on freehold tenure that suited my requirements, and I am but one among many.

We base our demand upon the simple proposition that the terminable leasehold system is contrary to public policy. Everything turns upon that. If we cannot prove it, we have no case, if we do prove it, our case is impregnable. When the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes was receiving evidence, the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association was only struggling into existence, and took no steps to secure witnesses, yet ten of the seventeen Commissioners—viz, Cardinal Manning, Lord Carrington, Sir George Harrison, Mr Lyulph Stanley, Mr E. D. Gray, Mr Torrens, Mr Broadhurst, Mr Jesse Collings, Mr George Godwin, and Mr Samuel Morley—signed a supplementary report, in which they declared that “the prevailing system of building leases is conducive to bad building, to deterioration of property towards the close of the lease, and to a want of interest on the part of the occupier in the house he inhabits, and that legislation favourable to the acquisition on equitable terms of the freehold interest on the part of the leasehold would conduce greatly to the improvement of the dwellings of the people of this country.” Of the remaining seven Commissioners, the Prince of Wales was necessarily precluded from expressing an opinion on such a matter, and the president, Sir Charles Dilke, was only hindered from signing by his official connection with the Government. I am content to rest the contention that the terminable leasehold system is contrary to public policy upon this supplementary report. Yet it is woefully defective, for it fails to bring to light the fact that, though it is to the interest of a nation that the number of persons who have a stake in the country should be as large as possible, the terminable leasehold system works in a contrary direction. In forty, sixty, eighty, or ninety years the fruits of a small man's industry and self-denial, instead of passing to one or more of his descendants, fall into the insatiate maw of the

ground landlord Thus that which should be the most desirable form of thrift means the ultimate disinheritance of a man's heirs

The interested persons who call themselves the "Evidence Committee" have laid down certain main propositions The first affirms that "the existing system in each locality has been determined, not by the caprice of the landlords, but by the demand of the public" That is untrue The terminable leasehold system is altogether modern, and is due to the desire of owners of settled estates and their satellites to preserve the estates in the hands of the family, and at the same time to make them available for building purposes Some agents go so far as to say that there is no demand for enfranchisement Of course, no such demand is made to these gentlemen, because everybody knows that on the great estates of London it would not be granted Mr Hunt, Lord Portman's agent, told the Royal Commission on the Dwellings of the Working Classes that he had never received such an application, but when hard pressed he admitted that the reason was that people probably imagined that it would not be of the least use to apply But on some of the smaller estates such applications are not unfrequent Before me lies an answer received by a leaseholder on one such estate at the West End, in which the agent writes "Your letter as to the enfranchisement of this ground-rent is one of many similar letters which I receive I do not generally answer them [Mark the lordly insolence of tone] If any, and when the Enfranchisement Bill passes, the freeholders will of course consider what they ought to do, as the exact provisions of any Act will then be before them"

The "Evidence Committee" contend "that in districts where the value of land is high, the builder cannot afford to pay ready-money for his land, but must obtain it on credit, and that the leasehold system affords him the readiest method of effecting this object" This contention is irrelevant If a Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill were passed, the builder would be in no worse position than now, for he would still obtain land on credit, and with this advantage, that he would be able, when he had built a house, to offer to a buyer a lease with the right to enfranchise The rule in the suburbs of London is for the builder to take a plot of land on a building agreement, by which the freeholder engages to grant leases on certain terms when the houses are built If a Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill were passed, the same process would still obtain Self-interest would still impel the freeholder to facilitate building on his land, so that he might obtain urban and not agricultural value from it In the majority of cases the example of the Duke of Devonshire would be followed Occasionally builders would buy land outright, being well aware that they can borrow more easily and more cheaply and a proportionately larger sum on freehold than on leasehold Some-

times the freeholder would build on his own account, much to the advantage of his future occupying tenants, for he would take care that his houses were well built. We are fighting the battle of occupiers as well as leaseholders, and their interests require that every house shall have a permanent and responsible owner.

The advocates of the terminable leasehold system are driven to the position that a weekly tenancy suits a working man far better than the ownership of a house. Mr Ryde and Mr Vigers have both laid down this extraordinary doctrine. If it were true of the working man—limiting that phrase to the skilled mechanic—it would not invalidate our position. The great lower-middle class of London are quite as much entitled to consideration as the skilled mechanic. But it is not true. Mr Vigers endeavours to bolster up his position by the assertion that the terms of building societies are exorbitant. The competition among them is too keen. Any man who has saved a third of the cost of a leasehold house can borrow the remainder at five per cent. on the unpaid balance, and with law charges reduced to a minimum. On a freehold house the terms would be much easier, and if we had registration of title the expense would be reduced to a mere flea-bite. Estate lawyers and surveyors know little or nothing of the life of the struggling classes, or they would be aware of the fact that the daily inducements to spend upon necessities and comforts, to say nothing of luxuries, are so pressing that even careful men need some gentle pressure. I speak with knowledge from personal experience. With continuous and painful effort, and not a little self-denial, I am already in sight of the goal. I am well aware that the Post Office Savings Bank is open every day, but I am quite as well aware that it would not have presented the same inducement to economize as the desire to live in my own house, which after all is not mine, though I have paid its full value to the last penny. There is the sting of it. It may not strike most men as it strikes me, but it is hard to feel that, instead of saving up for my grandson, I am saving up for my grandson's ground landlord. Thus, generation after generation, the heirs of the thrifty class are toppled over to begin life again, and the "bloated ground landlords of London," as Lord Randolph Churchill fitly called them, grow richer and richer. There is nothing sacred in hard cash, in stocks, in shares, in a balance at a banker's, but there is something sacred in a house which is the permanent memorial of the father's or grandfather's thought and self-denial. If I put my savings in paper securities, those who come after me may make ducks and drakes of them without a pang of conscience, but to sell the old home, which the son or grandson saw the old man buying shilling by shilling, would be almost an act of filial impiety. If I invest in three per cent.

stock, I forfeit this restraint, if I invest in a leasehold house, I only lay up that which my grandson must forfeit. In some parts of the country the conditions are still harder, by reason of the shortness of the term. There are many men who out of very scanty wages are paying for their own homes, built so as to last two or three hundred years, who have the bitter reflection that, when the child who is playing on their knees grows old, he will have to turn out homeless, and the heir of the ground landlord enter into possession.

In listening to the evidence given before the Town Holdings Committee I have been struck by the evident hostility of the big agents and estate lawyers to building societies. There seems to be a latent feeling that ground rents and even leasehold property are superior forms of investment which should remain in the hands of a limited class. To me it appears that the ideal State is that in which every citizen has a permanent home of his own—a realization of the ancient Hebrew prophet's vision "And they shall build houses, and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit, they shall not plant, and another eat. For as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands." Necessarily, we are a long way off from that ideal, but the nearer we approach it the better for the individual citizen, and for the State as a whole. Lord Pembroke not long ago regretted that the landowners of England were so few, we propose to multiply them. Conservatives and Liberals are alike anxious to increase the number of men who have a stake in the country. But every terminable leasehold holding has the sentence of death in itself. There is no permanence in it, at every second or third generation it has to be created over again. Thus the old story of Sisyphus is repeated. The people are, after all, the best judges of their own interests. I point the agents of the big estates to the simple fact that the building societies of the United Kingdom are nearly two thousand in number, and have a capital of £52,500,000—that is, £8,000,000 more than the amount in the Post Office Savings Banks. This business, too, is rapidly growing, for as late as 1870 the capital of the building societies did not amount to one-third of the sum above mentioned. Figures, however, do not measure the gain. The advantages of the permanent ownership of a permanent home are multitudinous. In my judgment not the least is, that it checks the unhealthy striving after living for mere appearance, which is one of the most prolific curses of the present age. Thank God, there are many thousands of Englishmen whose chief aim in life is not to make money or to attain high social position, but who are content with the homes they have won by steady industry and thrift, and who only seek for their children the highest educational advantages.



We cannot all be millionaires, better for the majority that they should not make the acquisition of a million their aim to the last hour of their lives

Our opponents contend that the enfranchisement of leaseholds would not so much benefit the occupier as the middleman, we answer that the middleman, like the jerry-builder, is very much the creation of the terminable leasehold system. Mr Fatkin, who told the Royal Commission that the jerry-builder hardly found a footing in the freehold town of Leeds, and Lord Northampton's agent, who admitted that the middleman was rampant, establish our position. These convenient scapegoats are really deserving of sympathy. The London builders are the best abused men in existence, and though I have suffered at their hands, I really have not the heart to denounce them. I think that they are as honest as they dare to be, and that the least scrupulous among them have the best chances of success. Frequently they are the mere catspaws of land speculators and their satellites, and very seldom do they suck the plunder which they are popularly supposed to enjoy. As for the middleman, who speculates on the fag-ends of leases, if his opportunities were taken away, he would naturally return to the discounting of bills, or to the management of a dolly-shop. House-jobbers will always flourish where leasehold tenure exists, and, as Lord Northampton's agent showed before the Royal Commission, the ground landlord neither can nor will control them. So long as there are leases there will be fag-ends of leases, and speculators in those fag-ends. Destroy the terminable leasehold system, and the house jobbers would find their occupation gone.

I have only to add that, in common with many other advocates of leasehold enfranchisement, I would convert every terminable lease into a lease of 999 years on equitable terms, giving the leaseholder the right to enfranchise subsequently.

HOWARD EVANS

## THE TENDENCIES OF FRENCH ART

**T**HERE is not only a difference of degree, there is a distinction in kind, between the annual exhibitions of pictures in France and England, known as the Salon and the Royal Academy. The former is not only a national, but an international show, the latter, though admitting specimens of foreign work, is practically a collection of English paintings, and is chiefly the expression of the prejudices and sympathies of our own people. Paris is still the great art school of the world, and the pupils who study under Parisian artists are drawn from every country to that great centre. Here they learn their business and imbibe their art principles, and to the great annual exhibitions they send their works long after their student days have passed away, secure of space for their pictures, and confident of the liberal consideration of what is after all the greatest artistic community in the world—the community of French artists.

The immense space at the disposal of the jury, no less than the principle of universal suffrage by which that jury is chosen, affords to every comer the chance of favourable consideration, and indeed the defect that is most frequently urged against the Salon, especially by Englishmen, is that it includes, not excludes, too many pictures. There is something almost maddening in the apparently unending range of the galleries, as well as in the gigantic size and interminable number of the pictures which they contain, in view of the attempt to grasp within the compass of an ordinary visit—or even of many ordinary visits—the merit and meaning of so many works of art. Many folks, I fancy, leave the exhibition, wishing for the moment that there was no such thing as a picture or a statue in the world—satiated not so much with beauty as with the gigantic diverse endeavour of this heterogeneous army of artists.

From the dance of Herodias' daughter, to the interior of a Parisian hospital, from vast historical compositions, to the interiors of butchers' shops, from shipwrecks at sea, to half-dressed ballet-girls, from Rameses II, to the last hero of Parisian journalism, the unfortunate spectator's mind and eyes are dragged, in his progress down the Salon, some 2,500 times. Is it any wonder that long before he has seen a tithe of the exhibition his artistic palate is jaded and repelled? Michelangelo, Titian, and Velasquez might appeal to him in vain long before he has come to M. Zwiller, whose picture, "*Un Philosophe*" (No 2521), closes the list of paintings. And this, I fancy, is why so few English people are at all just in their estimate of the Salon, and why, also, we so frequently hear it spoken of with a passionate dislike, almost personal in its intensity. We English folks are accustomed to swallow a gallery whole, as we swallow our medicine, and to swallow this French exhibition whole is an impossibility. The pictures cannot be looked at under an appreciable amount of time, and it is even more difficult to pass without looking.

A collection of paintings where a work such as Mr S. J. Solomon's "*Samson and Delilah*," the largest picture of this year's Academy, would appear of but ordinary size, is apt to be very glaring in its imperfections, and it must, at best, demand an amount of consideration and attention such as few people, who are not extremely interested in pictures, are ready to bestow. And these imperfections will be the more repellent, and this mental fatigue the more intense, in proportion as the painters of such pictures are less conventional, and are occupied in fresh artistic departures. We bear much with the men who are making history, can we not bear a little with the men who are making painting? We do not expect the perfect adaptation of means to end from the former, why should we from the latter? From those who are repeating dead formulæ, contented to follow the tracks of the men who have gone before them, much should indeed be expected, and for their errors little forbearance should be shown, but to those who are seeking some new development in the sphere of beauty, some new means by which to express Nature, and facts which have hitherto been but imperfectly recognized in the domain of art, there should, I think, be every toleration given, for such men have the world against them as it is, and established fame, indifference, and conventionality are sure to deal them sufficiently hard blows, and the least those who care for pictures and painting can do is to try to understand for what these eager students are seeking, and to give them what encouragement may be possible, if they seem to be seeking it in humility and earnestness. For the life of art, like that of all created things, depends on change. To cease to change is to cease to live, and the art of one era can no more be wholly adopted by the people of another,

than the method of its thought or the fashion of its behaviour. It is useless our protesting against the rising of the tide, or to sit, like pictorial Canutes, with our backs to the incoming waves, and if the tendencies of modern art are to enlarge its sphere of subject, and to modify the technical methods and aims of the artist, it is the business of all those who care to consider the matter seriously, to examine the object and the manner of the new departure, to see how far they can be reconciled with the finer qualities of ancient art, and whether they hold out reasonable promise for the art of the future.

The Salon affords a good opportunity for making this examination, as it contains examples of the most modern developments of painting, and I shall in the present article only mention such works as illustrate the changes which are gradually taking place. The chief difficulty of such an examination is to distinguish between what is merely a temporary development due to the fashion of the moment, and its effect upon the national character, and what is the result of a permanent alteration induced by fuller knowledge, or necessitated by the requirements of a more elaborate form of civilization. It must be remembered that a certain parochialism has always distinguished English art. It has, like the upper or middle classes of our country, been considered estimable, but not of the highest social importance. We have always wanted to have pictures, especially of late years, but have desired to have them in a certain passionless, discreet, limited way, desired to have them only so long as they did not interfere with our prejudices, or traverse our ideas of propriety. In fact, the question of price has always been present with us, we have only been prepared to pay emotionally and intellectually a fixed amount for our art, and, above all, we have restricted its sphere of subjects and method of treatment, in the interests of conventionality. There is no doubt much to be said on either side of this question. The French, as a nation, have always been free from this coloured-glass style of art, there has consequently seemed to most of our countrymen to be a certain violence, and, so to speak, nakedness of statement about our neighbours' fiction and painting. We must not therefore be surprised if, in the Gallic pictures of the present day, which are the most in accordance with the ideas of the advanced school of painters, we find a choice of subjects such as at first sight appears to be even more abnormal, even more opposed to the reticences and conventions of English painting, than of old. For the great change which is coming over the feeling of artists, and is in one way or another modifying all they think and all they do, is a change in the direction of reality. They draw the subjects of their pictures more and more from the occurrences of every-day life, and admit into the manner of their representations less and less modification of the manner in which these occurrences took place.

There is no need to point out that, when once the above idea had firmly taken root, it necessarily, or at all events probably, would pave the way for the almost indefinite extension of the picturesque. When subjects were not alone confined to those matters with regard to which our sentimental or sensuous emotions were connected, but embraced all matters relative to life which the painter could adequately depict, it was inevitable that many of the new pictures should appeal not so much to our sense of beauty, as to other emotions which had hitherto been considered to be beyond the province of art. Suppose that a band of artists had become convinced, that beauty was dependent more upon the realization of the natural aspect of things than upon the arrangement and modification of that aspect according to established tradition, they would be naturally likely to choose for the materials of their work, such subjects as 'the elder school would have considered entirely mistaken. They would seek out things trivial, things common, things in themselves even repulsive, and try to show how kindly "the light of Heaven fell upon them," and how they too had their fitting place in the great Palace of Art. We might expect, *à priori*, that they would act in this manner, and that the result would necessarily be in the first instance grotesque, and even objectionable to those who were brought up under the old rule, and it is to this cause that we owe many of the pictures in the present Salon—pictures which deal with such conventionally unpictorial subjects as a bedside lecture in a hospital, the interior of a restaurant, even the contents of a butcher's shop.

I am not saying whether this new development be right or wrong. I am simply at the present moment engaged in stating the fact, and seeking to suggest the cause. It seems to me that the study of Nature, once admitted into poetry, fiction, or painting, necessarily must—I will not say end—but pass through, a phase in which the purely scientific aspect to a certain extent obscures the more purely artistic intention. Wordsworth was the inevitable precursor of Zola, who is by the irony of fate probably the very last writer of whom Wordsworth or his admirers would have approved. And just as Wordsworth in his day threw off almost entirely the shackles of tradition, and sought from Nature herself the materials for his work, so the French naturalist painters, as they may appropriately be called, are, and have been for the last twenty years, getting rid of their traditional swaddling-clothes, and trying to walk about the world alone, and unaided by their old nurse—Conventionality. It is curious to note that this revolution, which has slowly accomplished itself, started—as did the revolution of English painting—in the department of landscape. The school of Corot, Millet, Rousseau, and Daubigny, which practically rules the whole of French landscape art of the present day, was firmly established long before the

new school of figure-painters received recognition, and indeed at the present hour the conventional characteristics of French figure-painting are still in preponderance amongst the majority of the artists. That this is so arises from several causes. To begin with the change to be effected was not so great, the way being prepared to a certain extent by the English landscape painters, for in essential characteristics, Constable, Cox, De Wint, and Turner, to a considerable extent inspired the work of Rousseau, Daubigny, &c. But in the line of figure painting no such preparation had been made, and naturally enough artists adhered to the traditional treatment, and, so to speak, the sanction of the old masters, far more strongly. To paint a landscape as it appeared, was bad enough, but to paint a figure without regard to the manner of the "grand style," seemed to the elder artists almost an impiety. Besides which, to the outside public, accustomed always before-time to what might be called an artificial representation of figure subjects, the attempt to put them down in every-day prosaic manner was far more alarming than if the picture merely treated of such a comparatively impersonal matter as natural scenery.

Like most other popular movements, the work of the new school ran into a thousand extravagances, and gave much occasion to its enemies to blaspheme. Not content with clinging to the new truths which they had caught sight of, they disdained all other means of support, and would accept nothing less from their adversaries than the entire remodelling of ancient practices, and a confession that the only saving grace was the one which had been so recently discovered. Not pausing to consider that in all probability the three or four thousand years of artistic example which the world had experienced, contained some kernel of what was right and requisite, they threw overboard, with light hearts, all the ancient equipage of art as mere useless lumber, and prepared to sail their ship without compass or rudder—simply with the one brand-new sail of "atmospheric truth." What wonder that the bark has been drifting a somewhat erratic course ever since, and that no man knows whither it is bound, or whether it will ever reach its destination? For, with Mark Twain's friend the negro, we may say of atmospheric truth, that though it may be our brother, it is "not our father and mother and our uncle and our aunt, and our wife's relations down in the country." We are to disregard all the ideas of a subject, all desire for beautiful arrangement, all notions of composition, and simply accept as the one sufficient subject of a picture, a piece gouged out of Nature, as it were with a cheese-scoop, from the first place to which the artist came. This, or something very like it, is what our new artists would have us believe. It doesn't matter if they paint a picture of a cruci-

fixion, or a dish of lights,\* so long as they represent it *en plein air*. To an ordinary common-sense person the proposition will hardly seem worthy of refutation, nor indeed would many members of the school dare to state it in so crude a form. This thesis is, however, implied, and is tacitly accepted, by a very considerable number of connoisseurs and picture-fanciers, and slowly but very surely this conception of art is making its way amongst our English artists, and so needs to be dealt with as a potent factor in contemporary art. It is the development of this proposition to the utmost extent which has given rise to the so-called "impressionist" school in France, and to that English modification of it of which Mr. Whistler's painting is the most notable example. These artists hold that truthfulness to the impression of any given scene is the utmost result which can be accomplished by a painter, and that therefore in this first imperfect vision, on the details of which the mind is not to be allowed to exert its influence, all the loveliness and poetry of art consist! To paint that which is impressed upon the retina within the space during which an eye can be rapidly opened and shut—this is the end to which the artist's effort should be directed, so alone can he obtain perfect truth, and in perfect truth he can find salvation. The theory, one may observe in passing, is a specious one, and very fascinating to young men who are eager for novelty. It makes every one "as good as his neighbour"—aye, and to use the old expression—"a great deal better"—as it sweeps away at once all other criteria than the individual impression. If a picture is not to be in the future considered good because of its beautiful form, its glow and depth of colour, its dignity of aim, its tenderness and poetry of meaning, its patient, industrious endeavour to depict every portion of its subject with completion and loveliness, but is to rely wholly upon accurately representing the effect of a cursory glance, and that at one thing or scene just as well as at another, it is evident that art will become at once a matter of very different import from that which it has always been considered in past times. For we are tempted to ask why should we want to decorate our houses with, and spend hours in looking at, representations of what Tom, Dick, and Harry see as they wink their eyes rapidly. We can *wink our own eyes* if it comes to that, and at the things themselves, all day long, if we find it sufficiently amusing. If the painter is to have no special vision, no subtle message, to exercise no power of selection or combination, to give us, in fact, no result but the reproduction of the quickest impression of Nature that we may all see in our "winking" moments, is there much use, for us at least, in his existing at all? When ordinary every-day people want to enjoy a scene in Nature, or to look at an interesting object or action, do they set to work

\* There is actually a picture in the Salon of this subject, of the very largest life size

to wink their eyes, or do they simply open them as wide as possible, and look out of them as hard as they can? But, the "impression" is everything, say these young men! Why? And why one impression more than another? Why the incomplete vision rather than the completed one? Because, say they, the first impression is the only "visual" one—that is, the picture imprinted on the retina, and, consequently, that is the one you should reproduce. It will be evident to everybody that this by no means follows, even if it be true that there is one actual point at which the picture on the retina is visually true, unaffected by the operation and previous knowledge of the brain. But this contention is manifestly erroneous, we receive no impression, no matter how imperfect, without the assistance and the report on it, so to speak, of the brain, and there is no one point at which we can arrest this modification, or any at which we can say it begins.

The whole theory is based on a mistaken idea that the report of the eye, if I may use such an expression, can be dis severed from all our previous knowledge, from all mental experience, an idea which the slightest acquaintance with physiology would suffice to disprove. Even, however, as I have said, if it were correct, there would still remain to be proved the conclusion that because this first impression could be set down, that is the result to which the efforts of artists should be directed—which seems to me somewhat as if one should say that because the alphabet is the first step towards learning to read, we should prefer its letters to more highly developed literature.

But enough of this impressionist theory—it is one which will refute itself in time, and already it is losing its hold over the best of its followers. The naturalist wit of such men as Duran, Gervex, and others, which is the most prominent characteristic of the present Salon, is only but faintly allied to the ultra school of which I have been speaking, and it is this of which I must now speak.

The most popular picture in the Salon is by M. Gervex, and shows a clinical lecture by Dr. Pean in the ward of a hospital.

"En somme, l'harmonie noire des vêtements de nos jours est charmante dans les tonalités claires, elle peut varier à chaque œuvre de peintre, selon les milieux, l'heure, leclairage, et a au moins l'inappréciable avantage d'être constamment vue, et à portée des yeux de tous. À cet égard le tableau de M. Gervex est absolument remarquable. Il est impossible de donner mieux l'impression d'un jour d'intérieur, de cette atmosphère impalpable, claire et transparente aux rideaux blancs relevés, modelant de reflets froids les visages, et circulant sur les murs nus de la salle d'hôpital. Ce qu'il y a d'air dans cette perspective restreinte, en somme est imaginaire. On y pénétre, on y est, on y respire. Allons! l'art moderne a du bon. Avouez que la redoutée n'est pas si redoutable et que M. Gervex est un peintre privilégié, d'une exquise sensibilité d'œil et d'une rare délicatesse de palette."

So far, M. Paul Mentz in praise of the modern art and this especial



sample, and the merits which he finds therein are really there beyond all doubt the "pure tones of the blacks," the impression of indoor light, the bold reflections cast on the faces by the white hospital curtains, the sense of reality—all these are shown us by M. Gervex, not only adequately, but as it were "by authority," so masterly is his rendering of the subject. And the list of admirable qualities is not exhausted even now, for the action and expressions of all concerned in this picture are as natural and life-like as is the technical rendering of the atmosphere, light and shade, and colour. The Doctor Pean himself, whose demonstration forms the subject of the work, is a most admirable piece of character painting—his expression full of keen if somewhat pompous intelligence, and the little gesture with which he holds his instrument in one hand, while he explains its use, tells its story most admirably. What more, then, is wanting? Why should we not carry this work, too, through the streets of Paris, as Cimabue's Madonna was carried once through Florence in glad rejoicing? We may with advantage consider this question a little closely, for on the answer thereto depends the future of painting, and indeed, not of painting only, but of all the arts.

Let us get back, if we can, to the most elementary view of the matter. Art evidently cannot be good unless it be good for *something*, unless we get from it some result not to be obtained otherwise. It must be surely in the highest development of its special characteristics that the best kind of art will be found, whether these be or be not conjoined with the qualities of other developments of human energy will be comparatively unimportant. At all events, let art first of all give us that which she alone possesses, afterwards we will accept from her hands every other good gift. What is, then, the vital quality of art? What is it we first want from pictures? Why do we desire to have them at all? Think a little! Is it because of the wonderful workmanship of the painter—simply to admire his dexterity, as we would that of a Japanese juggler? Is it only as records of things which are or have been—coloured diagrams of life, from which we ask nothing but accuracy and plainness of statement? When we hang pictures upon the walls of our rooms do we do so only as so many columns from a pictorial dictionary, so much information that when the barometer was low and the sun at a given altitude, such and such an object cast a shadow of a certain value, and colour, and shape? If this be our reason for wanting pictures, art is surely a very tame Board-school sort of matter. If the vital characteristic of art is only, that its record is shaped in form and expressed by the help of light and shade and colour, instead of being written in ordinary characters, the world has been making far too great a fuss over painting and sculpture for the last three

thousand years The world is full enough of learning which life is too short to comprehend, for folks in general to hang their houses with long statements as to the appearances of all things, even though those statements are bounded by the four sides of a frame, instead of by the covers of a book

Then, if it be not true that this scientific record is the object and the characteristic of art, what do we seek therein which we could not obtain elsewhere? The answer is very simple not fact, not learning, but delight We seek at once that double gratification of sense and spirit, of what we see and know, and of what we feel and dream The power of art over mankind lies in this appeal to both sides of man's nature, to those emotions within him which are gratified by beautiful forms and colours, exactly in the same way as the body is gratified by being plunged into a warm bath, and to those thoughts, dreams, indefinite and half-shaped spiritual perceptions, which make up the life within us And the power of the great artist is, that he can trace this life of beauty, and its connection with our life of thought and action, through channels whose source and windings are invisible to our duller eyes By his exquisiteness of perception, no less spiritual than physical, he can endue the gesture of a tired child with a significance as well as grace of which we know nothing, and reveal to us, beneath the roughest exteriors, that throbbing pulse of beauty which beats for ever through all natural things, and all true development of human emotion But to do this he must feel as well as know, he is not the surgeon, but rather the Sister of Mercy of mankind, and tends his patient not only with skill, but with tenderness and prayer And since the artist is to interpret beauty to us, to find it in out-of-the-way places of humanity and Nature, in which we should pass it by, it is above all things necessary that he should be eager in his search, and very human in his emotions Perhaps no good picture which the world has produced was cold in its emotional aspect, no amount of skill in the least atones for lack of feeling

It is these considerations which prevent me caring greatly for M Gervex's picture, and they seem to me applicable to much of the modern French painting, which is at once profoundly skilful and as profoundly heartless Gallic—and I am sorry to say some English—artists have of late years grown so absorbed in their pursuit of technical excellence as to have forgotten that painting, after all, is but a means to an end, not the end itself, and, as in the old days, the gods have granted them their heart's desire, and with it has come the accompanying retribution The power, the skill, and the industry shown in this present exhibition of the Salon are simply incredible in their extent, and despite them all, the visitor to the gallery goes away fatigued and depressed, conscious of a multitude of paintings of consum-

mate ability, and scarcely remembering half a dozen beautiful pictures.

There is at the Ecole des Beaux Arts at the present time a small collection of works by a dead painter (Jean Francois Millet), which in extent would, if all of them were put together, not cover half the space of canvas of many a single picture in the Salon, yet I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that, regarded from the point of view of art, the Millet collection (chiefly of pastels, charcoal, chalk and pencil drawings) is worth a hundred exhibitions such as the Salon. In it we find a man not only seeing beauty in ordinary things, but endowing that beauty with new meaning and new pathos, without altering the truth of its appearance. To be at the same time simply veracious in statement, and pathetic and beautiful in the works in which these statements are made, is about the highest praise which can be bestowed upon an artist, and this praise is Millet's most certain due. The Breton peasant painter did thoroughly for the real life of the French rustic, a very similar work to that which Walker and Mason did for the imaginary life of the English countryman—touched it, that is, to fine issues of poetry and pathos, made it at once significant, pictorial, and true. The comparison between these artists is an interesting one, but on the whole it tells immensely in favour of the French painter. He was not only a simpler, truer soul, both in himself and his work, but he drew his inspiration of beauty from a purer, deeper source. Examine Fred Walker's peasants and labourers, and one finds them beautiful indeed, in both form and gesture, but the grace which they have is not the special grace that belongs to them in life, but that which the artist attributes to them from his genius, and, as it were, in their own despite. Take as an example one of the grandest compositions which this artist ever painted, "Speed the Plough," and notice the actions of the only two figures therein—the man driving the plough through the furrow, and the boy guiding the horses. The actions of both are magnificent, and might have been copied from a vase of the finest period of Grecian art, but only the slightest acquaintance with country life is needed to inform us how little like the actual operation of ploughing—how essentially (not untrue, but) uncharacteristic are these poses. The same words apply to the splendid gesture of the labourer removing the pipe from his mouth in "The Old Gate," and to that of the mower in "The Harbour of Refuge." These figures are all beautiful in action, but beautiful despite their characteristics of country labourers, rather than because of them. But if we turn to a shepherd or a shepherdess by Millet we find a very different manner of obtaining the result of loveliness. The artist clings tenaciously to every indication of the effect of labour and exposure—clings to the rough, shapeless garments, the slow

paces, the exhaustion, the endurance, the isolation, and, I might almost say, the terror, of life in the fields and the woods, and it is by realizing for us these facts, by bringing them into accord with the dew of the morning and the gloom of the twilight, with the shifting seasons and the inconstant sky, that he gains the material for his poem. Occasionally, it is true, as in "The Sower," and again in a lesser degree in the "Two Men Digging," we have a free unconstrained action, but only where such is of the very heart of the subject. It would be correct to say of Fred Walker that he *made* country life beautiful and of Millet that he *found* it to be so, that Walker's was a townsman's country, and Millet's that of a son of the soil. However this may be, the collection at the Ecole des Beaux Arts of the latter artist's work emphasizes the defect of such painting as that of Gervex and his imitators. If in these flat fields and toil worn people, engaged in shearing sheep or cutting faggots, planting potatoes or breaking stones, there resides such an intimate secret of loveliness that a few scratches of charcoal on a bit of paper representing them, give us so much delight, must there not be something very wrong indeed with this elaborate, highly trained, elaborately wrought-out, gigantic-scaled work of the Salon, which, with all its pounds of paint and acres of canvas, awakens no emotion within us but that of wonder at the apparently causeless industry of its producers? There is something very wrong, and, at the risk of wearying my readers, I repeat that it is the substitution of technical skill, for the old end of painting and sculpture, which was to express and to excite emotion—to give delight by painting matters in which the artist delighted, things which he believed, loved, felt to be true.

What was the secret of Millet's success against every opposition, against lifelong poverty and total want of education? It was that he believed and loved the things he depicted, saw their meaning and their connection with life. Here it is in his own words:

"I must confess, even if you think me a Socialist, that the human side of art is what touches me most, and if I could only do what I like—or, at least, attempt it—I should do nothing that was not in impression from Nature either in landscape or figures. The gay side never shows itself to me. I don't know where it is. I have never seen it. The gayest thing I know is the calm, the silence, which is so sweet either in the forest or in the cultivated land—whether the land be good for culture or not. You will admit that it is always very dreamy, and a sad dream, though often very delicious."

'You are sitting under a tree, enjoying all the comfort and quiet of which you are capable, you see come from a narrow path a poor creature loaded with faggots. The unexpected and always surprising way in which this figure strikes you, instantly reminds you of the common and melancholy lot of humanity—weariness.' It is always like the impression of La Fontaine's 'Wood-cutter' in the fable:

"What pleasure has he had since the day of his birth  
Who so poor as he in the whole wide earth?"

" Sometimes, in places where the land is sterile, you see figures hoeing and digging. From time to time one raises himself and straightens his back, as they call it, wiping his forehead with the back of his hand. 'Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy brow.' Is this the gay, jovial work some people would have us believe in? But, nevertheless, to me it is true humanity and great poetry."

I have lingered perhaps over-long in this contrast of Millet's work and the naturalistic compositions of the present time, but this artist forms a link between the old and new schools, and, with the landscapists allied to him, inaugurated the revolution which has determined the chief direction of modern French Art. These men, who saw poems in unaltered Nature, and produced them in colour and form, have opened the way for the men who see no poems, nor feel any regret at their absence, but prosecute their art with a cold accuracy of endeavour, substituting the solution of problems for the delineation of beautiful things.

Meanwhile it must be confessed that, if we grant the desirability of their aim, the industry and ability of the artists of this school are almost beyond praise. Not to speak of the work of such masters as Gervex and Brouillet, there are men such as Girardot, Raffalli, Duez, Dantan, and many others, producing pictures which, for truth of art and indoor light and effects of atmosphere, are unsurpassable. Girardot's great picture in the present exhibition, of "Ruth and Boaz," is a composition of this kind, which, though almost repellent at the first glance, becomes most admirable when it is closely examined, from the truth of its effects and from the evidently desperate struggle of the painter to get the very strongest possible rendering of the fact he was engaged upon. The subject here (Ruth and Boaz) might be Jack and Jill as far as the interest of the picture is concerned, which depicts simply the effect of a bright moonlight without and within a dark farm-shed, in which Ruth and Boaz sit resting. Without and within—that is the keynote of the artist's idea, the flood of light, soft, brilliant, and tremulous, breaking in through the open door of the shed, and bringing into relief portions of the seated figures, and then gradually fading away into darkness amid the beams and wood-stacks and farm implements. A really marvellous piece of work this, in its daring, and the success of its main attempt, nor is it without a certain vague poetry, which seems to show that M. Girardot might also have made the picture delightful from the point of view of subject, if he had not been too busy with his special problem to care about so doing.

It is hopeless to speak at any useful length of the general landscape work which we find in the Salon, it is beyond all comparison finer than our English work in the same department, whether we regard it from the point of view of style, of truth, or of technical accomplishment.

Our English Academy has to the best of its ability killed the landscape art of England, by neglecting the men who studied that branch, and by electing to its ranks only the more superficial landscape painters of the Scotch school. But the Scotch school of landscape is not only a school without poetry and depth of meaning—a school of half a dozen effects of mist and sunshine, which it repeats without variation from year to year—it is also, and beyond all else, a school without *style*—with no connection with any of the great qualities of by-gone art, and which has substituted nothing for that defect. Such painters as Harpignies, Duez, Rapin, Nozal, Vernier, Laurens, Flandrin, Penet, Hanoteau, and perhaps above all (if only for his beauty of colour) Le Roux, have no analogue at the present time in English art. They are simply miles and miles beyond us, not only in their technical skill, but in the scale of their impressions. They see the scene as a whole, not in detached bits, they see the scene as it is, not as it prettily might be, they see the scene too with a certain dignity, a certain quality of style very difficult to describe, but which continually saves their work from being merely a sort of natural history painting, as it for the most part restrains them from weakening their pictures with the flabby parochial sentimentality of which our own artists are so fond. Take the green depths of the forest as painted here by Pelouse (one of the very greatest landscapists living), and notice how entirely convinced the artist appears to have been that in the slender stems of his trees, the quivering light that falls on trunk and leaf, the thick moss which covers the stones of the little brook—that in all these things there was quite enough interest, not to say beauty, to justify his great picture. And there is enough as he has painted them, he has touched them all with a general, if not a particular sentiment, we seem, on looking at the picture, to lose sight of the special wood, and only remember the stillness, the shadow, the broken light, the peace and fragrance which we have known in similar scenes. Call it abstract quality or style, or by whatever name you will, this characteristic of French landscape is one which enhances its merit very greatly—at all events to the present writer. It takes the picture from the category of mere reproduction, and brings it into perceptible relation with the great art of the past, and if it does not confer on it the poetical or pathetic charm of the relation of Nature to man, which is probably the highest development of which landscape painting is capable, it does succeed in subduing the multitudinous facts with which it has to deal, in obedience to a definite intention. Why should a human being with brains and a soul, as well as eyes, simply go out into the first field or hedgerow, and stick his spade into Nature, and, bringing home the result triumphantly, fling it down on a canvas, and call it a landscape picture? Not pictures at all are nine out of

ten of modern English landscapes studies for pictures they frequently are but rarely more they are bits taken here, there, or anywhere, without relation, combination, or object Let any one who doubts this fact examine carefully the pictures at the Royal Academy, and he will find that there is only one real landscape in the present exhibition and that is by a man nearly seventy years old (Mr Hook, R A ) who belongs to the last generation To depict a patch of light on a hillside, the transparency of a wave, the glow of a sunset, is a worthy and desirable object for an artist, but the result is not a *picture*, but a *study* And as folks ought to know, but as our English painters will ignore, a picture is made up of many studies affected by a special purpose It is the recognition of this purpose by the spectator which removes the work from the purely reproductiveness of a study, to the artistic rank of a picture It is the knowledge that a human intelligence, as well as a skilful human hand, has been at work on the materials of Nature, subduing them to settled predetermined ends, using (not abusing) them for a definite purpose This is the human element in landscape painting, and it is in proportion as this intelligence is elevated and in sympathy with our deepest feelings that landscape pictures gain in beauty

One cause no doubt of this superiority of French landscape, of which I have been speaking, is the superior thoroughness of their artistic education, and the habit of working on a large scale I have no space to dwell on the details of these facts—they are well enough known to need but little comment, but I cannot leave this subject without pointing out, especially to English students, how humiliating this Salon exhibition is to us in the extraordinary industry and pluck which the young artists display Knowing what I do of the straits to which many of them are reduced, of the difficulties of every kind which attend the production of a large picture, there is something splendid in watching these young men, who generally are far poorer, and live far more economically than English painters, spend their last dollar upon a huge canvas—twenty feet square or so, and hurl thirty or forty life-size figures thereon—with as great a determination as if they had the Bank of England at their back, and the reputation of Michael Angelo

No doubt their works are crude, exaggerated, most defective in various ways—often insolent, sometimes brutal “But, confound it all, sir!” as Tom Thurnall would have said, “these painters are *men* at least,” they are alive with pulses throbbing in obedience to a vigorous humanity, there is about them none of the whine, the fine-finger affectation, the sickly morbid fear of spoiling their genius by bringing its results before the world, to which many of us Englishmen are prone I like to think of these shabby coated young fellows, in their garrets of the Latin quarter, standing before their huge

"Death of Cæsar," "Triumph of Joan of Arc," or "Apotheosis of Victor Hugo," or whatever be the subject of their picture, plastering on their great pounds of unpaid-for paint with cheerful confidence, and dining afterwards, midst a great deal of noise, and practical jokes, and thick clouds of cigarette smoke, at a twenty sous restaurant. They are types of the race who shove the world along in their profession, they "mean business," to use an expressive slang phrase, and they have their reward—the fierce competition for the prizes, the watchful eye of the Government always to put "*Commande par l'Etat*," upon any unusually good ambitious attempt by an unknown painter, the habit of tackling subjects of tremendous difficulty, and, well or badly, "pulling them through"—all this keeps them up to the mark till their business is learnt, and their reputation, if it may be, assumed. It is no use for English artists or critics to minimize these facts, no use for us to bestow an easy sneer at the horrible subjects, and the vast sizes of these Salon pictures. The subjects are frequently horrible it is true, but why? Because they are wholly unconventional, because they cover, or attempt to cover, the whole ground of human interest. We who go on repeating from year to year our *Vieilles de Wakefield*, our Georgian costumes, our pictures of Scotch moor and Cornish coast, our silver birch tree or shining wives, are safe enough from such a condemnation, but the safety is on the whole an inglorious one. The material of our artists is, I believe, as fine as that of any nation, but their training—its narrowness and blindness, its absence of all encouragement and all guidance—is contemptible, and unworthy of a great nation.

The Government and the Academy between them might remedy this state of things in no small degree, but it will never be really altered till there grows up amongst our people themselves a less pettifogging, less parochial view of art, till our countrymen cease to place Mrs Grundy in the seat of judgment on their books and their pictures, and allow to the arts the freedom on which alone they can really flourish. Pictures are, after all, but experiences of life and life is not constructed with a view to the axioms of the copy-books, or the check of the "young person."

HARRY QUILLER



## OUR POSITION IN CYPRUS.

**T**HERE are some countries in the world in which, either owing to accidental circumstances, such as position and opportunities of attack, or to the underlying character of their peoples, freedom cannot flourish. To this class the island of Cyprus always has belonged, and probably enough will always continue to belong. If we except a period of about three centuries, between the delivery from its first Egyptian bondage and its lapse into the hand of the Assyrian, there hardly remains an epoch in the long history of the island when its people could be considered as really free, unless, indeed, the Lusignan period can be called a period of freedom. As each great Power of the ancient world rose to her dominion, she stretched her arm over Cyprus. Not long after Joseph stored up corn in Egypt, Thotmes the Great had possessed himself of Asebi (Cyprus), and his vessels brought from thence "chariots plated with gold and silver, brass, lead, blue stones, and elephants' tusks,"\* and when it rebelled, Seti and Rameses III again subdued it,† and stamped their cartouches upon its temples. Then came the Phœnician influx, and almost contemporaneously with it the heroes of Troy, or if Troy had no heroes outside the life of legend, Grecian colonists, descended on its coasts, and occupied, if they did not conquer. Next, about 700 B.C., Assyria, "the rod of mine anger," that "east wind" that brought the power of Phœnician Tyre to nought, grasped Cyprus also. After the power of Assyria came the power of Babylon. "Howl, ye ships of Tarshish," says Isaiah, "for it is laid waste from the land of Chittim (Cyprus) it is revealed to them." And again "Daughter of Zidon, arise, pass over to Chittim there also shalt thou have no rest."

\* See Wilson's "Egypt."

† See Lang's "Cyprus."

Then Amasis, a Pharaoh of the twenty-sixth dynasty, won back the island for Egypt,<sup>\*</sup> which held it for a while, until the Persians took it by force of arms. Afterwards it surrendered in 333 B.C. to Alexander the Great, and on his death passed with Egypt to the Ptolemies, till the Ptolemies fell with the fall of Cleopatra, when Cyprus was annexed to Rome.

Such is a brief outline of the annals of the island up to the time of Christ. To write it fully would be to write the history of the ancient world. Nor did the vicissitudes of its fortunes cease with the Roman annexation. In course of time Cyprus became part of the Byzantine empire, was taken by the Saracens, and retaken by the empire. In 1191 it was captured, under somewhat romantic circumstances, by our own Richard Cœur de Lion, who sold it to the Templars. But the Templars could not govern it, so Guy de Lusignan, the would-be king of Jerusalem, took the bargain off their hands, and for three centuries the Lusignans ruled. Then on the extinction of the Lusignan dynasty the Venetian republic annexed the island, and held it for nearly a century, till at length, in 1571, with circumstances of treachery, horror and barbarity, that are scarcely to be equalled even in the wicked history of the Turk, the Ottoman power seized Cyprus, and put its gallant defenders to the torture and the sword. Since then, with one or two interruptions, the island has, till the year 1878, been under Turkish rule. It will be seen from this rough sketch that no country in the world has had a longer, a more remarkable, or a more varied history than Cyprus. From the most remote antiquity it has played a conspicuous part upon the stage of human affairs. Every acre of its ground has been watered with the blood of men, its rocks are full of the tombs of the departed great. Wave after wave of civilization has swept over its peaks and plains, and left their water mark upon them, and its graves yield up the records of each. But it has never, or very rarely, been free. It has from time immemorial been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water of the mighty nations whose coasts marched upon the Mediterranean Sea. Its place in history has been the place of the skilled slave in the Roman household. It has toiled and manufactured, and others have taken its goods. Its copper and timber, the fruit of its mines and fields, have passed into the hands of the stranger lords who owned it. It has been a sponge, from which nation after nation has squeezed the gathered moisture, and a sponge it is to this hour.

Such is the record of the country that the wisdom of Lord Beaconsfield secured to England under the convention with Turkey of June 4, 1878. The terms of that convention are peculiar. It provides (Article 6), that if Russia restores to Turkey, Kars and the other con-

\* Herod. ii. 182

quests made by her in Armenia during the last war (an event which is likely to occur at the falling of the Greek Calends), the island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England and the convention of June 1, 1878, will be at an end. It further provides for the payment of a tribute to the Sublime Porte. It will be seen, therefore, that this country cannot be considered otherwise than as a tenant, whose tenancy is liable to terminate upon the occurrence of certain events, such as the evacuation of Kars or the non-payment of the tribute. We do not own the island, we lease it from the Porte.

But the Cyprus of to-day is not the Cyprus of the Ptolemaic or of the Lusignan age. Where the Turk sets his foot, so goes the old saying, the grass does not grow. This has been peculiarly true of Cyprus. The curse of the Turk has fallen on the land, and has devastated it, as the drought or the locust devastates. The people have been oppressed, and lost all public spirit, the forests have been destroyed, the native manufactures have been paralyzed, and the land has been wrung dry of tributes to satisfy the gaping and bottomless luxury of Constantinople. It is melancholy to look upon those arid and desolate coasts, that stretch from Baffo down to Larnaca—from what was Paphos to what was Citium—and think how different a sight they must have presented to the eye of the traveller or merchant of the Ptolemaic period, or even to the trader who viewed them when Venice ruled the seas. It is melancholy to view the great tracts of almost waterless land, the barren mountain-sides well-nigh stripped of the forests for which they once were famous, and the rich plain of the Messaria, but half cultivated, or rather scratched, and everywhere strewn with stones. Cyprus once supported a million inhabitants, now it supports under two hundred thousand. This fact tells its own tale.

There have, however, been other causes at work which have assisted the paralyzing aim of the Turk in reducing the country to its present condition, and the chief of these has been the wanton destruction of the forests, and the consequent diminution of the rainfall. The agricultural prosperity of Cyprus from year to year depends entirely upon the quantity of the spring and autumn rains, which, now that the trees have gone which formerly drew them down, are of a most variable and uncertain nature. This year, for instance, the barley crop has entirely failed for want of moisture. The stunted and sickly growth came into ear upon stalks not more than six inches in length, and being worthless, what there was of it was fed off. Rain, indeed, fell just in time to save the wheat crop and prevent an actual famine, but the yield must at best be very poor. The rains are not, it is true, entirely dependent on the existence of forests, for it is stated that in the age of the Emperor Constantine but little rain fell for thirty six years, during which time the country

was almost deserted, and at this period probably Cyprus was well wooded. Speaking generally, however, there is little doubt that until the forests are once more in good order the rainfall will be uncertain and scanty, and that, as a consequence, the country must remain poor. Sir Robert Biddulph, in an annex to his annual report for 1884 (Bluebook, c. 1691) speaks to the matter thus:

‘ It must be remembered that if the forests be once totally destroyed nothing can replace them, Nature is powerless to do so, and the injury will, too late, be found to be past remedy. When once the forests have been destroyed, there will no longer be either pasturage or fuel on the mountains, and nothing but bare rock will remain. Whereas, if they can be preserved and extended, pasturage will increase in the valleys and plains, and in abundance of wood will be provided for all the wants of the inhabitants of Cyprus.’

The methods of destruction of the trees, which until the last few years has been going on absolutely unchecked for ages, are many and various. A Cypriot peasant will without compunction cut down the biggest tree that he can find, in order to manufacture any article he may require, however small, and next time he happens to want a second piece of wood, he will destroy another. He will “ring” the trees, by removing the bark, in order that when they die he may claim the dead wood. He will, if he gets the chance, burn a whole patch of trees in order that the grass may spring up fresh and green around their blackened stumps. He will, and frequently does, fire the forests from simple spite, or to gratify his sense of fun. He will turn in his goats to eat down such young trees as are slowly struggling into growth, and lastly, he will tap the trees for resin so carelessly and unskilfully that they die in a few years. This custom has, however, now been prohibited by law. In short, the wantonness of his behaviour in this matter is almost incredible, as the following instance will show.—A few months back the present writer was examining the ancient fortifications of Famagusta, when, hearing a sound of chopping, he climbed on to a bastion to see where it came from. On the other side of the great dry ditch grew a single very beautiful fig, the only tree in sight. Hacking away at the trunk of this fig was a native woman, whose operations were being superintended by a man. Upon being addressed with energy, she desisted, and went off, followed by the man. It appeared that she wanted some firewood, and to obtain it did not hesitate to barbarously cut down the only tree in the place. Probably by now, she has cut it down.

The second great cause of the gradual impoverishment of the island is, that every farthing that could be wrung out of it has been systematically extracted from the pockets of its unfortunate inhabitants for the benefit of the Sublime Porte, while, needless to add, little or nothing has been spent upon it. This extortion has acted in two ways, it

has impoverished the country by draining it of its earnings, and it has made the people indolent. Who will work harder than actual necessity compels, when he knows that the results of his intelligence and extra labour will certainly find their way into the pocket of the tax collector?

This drain upon the resources of the country still continues. Under the convention with Turkey we still pay to the Porte an annual subsidy, calculated upon the alleged average surplus of revenue over expenditure during the five years preceding the English occupation of 1878. Calculated upon this basis, the annual tribute was fixed at nearly £93,000. Now, if the annual surplus under Turkish government really amounted to an average of £93,000, all that can be said is, our better and honest method of administration notwithstanding, it has never done so since. Here is the official statement of the annual revenue and expenditure of the island, and of the grant in aid from the English taxpayer which it has been found necessary to obtain from Parliament in order to make up the amount of the tribute. It will be seen from this table that, even in the most favourable years—those of 1885 and 1886—the surplus never came to within £15,000 of the amount returned by the Turkish administration as the normal excess—

| Year    | Revenue<br>£              | Expenditure<br>£ | Parliamentary<br>Grant in Aid<br>£ |
|---------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1879-80 | 148,360                   | 117,445          | 8,000                              |
| 1880-81 | 156,095                   | 119,416          | 20,000                             |
| 1881-82 | 163,732                   | 127,672          | 78,000                             |
| 1882-83 | 189,334                   | 120,635          | 90,000                             |
| 1883-84 | 194,051                   | 111,684          | 30,000                             |
| 1884-85 | 172,072                   | 112,085          | 15,000                             |
| 1885-86 | 172,331                   | 111,301          | 15,000                             |
| 1886-87 | Returns not yet published |                  | 18,000                             |

It is obvious from the above returns that ever since the English occupation the revenue of the island has shown an upward tendency, while, on the other hand, notwithstanding the necessary public works that have been undertaken, and the great expense of the campaigns against the locusts, the expenditure has, with a notable exception (1881-82), gradually decreased, and yet, although the government has been carried on with the most rigid, not to say cheeseparing economy, in no one instance has that surplus of £93,000, which we are given to understand was normal before the occupation, been even approximately reached. It therefore only remains to congratulate the Sublime Porte upon the splendid financial system it evidently possesses, and to regret that in handing over Cyprus it did not also think fit to hand over to us the key to the secret of how to wring blood out of a stone.

This annual tribute is, even in the proportion in which it falls

upon Cyprus, literally a millstone round its neck. It is scarcely too much to say that, while its extortion is continued the island can make little real progress. What it means is, that every farthing that can be scraped and saved after meeting the bare necessities of Government is collected and sent out of the country. The administration of the island is conducted upon principles of the strictest economy. There are hardly enough officials, and they are certainly not overpaid. For instance, it has been shown how vital to the well-being of the island is the preservation of its remaining forest lands, and yet so hard is the Government pressed for money that it cannot afford to pay enough forest guards to guarantee even the probable detection of individuals injuring or destroying trees. Again, the prosperity of Cyprus depends to an enormous extent upon the re-development of its resources. The doubtful water supply of the island requires management, and in some places storage, many roads are still wanted, and the towns, which are quite undrained and as filthy as Eastern towns generally are, require to be paved and drained.

And lastly, if Cyprus is ever again to be what she has been, her harbours must be remade. At Famagusta a fine haven once existed, and this could, by dredging and breakwaters, be made into a harbour of first-class importance, large and deep enough to receive men-of-war. But this requires money. The cost of making the harbour at Famagusta is, I believe, reckoned at £50,000 according to one scheme, and £200,000 according to another and more ambitious plan. Therefore it is clear that before Famagusta becomes one of the great Mediterranean coaling stations there will have to be some change in the condition of the Cyprian finances. At Kyrenia, indeed, the Government are in the course of constructing a harbour which is to cost £7,000, but when it is done it will be about the size of a large dock, and can only receive small fishing vessels. It certainly struck the present writer that the Government might as well have kept the £7,000 in its pocket.

But while the tribute has to be paid in its present form all this talk of development and improvement is but as the baseless fabric of a vision. The first care of the Home Government is naturally enough to lessen the burden upon the English taxpayer, who has to make up what is deficient. The anxious inquiries, the gently veiled disgust, and the evident jubilation of the Treasury, which are by turns revealed in the pages of the Bluebooks, according to the prospects of the Cyprian financial year, are really quite amusing reading, but they make it clear to the reader that while application has annually to be made to Parliament for a "grant in aid," no extraordinary expenditure will be allowed in Cyprus. On the other hand, if by any means the tribute could be capitalized, say at ten or twelve years'

purchase, and interest paid upon the million or so that would be required, it would, even allowing for a sinking fund to provide for the ultimate extinction of the debt, give Cyprus an annual sum of at least £20,000 to be spent on improvements which must shortly be a the richest fruit. Now, at first sight this seems a simple remedy enough, but unfortunately, as with many things of which the sweet simplicity is obvious, there is a little difficulty. There are probably few rights or emoluments appertaining to her power for which Turkey would not be prepared to take ten or twelve years' purchase in hard cash. But the Turkish tribute does not really go into the pocket of the Porte. It goes into the pockets of the English and French exchequers. In 1855 these two Powers guaranteed a Turkish loan, on which, if Turkey fails to do so, they have of course to meet the interest, and to this end, it is said, the Cyprian tribute is annually employed. Now, if the tribute were compounded for, let us say, a million sterling, the annual interest upon the capital sum would, even supposing that the Porte consented to its long kept in hand, only amount to about thirty thousand pounds. Under these circumstances it is clear that somebody would have to find the remaining sixty-three thousand which is required towards meeting the interest on the guaranteed loan of 1855. It is obvious that France would not do this either to suit our convenience or out of motives of philanthropy to the Cypriotes. Consequently, hard as it is on Cyprus, it seems that the payment of the annual tribute which is crushing the island must be kept up—not necessarily because it cannot be compounded for (although there may be difficulties in the way of doing so), but because, if it is put an end to, there will be much less money to meet the interest on the guaranteed loan, and this country will probably be involved in a dispute with France as to the finding of the necessary funds.

In Cyprus itself this annual payment of tribute is felt as a great grievance by such few of the inhabitants who understand anything about it. They forget, as people so circumstanced are apt to forget, that Cyprus has been in the habit of paying tribute in one form or another from such time that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. They forget, although it is true that we extract the tribute, we bring, in one way and another, more money into the country than has been brought since Famagusta capitulated to Lala Mustapha. What they remember is, that every year a large but varying sum is taken out of the island and no more seen, and they are not slow to express this grievance. Of course the Colonial Office on taking over the government of the island presented it with that blessing of the free, a brand new Constitution of the most approved pattern, which was, however, in 1882 superseded by another. This Constitution necessarily includes a Legislative Assembly,

bly, in which Official, Turkish and Greek representatives are mingled "in proportion true" Now, as anybody acquainted with colonics is aware, the true function of a Legislative Assembly of this sort, which possesses little real power, is to make itself as disagreeable as possible to those in authority over it. In Cyprus the electors do not, so far as can be gathered, take any very burning interest in the valuable gift of the franchise. Indeed, in the Kyrenia district, as the present writer was informed, that interest is but small. On the occasion of the first election, indeed, the voters crowded by hundreds to the polls. This they did because they had an idea that they were bound to vote under pain of Government displeasure. But when a second election was due they discovered that the duty was a voluntary one, and for each hundred there came but ten. However this may be, the members of the Council are much more public-spirited than their constituents, and on most occasions pass resolutions against the Government with a charming unanimity. The present writer recently attended one of the sittings of the Cyprus Legislative Council, when the motion before the House was to the effect that, as England had taken over Cyprus for her own convenience, she clearly ought to pay the Turkish tribute out of her own pocket. Of course it was carried, and really, though the proposal is one that would fill any British Chancellor of the Exchequer with horror, it was impossible not to feel that there was something to be said from the Cypriot point of view. The idea, however, is purely chimerical, and it is only quoted here to show that discontent with the present state of affairs exists in Cyprus. To what extent it is possible to remedy the discontent by removing its cause, and what means should be adopted to that end, those in authority alone can judge. All that is urged is that, if it is in any way possible, something should be done in the matter, whereby the present exhausting drain on the feeble resources of the island may be lessened if it cannot be removed. If no steps are taken, the voice of discontent will annually grow louder, till probably it will end in a popular cry for the annexation of the island to Greece. Already we have done a great deal for Cyprus. All the machinery of an equitable and civilized government has been introduced into the country, perhaps for the first time in its long history. Roads have been made, schools have been established, and the locusts, for the time at any rate, have been stamped out. In Sir R. Biddulph we gave the island a governor whose energy and ability it is impossible for anybody who reads the Bluebooks carefully not to recognize, and now in Sir Henry Bulwer Cyprus has one of the ablest and perhaps the most painstaking of the servants of the Crown abroad to watch over its affairs. But governors cannot do impossibilities, however able they may be, and systems, however just, are incapable of bringing a country to prosperity, if it is yearly drained



of all that it can earn. Until some means is found whereby this extortion can be mitigated, it is useless to expect any very great progress in Cyprus. But let that means be found, as we may surely hope it will be, and there seems no reason to doubt that a time will come when this rich and beautiful island will once more, under the protective blessing of British rule, attain to something like her former opulence and importance. At the best this result cannot be obtained at once. The waste of ages cannot be repaired in a year, or even in a decade. Probably a generation must pass before a people crushed by centuries of oppression regain the spring and elasticity which are necessary to progress. But let the burden be removed, and all doubts as to the permanence of British rule put an end to by the cancelling of those clauses of the convention with Turkey which tend to uncertainty, and the good result will certainly follow. If this is once done, the time will arrive when the traveller, standing on the ruined plain of Salamis, will see the port of Famagusta once more crowded with shipping, and know that behind him stretches the fair acreage of those fertile plains and valleys, again, as in past ages at once the pride and envy of the Mediterranean peoples.

II RIDER HACCARD

## ANNUS AUREOLUS

AN ODE ON THE JUBILEE OF THE EMPRESS VICTORIA

NOW the winter of sorrow is over,  
And the season of waiting is done,  
Mid acclaim of the people who love her  
Our Lady steps forth in the sun,  
The green earth beneath and the blue sky above her,  
She walks in the sight of the millions who cover  
The realms she hath welded to one !  
'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder  
As far as the sun round her empire doth wander,  
From the east to the west wakes the world in her honour,  
The sunrise and sunset flash splendour upon her,  
Now winter is over and done !

,

Empress and Queen, the flowers and fruits of nations  
Are heapt upon the footstool of thy throne,  
Amid the thronging hosts, the acclamations,  
The trumpets of thy Jubilee are blown !  
Glorious and glad, with pomp and pride resplendent,  
Thy subject Spirits come and wait attendant  
Tawny and proud, a queenly sibyl-maiden,  
Comes INDIA, clad in woofs of strange device,  
With fruitage from the fabled Eastern Aidenn,  
And gifts of precious gems and gold and spice,  
On a white elephant she rides, while round her  
Like baying hounds her spotted tigers run—  
Black-brow'd as night, to her who tamed and crown'd her  
She comes, with fiery eyes that front the sun

AUSTRALIA follows, in a chariot golden  
 Drawn by black heifers, on the chariot's side  
 An ocean eagle sits with white wings folden,  
 And o'er her head float wild-fowl purple dyed  
 Tattoo'd TASMANIA, with wild ringlets flowing,  
 Followed by savage herds and hinds strides on  
 CANADA comes moorssin'd, clearly blowing  
 Her forest horn, and brandishing her spear  
 ALBION in martial mail, with trident gleaming,  
 Leads an old lion and a lamb snow-white,  
 Blonde CALIFORNIA, with glad tutan streaming  
 Back from her shoulder, leaves her lonely height,  
 And with her mountain Sister, to the strumming  
 Of harp and pipe, joins the rejoicing throng  
 The world is shadow'd with the swarms still coming  
 To hail their Queen with mirth and festal song !

For the winter of sorrow is over,  
 And gone are the griefs that have been,  
 'Mid acclaim of the people who love her  
 She comes to her glory, a Queen  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder  
 As far as the sun round her empire doth wander,  
 From the east to the west wakes the world in her honour,  
 The sunrise and sunset flash splendour upon her,  
 Uncoloured, at peace, and serene !

Yet        who is this that rises up before her,  
 Ragged and hungry, blood upon her hands ?  
 Smileless beneath the heavens now smiling o'er her,  
 Wild grey hair'd ERIN on her island stands !  
 I only she crieth, " Crowned queen and mother,  
 If such thou art, redress my children's wrong,  
 Upraise the seed of Esau ! Bid his brother  
 Restore to him the birthright stol'n so long !  
 'Mid his fat flocks sits Jacob, unrepenting,  
 Yet starts with lifted wine-cup at my cry,  
 My children starve—my tribe is left lamenting—  
 My dwellings lie unroof'd beneath the sky  
 Even the mess of pottage gives he never,  
 For which he bought the birthright long ago,  
 While joy in Jacob's vineyard flows for ever,  
 Esau preserves his heritage of woe !

Justice O Queen, or——" For the rest she clutches  
 Her naked knife, and laughs in shrill despan  
 O Queen and Empress, by the pitcous touches  
 Of Love's anointing fingers, hear her prayer !  
 Let not thy Jubilee be stained, O Mother,  
 By the old sin the sinful past hath known  
 The wrongs this Esau suffers from his brother  
 Arc blood-stains on the brightness of thy throne !

Now the winter of sorrow is ended,  
 And the season of waiting is fled,  
 Let the blessing by all men attended  
 On Esau and Erin be shed !  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee vonder  
 As fu as the sun round thine empire doth wander ,  
 But Esau roams outcast and homeless, O Mother,—  
 At night on the rocks, near the tents of his brother,  
 The weav one pillows his head !

O bright and beauteous, Lady, is thy splendour,  
 The waves of life leap round thee like a sea—  
 Smiling thou hearest, happy-eyed and tender,  
 The silver clarions of thy Jubilee !  
 And yet O God ! what shrouded shapes of pity,  
 Are these who cry unto thee from afar ?  
 Huddling beneath the gas, in the dark City,  
 Hagar and Mary wail their evil star !  
 For Hagar still is hungry and forth-driven,  
 And Magdalen still crawls from door to door,  
 Tho' He who cast no stone, and promised Heaven,  
 Bade her repent and go, and sin no more  
 Long, long, hath she repented, tho' foul fetters  
 Still bind her to the sin without a name ,  
 And on the children's hearts the crimson letters  
 Tell to a cruel world the mother's shame  
 But *thou*, too, art a Mother, Queen appointed,  
 And *thou*, too, hast thy children ! Wherefore, heed  
 The crying of the lost one, who anointed  
 Thy Master's feet, and save her sinless seed  
 Feed Hagar and her little ones, whose crying  
 Pierces the heart of Pity to the core !  
 Find Magdalen, from shrine to shrine still flying,  
 And say to him who stones her as of yore

" The time hath come for justice in full measure,  
 For him who shares the sin to share the stain,  
 No longer shall my triumph or my pleasure  
 Be troubled by my broken sister's pain ! "  
 O Lady, such a word of vindication  
 Shall value all thy splendour twentyfold,  
 Hagar's new gladness, Magdalen's salvation,  
 Would be a brighter crown than that of gold !

For the season of waiting is over,  
 And the winter of sorrow is done,  
 'Mid acclaim of the people who love her  
 Our Lady steps forth in the sun  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder  
 As far as the sun round her empire doth wander,  
 If the weary and outcast are weeping no longer,  
 The wrong'd stands erect, at her feet kneels the wronger,  
 For the Golden Year has begun !

The Golden Year ! How loudly and how gladly  
 The trumpets of thy Jubilee are blown !  
 But what is this that loometh out so sadly  
 Yonder, beyond the shining of thy throne ?  
 Christ's Tree ? A cloud of blackness doth enfold it,  
 Beneath it weeping shapes their wild arms toss—  
 Alas ! the bright sun strikes, and we behold it—  
 The Tree of Man's Invention, not the Cross !  
 Blackest of blots upon thy throne pure golden  
 Casts this foul growth of evil, with its root  
 Deep as the roots of Hell, this upas olden  
 With blood for blossoms, flesh and blood for fruit !  
 And weeping angels of the empyrean  
 Look down in shame and sorrow from the sky,  
 While followers of the bloodless Galilean  
 With impious rites lead deathless Cain to die !  
 While this Tree bears, O Queen, while earth is sooted  
 With its black shadow, woe to thine and thee !  
 The air around thy throne shall be polluted,  
 And Hell must laugh, to hear thy Jubilee !

By the hope and the faith thou dost cherish,  
 By summer now breaking serene,

Let the Tree of man's cruelty perish,  
 The Cross of man's mercy be seen !  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder,  
 As far as the sun round thine empire doth wander,  
 But, long as these boughs of the upas are bearing,  
 The sound of sad weeping, of bitter despairing,  
 Shall trouble thy glory, O Queen !

O merry music ! Drums and fifes are sounding,  
 Thy realm is resonant from sea to sea !  
 A million hearts are gladdening and bounding  
 To the great glory of thy Jubilee !  
 Yet who are these that thy proud throne environ,  
 That, ring'd around by swords, with shout and laugh  
 Drag forth the monsters from whose mouths of iron  
 The frail Sepoy was blown like bloodiest chaff ?  
 Thy warriors ? Thine ? Not His who came proclaiming  
 Love's gospel, while earth's Kings knelt down to hear ?  
 O Queen, then Fire and Sword surround thee, shaming  
 The peace and plenty of thy Golden Year !  
 O hearken ! From the lonely desert places,  
 From graves thy hosts have dug these latter years,  
 The cry of wailing tribes and wounded races  
 Breaks on thy queendom with a sound of tears ,  
 And while in cottages and princely towers  
 Pale English widows weep and orphans moan,  
 Death comes to set his pallid funeral flowers  
 And yew-trees, round the footstool of thy throne !

•

Yet gone are the seasons of sorrow  
 And winter hath vanish'd (men say) !  
 Shall Famine and Fire come to-morrow  
 And add to the graves of to day ?  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder  
 As far as the sun round thine empire doth wander,  
 Yet Can rears his altar and slays his frail brother,  
 And men who should cherish and love one another  
 Go smiling to torture and slay !

Listen, O Empress, to the tearful voices  
 That pierce above the thunder of thy State !  
 Beyond the throng that gladdens and rejoices  
 The flocks of human martyrs weep and wait

They know thee great and good, O Queen and Mother,  
 They hunger for the blessing of thy hand,  
 But Jacob in his pride forgets his brother,  
 And Hagar wanders famish'd thro' the land  
 Grasping thine Aaron's rod with gentle fingers,  
 Touch hearts of stone until the fountains start,  
 Shed summer on the isle where winter lingers,  
 Fill the black void in Erin's aching heart !  
 Rebuke thy legions ! Bid them crouch before thee,  
 Nor lusting still for conquest draw the sword !  
 Let doves, not battle-ravens, hover o'er thee,  
 And Christ, not Moloch, deck thy festal board !  
 For all this pomp and pride turn black and bitter  
 If women weep and mourners wail their dead  
 The blessing of the sorrowful were fitter  
 To crown thee than the crown upon thy head !  
 O hearken yet, this year of years, O Mother,  
 Proclaim sweet peace from every heaven lit hill,  
 Let Justice be thy handmaid, and no other,  
 And say to all things evil, "Cease, be still ! "

O then shall all sorrow be over,  
 And then indeed winter be done,  
 'Mid acclaim of the people who love her  
 Our Lady shall walk in the sun !  
 The green earth beneath and the blue sky above her,  
 Her smile shall shed peace on the millions who cover  
 The realms she hath welded to one  
 'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder  
 As far as the sun round her empire doth wander,  
 But Jubilee brighter shall come with to-morrow,  
 With the end of all strife and surcease of all sorrow,  
 When the night-tide of evil is done !

### *Epode*

LADY, God lends a torch to light  
 Thy path to peace transcending dreams  
 Uphold it ! See, from height to height, .  
 Across the day, across the night,  
 Its splendour streams !

God gave the realm, God gives the light—  
 How sweet, how bright,  
 It beams !

•  
 That torch is Love, whose lucent ray  
     Slays all things cruel and unequal !  
 No shadow clouds it night or day,  
 While sun and moon keep equal sway,  
     Calm and serene  
 God gives this torch with heaven-fed ray  
     To light thy way,  
     O Queen !

Let this thy guide and scepter be,  
     And power and peace may still be thine,  
 All mortal men shall bend the knee,  
 All men revere, in thine and thee,  
     The law divine  
 Blest shall thy mighty Empire be,  
 While o'er the world from sea to sea,  
 The sunlight of thy Jubilee  
     Shall shine !

ROBERT BUCHANAN

June, 1897



## CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

### OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

IN consequence of an oversight, these lectures,\* delivered originally in 1881-5 in Westminster Abbey, and published subsequently in a small volume, escaped notice at the proper time. We hasten to invite our readers' attention to them. Without disparagement to the clever commentary of Dean Plumptre (which is naturally written on a more comprehensive scale), it may be safely said that a volume better fitted to make a reader understand the drift and meaning of that remarkable Old Testament book does not exist. With a quiet but effective eloquence the Dean expounds the text of Ecclesiastes, with just that amount of paraphrase or comment which is sufficient for the purpose, without either superfluous verbiage or the tedious discussion of the conflicting views of commentators. In bold and clear strokes, the Dean traces the salient features of the book, the spirit and temper in which it is written are appreciatively characterized, the author's abrupt, enigmatic aphorisms acquire in his hands a meaning and aim. What is of still greater importance, the Dean is throughout the *fidus interpres*—he does not impose upon his author any fancies of his own, he simply develops, with singular delicacy and skill, what the author himself thinks and says. The evidence which the book affords as to the age in which it was written is also justly interpreted by the Dean. Altogether his volume is one of rare merit. Might we presume to suggest that it might be followed by another, dealing similarly with some of the other less known parts of the Old Testament—for instance, Hosea, or a selection of the discourses of Isaiah?

An important work,† the result of many years of labour, was completed last year by Dr Ad Neubauer, of Exeter College, the learned and residuous sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Bodleian Library boasts the possession of one of the most valuable collections of Hebrew manuscripts in Europe. The nucleus of the collection consists of MSS presented by Archbishop Laud in 1635-40, others were shortly afterwards bequeathed to the University by the famous scholar, John Selden, and since that time great acquisitions have been constantly made by the University, including the valuable

\* "Lectures on Ecclesiastes." By G. G. Bradley, Dean of Westminster. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

† "The Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and in the College Libraries of Oxford." With forty facsimiles. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1886.

MSS left by the celebrated Orientalist Edward Pococke, at the end of the seventeenth century, and several large collections obtained during the present century, such as the 780 MSS belonging to Rabbi Oppenheimer of Prague, purchased in 1829, and the 800 MSS from the library of H. J. Michael of Hamburg, purchased in 1848. Altogether the catalogue contains entries of 2602 different MSS,\* and as many—indeed most—of these MSS comprise a variety of independent treatises, each of which is separately described, some idea may be formed of the amount of labour which the preparation of the volume must have involved. The MSS deal with the most varied subjects. About 160 contain the Old Testament in whole or (more commonly) in part, though none of any great antiquity—indeed, according to the Preface, the Library possesses no Hebrew MS older than A.D. 1201. A large number of MSS consist of commentaries, some on parts of the Old Testament, others on different Talmudic treatises, nearly 200 MSS contain Hebrew liturgies, according to the rites observed in different countries, the classification of which must have been peculiarly intricate and difficult, a single entry often comprising upwards of a hundred distinct notices†. Philosophy, ethics, Kabbalah, poetry, medicine, &c., form the subjects of other MSS. The use of the volume is facilitated by the very complete series of indexes with which it closes, one, for instance, containing references to the authors, others to the titles, owners, scribes, &c., of the different MSS catalogued. The compiler has been highly complimented on his work in different foreign journals, and the warmest admiration has been expressed for the surprising mastery of his subject which he everywhere displays. The most generally interesting part of the work is, however, the Atlas of plates accompanying it,† illustrating in facsimile the principal types of Hebrew writing which have prevailed in different ages and different countries, and especially the various forms assumed by the rabbinical and cursive characters. The plates are forty in number, they are remarkably clear and legible, and as each is accompanied by a transcription in the ordinary square Hebrew characters, the student who desires to make himself acquainted with the rabbinical or cursive handwriting, or to trace the different forms which Hebrew characters have assumed, can use the Atlas without the assistance of a teacher. Two of the plates contain specimens of MSS with the superlinear or Babylonian system of punctuation (such as is used in the MS of 916 now at St. Petersburg, referred to in the Preface to the Revised Version), one (No. I), a fragment merely, the other (No. XXXVIII) containing the Hagiographa, and acquired recently by the Library from Yemen, in Arabia. No. VIII represents a page of the splendidly illuminated MS of the entire Old Testament, in Spanish square character, belonging formerly to Dr. Kennicott, and written in 1476. No. IV is a page of the great system of the Talmud, compiled by Moses Maimonides (d. 1201), and exhibits the autograph signature of that celebrated legalist and philosopher, stating that the MS had been collated with the original in his own possession. The great majority of plates consist of representative specimens of the rabbinical and cursive hands prevalent in mediæval and modern times in Germany, Italy, Spain, and

\* Of these, twenty four, however, belong to various college libraries being included in the volume for completeness.

† The Atlas can be obtained separately from the Catalogue.

other countries. Only one plate represents a type not found in a Bodleian MS—viz, No XXXIX, which has been included in the series for the sake of completeness, and contains an excellent reproduction of one of the curious fragments first made known by M. Hurkavy, of St Petersburg, in 1854, and stated by him, on the authority of the person from whom he procured them, to have been found in Rhodes about thirty years ago. Dr Neubauer does not take upon himself to settle the question of the ultimate origin of these fragments, and is satisfied to append to the plate the label "Unknown Characters." The Atlas ought speedily to become popular amongst all more advanced students of Hebrew.

Mr Hershon\* translates a popular commentary on the Pentateuch, designed for the use of Jewish families, compiled, the preface states, by one Rabbi Jacob in 1693, and still largely read in Poland. It is thoroughly Jewish in style and tone, and those who are not acquainted with the style of comment and explanation such as meets us in Talmud and Midrash, or in a mediæval writer like Rashi, will find it here copiously exemplified. It cannot be said that the volume contains much that is specially suggestive or profound, its value consists principally in the illustration which it affords of the exegetical principles and methods current among the Jews. A few extracts will enable our readers to judge of it for themselves. On Gen i 31 we read "It is certain that man was created different to all other living creatures, for in all other creatures there is no contending principle, but in man there is. If he wishes to perform a good act, the evil inclination in him prevents it, if he be inclined to do evil, then the good propensity prevents it, thus he has all his days a strife within his body"†. On xiii 3 ("And Abraham went on his journeys, to the place where his tent had been at the first") "Abraham always remained overnight where he formerly stayed overnight when he travelled from Canaan to Egypt. Our sages say, Abraham borrowed money in all the inns wherever he went from Canaan to Egypt, for he feared to show money at the inns for fear of robbers, and the reason that Abraham again lodged in the same inns was in order to pay his debts. Our sages deduce also from this, that a man should always put up at the same inn where he once before lodged, that he may not put the first innkeeper to shame." The editor does not state whether in these days the travelling Jew finds his innkeepers equally accommodating. No doubt they will be so, when they are assured that he will follow the excellent maxims here inculcated by his teachers. On xxviii 14 ("Thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth") "Why does he not say, As the stars of heaven? The answer is 'This was to show that when the Israelites are pious God exalts them to the status of heaven, otherwise, He smites them to the dust, to be trod upon.'" The notes, it may be worth adding, contain sometimes curious information.

This‡ is a translation of the first part of the second edition of Prof Kuenen's "Introduction to the Old Testament," which appeared in Dutch two years ago, and is the most thorough and comprehensive

\* 'A Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis.' Translated from the Judæo Polish, with Notes and Indices by P. I. Hershon. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

† "See Rom vii 21, 23."

‡ "An Historical Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Book of Joshua)." By A. Kuenen, Professor of Theology at Leiden. Translated by P. H. Wicksteed. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

work upon the subject. Professor Kuenen first points out the indications of different writers in the Pentateuch, he then traces consecutively the different sources through the several books, he defines their characteristics and analyzes their style, he compares carefully the different systems of legislation which they embody, by comparison with the history he determines what in his judgment is the probable chronological order in which they arose, lastly, he explains how they were gradually welded together so as to produce our present "Hexateuch." Every point that arises is examined with great minuteness and mastery of details. We may refer the reader for favourable specimens of the author's method to the discussion of Exod. xxv-xxxi xxxv- xl, in § 6, or to the study of the code of laws contained in Lev. xvii-xxvi in § 15, or to the analysis of the language of Deuteronomy (and of the allied sections in Joshua), in § 7. The volume is written in a lucid and forcible style, and is admirably translated. Professor Kuenen belongs to the same school as Graf and Wellhausen, nevertheless, many of the conclusions reached by him are undeniably just, and where they are uninfluenced by theological considerations, will no doubt sooner or later be accepted by orthodox theologians. We allude in particular to the main features of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch, and to the determination of the relation in which the different sources stand to one another, as well as, at least approximately, of the dates to which they severally belong. Certainly there remain points which even Professor Kuenen has not yet made clear in his theory, but these will be elucidated, and the theory, where necessary, modified, not by an indiscriminating reassertion of the traditional position, but by renewed and patient investigation of the facts of the Old Testament itself. For, even in his analysis of the sources (where on the whole we agree with him most fully) we cannot doubt that Professor Kuenen is sometimes guided unduly by minute differences or similarities, and that his theory of the gradual composition of the Hexateuch is a more complicated one than is probable. To take an example. It is clear that Exod. xxv-xxxi has been taken by the compiler from a different source from the three chapters which follow, Exod. xxxii-xxxiv, it is further almost equally clear that this latter section, Exod. xxxii-xxxiv, is itself of composite origin, but when the attempt is made to define precisely where its component parts begin and end, and how it assumed its present shape, decisive criteria fail us. Thus, any hypothesis which we may frame, though in parts it may be correct (e.g. that ch. xxxiii 7-11 forms a whole, standing apart by itself), and correspond to real facts, may in other parts be conjectural and altogether precarious. We have in view Professor Kuenen's own theory of the composition of these chapters, stated briefly in this volume, but developed in detail with great ability in an essay in the "Theologisch Tijdschrift" for 1881. That theory rests upon an observation of real facts, and embodies accordingly true elements, nevertheless as a whole, we are convinced, after careful and repeated study of it, that it is only one possible explanation of the phenomena, and that not the most probable one. But it would be rash and ill-judged to conclude on this ground that all the results obtained by Old Testament criticism are of an equally hypothetical nature. Each must be tested independently with reference to the grounds upon which it rests. In some cases it will then appear that the grounds alleged are abundantly sufficient for the conclusions based upon them,

whilst in other cases it will be seen that they afford only a doubtful and uncertain support. Professor Kuenen's volume will be of the greatest possible service to the student interested in the problems which the Old Testament presents. It gives him a compact and trustworthy summary of materials bearing on their solution and of results actually obtained, and it indicates the direction in which, rightly or wrongly, criticism has within recent years been moving, together with the grounds by which its course has been determined. It may be added that the second part of Professor Kuenen's work, dealing with the remaining historical books, upon the same thorough and comprehensive plan, has appeared this year at Leiden.

Professor Aug. Dillmann, of Berlin, who won his laurels as a Semitic scholar nearly a generation since by his magnificent *Ethiopic Lexicon*, and other publications dealing with the same language, has more recently been devoting his attention to the Old Testament, and he has now completed his *Commentary*\* on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, the third volume, containing the Commentary on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, having appeared at the close of last year. This commentary is the most complete and masterly which exists, alike from the point of view of archæology, history, criticism, and language, the largest English commentary dealing with the same books would appear meagre and superficial † beside it. Nevertheless, it is not a diffuse or cumbrous work, it is written compactly, and the style is lucid and easy. While agreeing with Wellhausen and Kuenen in the main lines of Pentateuch analysis, Professor Dillmann differs from them frequently in details, though principally only in cases such as those alluded to above, where the criteria are indecisive, and do not permit certain conclusions to be drawn from them. He differs more materially from the same scholars in respect of the dates which he is inclined to fix for the composition of the different sources of which the Hexateuch is composed. Not, indeed, substantially, in the case of the sections belonging to the "prophetic narrative" (which he assigns to the ninth and eighth centuries, B.C.), but in the case of those belonging to the "priestly narrative," which he still holds to be much older than the school of Wellhausen and Kuenen will allow, considering them to date from about 800 B.C. The question is examined at length in a concluding essay devoted to a consideration of the entire subject, in which, amongst other things, the characteristics of the sources interwoven in the Pentateuch are forcibly and justly exhibited. A new edition of the volume on Genesis in the same Commentary with many small additions and improvements, appeared also at the end of last year. Professor Dillmann, by his unremitting labours bestowed during the last twelve years upon the Old Testament, has laid biblical students under an obligation which they will not readily find a means of repaying.

\* In the "*Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*."

† How superficially the Old Testament may be treated in this country is readily illustrated. A writer, whose generality and breadth of culture causes his name to be deservedly honoured among English theologians, actually speaks of 2 Chron. xxvi. as 'obviously taken from a lost history of Uzziah, written by Isaiah (v. 22)'. Why the first four and the last three verses of 2 Chron. xxvi. are excerpted, nearly verbatim, from the parallel narrative in 2 Kings, the intermediate verses are the composition of the author of Chronicles himself and abound with examples of his very peculiar phraseology and style! It is easier to imagine Livy the author of a paragraph of Tacitus, than to conceive Isaiah as the author of 2 Chron. xxvi. 5-20.

Professor C A Briggs, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, already favourably known in this country by his instructive work called "Biblical Study," and an indefatigable student of biblical theology, has published a useful volume on "Messianic Prophecy,"\* the aim of which is to trace in detail the development of the Messianic idea in the Old Testament Scriptures. The following extract (p 65) will exhibit at once the author's method and his standpoint—"In opposition to the traditionalists on the one side, and the rationalists on the other, there is," he writes, "but one legitimate method for the interpretation of Messianic prophecy, and that is—(1) to study each prediction by itself, and with the most patient criticism and painstaking exegesis, as to its details, (2) to study it in relation to other predictions in the Old Testament and note the organic connection, (3) to study it in relation to the history of His redemption. Such a method will discern that Messianic prophecy in the Old Testament is an organic whole—an advancing organism, culminating in the Christ of the Incarnation, of which the Old Testament is the 'Triumph.' In the work itself the plan thus sketched is carried out. After two introductory chapters, Professor Briggs reviews in detail the succession of all the Messianic passages of the Old Testament, translating and characterizing each of the most important passages, pointing out the relation in which they stand to one another. The special value of the work lies in the clearness with which the distinctive features of each prophecy are set out, and the care taken to define, and the care taken not to overlook. Contrast, for example, the picture of the Messianic King as developed in chapter vii with that of the Messianic Servant in chapter xi. As an example of Professor Briggs' method, we may refer to section 73, where, having placed side by side the two parallel prophecies, Jeremiah *li* 4-22, so that they may mutually illustrate one another, he writes: "In these passages Jeremiah takes up the prediction of the Messianic King, and clothes it with reference to the Messianic King, and clothes it with reference to the Messianic King, and clothes it with reference to the Messianic King. The name *Jahveh is our righteousness* reminds us of *with us* [Immanuel] of Isaiah. The Messianic King bears the name as the sacred pledge to Israel that their righteousness was to be found in Jahveh. Accordingly, in the parallel passage the same name is given to the new Jerusalem because it is to be the throne of Jahveh. The reign of Jahveh and the King of David's line is to be in the interests of righteousness." Or on Psalm *xxii* (section 89) "The sufferings of this psalm are ideal sufferings, based upon the experience of Israel in exile, and especially of the pious prophets, but they look forward to severer sufferings than any that have yet been endured. This ideal is a Messianic ideal, that finds its only historical realization in Jesus Christ." Professor Briggs, it will be seen, knows how to combine an orthodox creed with the principles of sound historical criticism. His volume is brightly written, and deserves to have many readers.

An attractive and ably written volume† on three of the most inte-

\* Edinburgh F & T Clark 1886

† 'Job and Solomon, or, The Wisdom of the Old Testament' By the Rev T K Cheyne, M A, D D, Oriel Professor of Interpretation at Oxford, Canon of Rochester London Kegan Paul, French & Co 1887

resting and also least familiarly known books of the Old Testament—viz, Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes—with a somewhat briefer treatment of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Professor Cheyne examines successively the contents, scope, structure, and authorship of the books named, explaining by the aid of illustrative quotations the argument and purport of each, pointing out its doctrinal and moral significance, and discussing with great completeness the problems, which each, *mutatis mutandis*, is seen to present as soon as it is studied from a comprehensive and critical point of view. The characteristics of the book dealt with are justly enumerated, the author gives proof of his discrimination and literary skill on every page, nothing superficial or imperfectly thought out the subject is in his pen. Naturally he is thoroughly imbued with modern the student, while his volume abounds with references which make it, on a whole, a most complete guide to the subject which it deals, by far the most complete guide to where intelligible answers exist in our language. But the text is not encumbered with needless references, and the general reader will find it everywhere always command an apt scholar. The author's wide and varied reading and old acquaintance with the subject with originality and freshness, he can by the same author, and their suggestive illustration from sources new and old. The thoughtful perusal of it will not be a sequel to the "Prophecies of Isaiah."

The current number of the *Quarterly Review* (April 1887) contains a noticeable article on the "Massoretic Text of the Old Testament." The writer (who is evidently a sound and competent scholar) explains in a lucid and popular style the nature and value of the "Massoretic Text" (the "Massorah" is, and text printed in an ordinary Hebrew Bible) with the ancient versions, and ought to dispose of many fallacies and misconceptions, (i.e., substantially the stated with remarkable clearness and force, and in a short article is one which it is apparent to the reader that the conclusions drawn from the facts are more than the premises warrant. The facts are more than the premises warrant.

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